

CHARLES KNIGHT



# THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD . . .

A COMPREHENSIVE NARRATIVE OF THE RISE AND  
DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS AS RECORDED BY THE  
GREAT WRITERS OF ALL AGES

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## PART XXII

# THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BOOK VII, BRITISH INDIA ; BOOK VIII, THE COLONIAL WORLD

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE FOLLOWING AUTHORITIES

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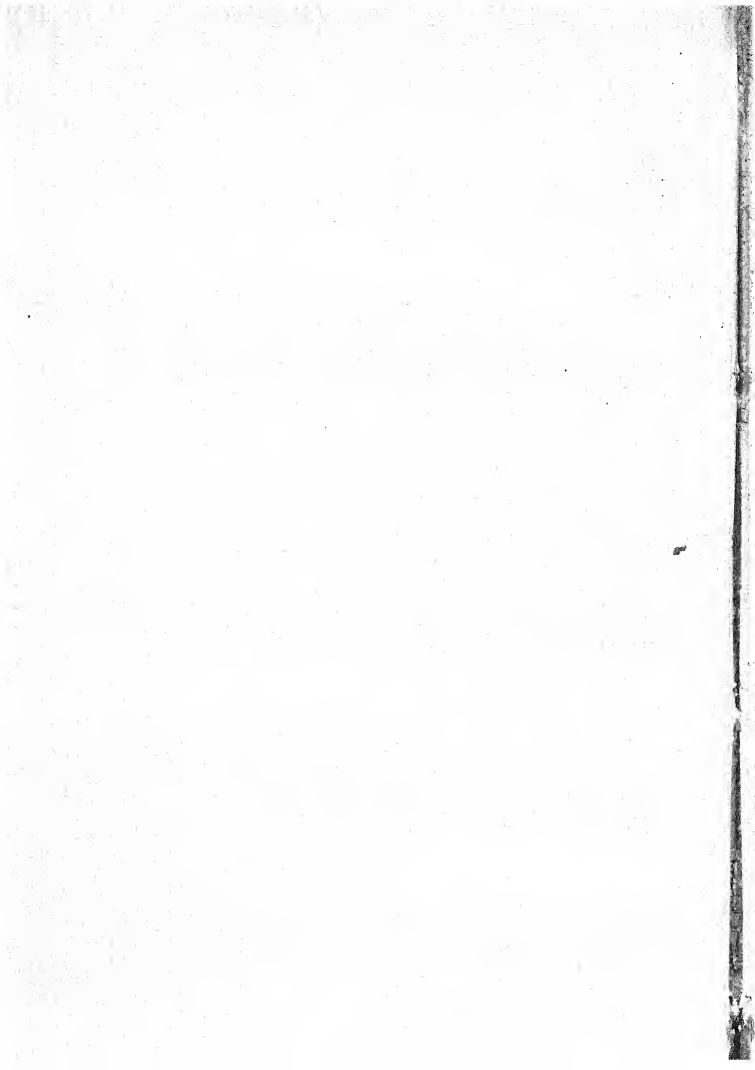
A REVIEW OF THE EMPIRE, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE  
TO THE COLONIAL WORLD

BY

LADY LUGARD

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## INTRODUCTION

### A REVIEW OF THE EMPIRE, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE COLONIAL WORLD<sup>1</sup>

By LADY LUGARD

THE land surface of the earth is estimated to extend over about 52,500,000 square miles. Of this area the British Empire occupies nearly one-quarter, extending over an area of about 12,000,000 square miles. By far the greater portion lies within the temperate zones, and is suitable for white settlement. The notable exceptions are the southern half of India and Burma; East, West, and Central Africa; the West Indian Colonies; the northern portion of Australia; New Guinea, British Borneo, and that portion of North America which extends into Arctic regions. The area of the territory of the empire is divided almost equally between the southern and the northern hemispheres, the great divisions of Australasia and South Africa covering between them in the southern hemisphere 5,308,506 square miles, while the United Kingdom, Canada, and India, including the native states, cover between them in the northern hemisphere 5,271,375 square miles. The alternation of the seasons is thus complete, one-half of the empire enjoying summer, while one-half is in winter. The division of territory between the eastern and western hemispheres is less equal, Canada occupying alone in the western hemisphere 3,653,946 square miles, while Australasia, South Africa, India, and the United Kingdom occupy together in the eastern hemisphere 6,925,975 square miles. As a matter of fact, however, the eastern portions of Australasia border so nearly upon the western hemisphere that the distribution of day and night throughout the empire is, like the alternations of the seasons, almost complete, one-half enjoying daylight, while the other half is in darkness. These alternations of time and of seasons, combined with the variety of soils and climates, are calculated to have an increasingly important effect upon the material and industrial, as well as upon the social and political developments of the empire. This will become evident in considering the industrial productions of the different divisions, and the harvest seasons which permit the summer produce of one portion of the empire to supply the winter requirements of its other markets, and conversely.

The empire contains or is bounded by some of the highest mountains, the greatest lakes, and the most important rivers of the world. Its climates may be said to include all the known climates of the world; its soils are no less various. In the prairies of central Canada it possesses some of the most valuable wheat-producing land; in the grass lands of the interior of Australia the best pasture country; and in the uplands of South Africa the most valuable gold and diamond-bearing beds which exist. The United Kingdom at present produces more coal than any other single country except the United States

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(which exceeded the British output in 1900). The effect of climate throughout the empire in modifying the type of the Anglo-Saxon race has as yet received only partial attention, and conclusions regarding it are of a somewhat empiric nature. The general tendency in Canada is held to be towards somewhat smaller size, and a hardy active habit; in Australia to a tall, slight, pale development locally known as "cornstalkers," characterised by considerable nervous and intellectual activity. In New Zealand the type preserves almost exactly the characteristics of the British Isles. The South African, both Dutch and British, is readily recognised by an apparently sun-dried, lank, and hard habit of body. In the tropical possessions of the empire where white settlement does not take place to any considerable extent the individual alone is affected. The type undergoes no modification. It is to be observed, in reference to this interesting aspect of imperial development, that the multiplication and cheapening of channels of communication and means of travel throughout the empire will tend to modify the future accentuation of race difference, while the variety of elements in the vast area occupied should have an important, though as yet not scientifically traced, effect upon the British imperial type.

#### POPULATION OF THE EMPIRE

The white population of the empire reaches a total of upwards of 52,000,000 or about one-eighth of its entire population, which, including native races, is estimated at something over 430,000,000. The white population includes some French, Dutch, and Spanish peoples, but is mainly of Anglo-Saxon race. It is distributed roughly as follows:

United Kingdom and Ireland	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	41,454,578
Australia	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,600,000
Canada—French	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,400,000	
English	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,800,000	
										5,200,000
Africa—Dutch }	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
British }	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,000,000
India	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	100,000
West Indies and Bermuda	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	100,000
										52,454,578

These figures must be taken only as approximate. In some cases census details are out of date, and official estimates have been accepted.

The native population of the empire includes types of the principal black, yellow, and brown races, classing with these the high-type races of the East, which may almost be called white. It is distributed as follows:

#### India

British Provinces	{	Mainly high type, brown	{	.	.	.	.	.	.	231,085,132
Native States				.	.	.	.	.	.	63,181,569
British Tracts				.	.	.	.	.	.	607,710
										294,874,411

The population of India is divided into 118 groups, on the basis of language. These may, however, be collected into twelve principal groups as follows:

Aryo-Indic		Khasi		Sinitic
Dravidian		Tibeto-Burman		Aryo-Iranic
Kolarian		Mon Annam		Semitic
Gypsy		Shan		Aryo-European

*Eastern Colonies*

Ceylon—High type, brown and mixed	3,391,000
Straits Settlements—Brown and mixed	267,073
Chinese yellow	228,000
Hong-Kong—Chinese yellow	211,000
Brown	1,901
North Borneo—Mixed brown	200,000
	<hr/> 4,298,974

Of the various races which inhabit these Eastern dependencies the most important are the 2,000,000 Sinhalese and the 750,000 Tamil that make up the population of Ceylon. The rest is made up of Malays, Chinese (in the Straits Settlements and Hong-Kong), Dyaks, Eurasians, and others.

*West Indies*

The West Indies, including the continental colonies of British Guiana and Honduras, and seventeen islands or groups of islands, have a total coloured population of about 1,600,000. The colonies of this group which have the largest coloured populations are:

Jamaica—Chiefly black, some brown and yellow	625,000
Trinidad—Black and brown	244,000
British Guiana—Black and brown	270,000
	<hr/> 1,139,000

The populations of the West Indies are very various, being made up largely of imported African negroes. In Jamaica these contribute four-fifths of the population. There are also in the islands a considerable number of imported East Indian coolies and some Chinese. The aboriginal races include American Indians of the mainland and Caribs. With these there has been intermixture of Spanish and Portuguese blood, and many mixed types have appeared. The total European population of this group of colonies amounts to upwards of 80,000, to which 15,000 on account of Bermuda may be added.

*Africa*

South } Chiefly black {	5,000,000
Central }	3,000,000

The aboriginal races of South Africa were the Hottentots and Bushmen. The Hottentots are a yellow-skinned race with crisp light hair. The Bushmen, who appear to have been a lower order of the same race, are believed to be the aboriginal type of the Abatwa or pigmy race of Central Africa. Both these races are rapidly diminishing in numbers, and in British South Africa it is expected that they will in the course of the twentieth century become extinct. Besides these primitive races there are the dark-skinned negroids of Bantu stock, commonly known in their tribal groups as Kaffirs, Zulus, Makalakas, Bechuanas, and Damaras, which are again subdivided into many lesser groups. The Bantu compose the greater part of the native population. There are also in South Africa Malays and Indians and others, who during the last two hundred years have been introduced from Java, Ceylon, Madagascar, Mozambique, and British India, and by intermarriage with each other and

with the natives have produced a hybrid population generally classed together under the heading of the Mixed Races. These are of all colours, varying from yellow to dark brown. The tribes of Central Africa are as yet less known. Many of them exhibit racial characteristics allied to those of the tribes of South Africa, but with in some cases an admixture of Arab blood.

### *East Africa*

Protectorate—Black and brown	{ Natives . . . . .	2,485,000
	{ Asiatics . . . . .	15,000
Zanzibar—Black and brown	. . . . .	250,000
Uganda—Estimated in 1899	. . . . .	3,800,000
		<hr/> 6,550,000

### *West Africa*

Nigeria—Black and brown—Estimated in 1900 . . . . .										35,000,000
Lagos	}	Chiefly black	{	.	.	.	.	.	.	8,000,000
Gold Coast				.	.	.	.	.	.	1,500,000
Sierra Leone				.	.	.	.	.	.	260,000
Gambia				.	.	.	.	.	.	14,000
										<hr/> 4,774,000

From east to west across Africa the aboriginal nations are mostly of the black negroid type, their varieties being only imperfectly known. The tendency of some of the lower negroid types has been to drift towards the west coast, where they still practise cannibalistic and fetish rites. On the east coast are found much higher types approaching to the Christian races of Abyssinia, and from east to west there has been a wide admixture of Arab blood producing a light brown type. In Uganda and Nigeria a large proportion of the population is Arab and relatively light-skinned.

### *Australasia*

Australia—Black, very low type	. . . . .	200,000
Chinese and half castes, yellow	. . . . .	50,000
New Zealand—Maoris, brown	. . . . .	40,000
Fiji—Polynesian, black and brown	. . . . .	121,700
New Guinea—Polynesian, black and brown	. . . . .	250,000
		<hr/> 661,700

The native races of Australia and the Polynesian groups of islands are divided into main types known as the dark and light Polynesian. The dark type, which is black, is of a very low order, and in some of the islands still retains its cannibal habits. The aboriginal tribes of Australia are of a low-class black tribe, but generally peaceful and inoffensive in their habits. The white Polynesian races are of a very superior type, and exhibit, as in the Maoris of New Zealand, characteristics of a high order. The natives of New Guinea are in a very low state of civilisation. The estimate given of their numbers is approximate, as no census has been taken.

### *Canada*

Indians—Brown	. . . . .	100,000
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The only coloured native races of Canada are the Red Indians, many in tribal variety, but few in numbers.

*Summary*

## NATIVE POPULATIONS OF PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS OF THE EMPIRE

India . . . . .	294,874,411
Ceylon and Eastern Colonies . . . . .	4,298,974
West Indies . . . . .	1,650,000
South Africa . . . . .	5,000,000
British Central Africa . . . . .	3,000,000
East Africa . . . . .	6,550,000
West Africa . . . . .	40,000,000
Australasia and Islands . . . . .	661,000
Canada . . . . .	100,000
	<hr/>
White populations . . . . .	356,134,885
	<hr/>
Giving a total of . . . . .	52,454,578
	<hr/>
	408,588,963

This is without taking into account the population of the lesser crown colonies or allowing for the increase likely to be shown by a later census. Throughout the empire, and notably in the United Kingdom, there is among the white races a considerable sprinkling of Jewish blood.

The latest calculation of the entire population of the world, including a liberal estimate of 650,000,000 for peoples not brought under any census, gives a total of something over 1,500,000,000. The population of the empire may therefore be calculated as amounting to something more than one-fourth of the population of the world.

## DIVISIONS AND GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE

It is a matter of first importance in the geographical distribution of the empire that the five principal divisions, the United Kingdom, South Africa, India, Australia, and Canada, are separated from each other by the three great oceans of the world. The distance as usually calculated in nautical miles: from an English port to the Cape of Good Hope is 5,840 miles; from the Cape of Good Hope to Bombay is 4,610; from Bombay to Melbourne is 5,630; from Melbourne to Auckland is 1,830; from Auckland to Vancouver 6,210; from Halifax to Liverpool is 2,744. From a British port direct to Bombay by way of the Mediterranean it is 6,272; from a British port by the same route to Sydney 11,548 miles. These great distances have necessitated the acquisition of intermediate ports suitable for coaling stations on the trade routes, and have determined the position of many of the lesser crown colonies, which are held simply for military and commercial purposes. Such are the Bermudas, Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Labuan, Hong-Kong, which complete the chain of connection on the eastern route, and such on other routes are the lesser West African stations — Ascension, St. Helena, the Mauritius, and Seychelles, the Falklands, Tristan d'Acunha, and the groups of the western Pacific. Some of the latest annexations of the British Empire have been rocky islets of the northern Pacific required for the purpose of telegraph stations in connection with an all-British cable.

For purposes of political administration the empire falls into the three sections of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with the dependencies of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man; the Indian Empire, consisting of British India and the feudatory native states; and the colonial empire, comprising all other colonies and dependencies.

In the modern sense of extension beyond the limits of the United Kingdom the growth of the empire is of comparatively recent date. The Channel Islands became British as a part of the Norman inheritance of William the Conqueror. The Isle of Man, which was for a short time held in conquest by Edward I and restored, was sold by its titular sovereign to Sir William Scroop, earl of Wiltshire, in the year 1393, and by his subsequent attainder for high treason and the confiscation of his estates, became a fief of the English crown. It was granted by Henry IV to the earls of Stanley, and held by them and their collateral descendants until the sovereignty and revenues of the island were finally surrendered to the crown in 1765. With these exceptions and the nominal possession taken of Newfoundland by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, all the territorial acquisitions of the empire have been made in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The following list of British colonies and dependencies shows the date and manner of their acquisition:

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Newfoundland . . . .	1583	Possession taken by Sir H. Gilbert for the crown.

### *Seventeenth Century*

St. Helena . . . .	1600	Captured. Settled by East India Company, 1651. Government vested in British crown, 1833.
Barbadoes . . . .	1605	Settlement.
Bermudas . . . .	1609	"
Prince Edward Island . . . .	1626	"
Nova Scotia . . . .	1636	"
New Brunswick . . . .	1636	"
St. Christopher . . . .	1623	"
Nevis . . . .	1628	"
Bahamas . . . .	1629	"
Gambia . . . .	1631	"
Antigua . . . .	1632	"
Leeward Islands . . . .	1632	"
Jamaica . . . .	1655	Conquered.
Gold Coast . . . .	1661	Settlement.
N.-W. Territories of Canada	1670	Settlement under royal charter of Hudson Bay Company. Purchased 1869, and transferred to Canada 1870.

### *Eighteenth Century*

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Gibraltar . . . .	1704	Capitulation.
Ontario . . . .	1759-1790	"
Quebec . . . .	1759-1790	"
Dominica . . . .	1763	"
St. Vincent . . . .	1763	"
Grenada . . . .	1763	"
Windward Islands . . . .	1763	"
Tobago . . . .	1763	"
Falkland Islands . . . .	1765	Settlement.
Honduras . . . .	1783-1786	Treaty.
Sierra Leone . . . .	1787	Settlement.
N. S. Wales . . . .	1788	"
Ceylon . . . .	1795	Capitulation.
Trinidad . . . .	1797	"

### *Nineteenth Century*

Malta . . . .	1800	Capitulation.
British Guiana . . . .	1803	"
St. Lucia . . . .	1803	"

*Nineteenth Century (Continued)*

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Tasmania . . . . .	1803	Settlement.
Cape of Good Hope . . . . .	1806	Capitulation.
Seychelles . . . . .	1806	"
Mauritius . . . . .	1810	"
Ascension and Tristan d'A- cunha . . . . .	1815	Military occupation.
West Australia . . . . .	1829	Settlement.
South Australia . . . . .	1836	"
New Zealand . . . . .	1840	Settlement and treaty.
Hong-Kong . . . . .	1843-1861	Treaties. Kowloon on the mainland added in 1861.
Natal . . . . .	1844	By separation from Cape.
Labuan . . . . .	1846	Cession.
Turks and Caicos Islands . . . . .	1848	Separation from Bahamas.
Victoria . . . . .	1851	Separation from N. S. Wales.
British Columbia . . . . .	1858	Settlement under Hudson Bay Company. Transferred to crown 1869. Entered Canadian Confederation 1871.
Straits Settlements . . . . .	1858	Vested in crown by East India Company. Transferred from Indian to colonial possessions, 1867.
Queensland . . . . .	1859	By separation from N. S. Wales.
Lagos . . . . .	1861	Cession.
Manitoba . . . . .	1870	By separation from N.-W. Territory.
Fiji . . . . .	1874	Cession.
West Pacific Islands, includ- ing Union, Ellice, Gilbert, Southern Solomon, and other groups . . . . .	1877	By international agreement. High commission created by order in council, giving jurisdiction over islands not included in other colonial governments, nor within jurisdiction of other civilised powers. Tonga and Cook Islands annexed to New Zealand 1900.
Cyprus . . . . .	1878	Occupied by treaty.
North Borneo . . . . .	1881	Treaty and settlement under royal charter.
Niger Coast or S. Nigeria . . . . .	1884	Protectorate declared.
British New Guinea . . . . .	1884	" "
Bechuanaland . . . . .	1885	" "
Nigeria . . . . .	1886	Treaty, conquest, and settlement under royal charter. Transferred to crown, incorporated with Niger Coast Protectorate and divided into N. and S. Nigeria, 1900.
Somaliland . . . . .	1887	Protectorate declared.
Sarawak . . . . .	1888	" "
Brunei . . . . .	1888	" "
British East Africa . . . . .	1888	Treaty, conquest, and settlement under royal charter. Transferred to crown 1895.
Rhodesia . . . . .	1889	Treaty, conquest, and settlement under royal charter.
British Central Africa . . . . .	1891	Protectorate declared.
Federated Malay States . . . . .	1874-1895	Treaty.
Uganda . . . . .	1894-1896	Protectorate declared.
Pacific Islands — Christmas, Fanning, Penrhyn, Su- warrow . . . . .	1898	Annexed for purposes of projected Pacific cable.
Wei-hai-Wei . . . . .	1898	Lease from China.
Orange River Colony . . . . .	1900	Annexation.
Transvaal . . . . .	1900	Annexation.

In the Pacific there are, in addition to the possessions already mentioned, Bauman Islands, Bakir Island, Bell Cay, Bird Island, Bramble Cay, Caroline Island, Cato Island, Coral Island and Dudosa, Danger Island, Ducie Island, Flint Island, Howland Island, Humphrey Island, Jarvis Island, Lihow Island, Little Scrub Island, Malden Island, Manihiki Islands, Nassau Island, Palmerston Island, Palmyra Island, Phoenix group of Islands, Pitcairn Island, Purdy group, Raine Island, Rierson Island, Roggewein Island, Soha Island, Starbuck Island, Surprise Island, Teinhoven Island, Vestoe, Wellington or New York Island, Willis group, Wreck Reef, Macquarie Island, Rotuma Island,

and islands adjacent to British New Guinea. Among the dependencies of New Zealand should be mentioned the Kermadec Islands.

In the Indian Ocean there are, besides the colonies already mentioned, Seychelles, Rodrigues, the Chagos Islands, St. Brandon Islands, Amirante Islands, Aldabra and some other small groups. There are also the Kuria-Muria Islands, the Maldivé Islands, and the Ashmore Islands.

In America there is all land which lies to the north of the Canadian provinces, with the exception of the United States territory of Alaska and its dependencies.

The Indian section of the empire was acquired during the same three centuries under a royal charter granted to the East India Company by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. It was transferred to the imperial government in 1858, and Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress under the Royal Titles Act in 1877. The following list gives the dates and methods of acquisition of the centres of the main divisions of the Indian Empire. They have, in most instances, grown by general process of extension to their present dimensions.

The nine provinces are:

Name	Date	Method of Acquisition
Madras . . . .	1639-1748	By treaty and subsequent conquest. Fort St. George, the foundation of Madras, was the first territorial possession of the East India Company in India. It was acquired by treaty with its Indian ruler. Madras was raised into a presidency in 1683; ceded to France 1746; recovered 1748.
Bombay . . . .	1608-1685	Treaty and cession. Trade first established 1608. Ceded to British crown by Portugal 1661. Transferred to East India Company 1668. Presidency removed from Surat 1685.
Bengal . . . .	1633-1765	Treaty and subsequent conquests. First trade settlement established by treaty at Pipili in Orissa 1633. Erected into presidency by separation from Madras 1681. Virtual sovereignty announced by East India Company, as results of conquests of Clive, 1765.
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh	1704-1856	By conquests and treaty, of which the principal dates were 1801-3-14-15. In 1832 the nominal sovereignty of Delhi, till then retained by the great Mughal, was resigned into the hands of the East India Company. Oudh, of which the conquest may be said to have begun with the battle of Baxar in 1768, was finally annexed in 1856. It was attached as a commissionership to the N.-W. Provinces in 1879.
Central Provinces . . . .	1802-1817	By conquest and treaty.
Assam . . . .	1825-1826	Conquest and cession.
Burmah . . . .	1824-1853	Conquest and cession.
Punjab . . . .	1849	Conquest and annexation. Made into distinct province 1859.
N.-W. Frontier Province . .	1901	Subdivision.

The senior commissionerships are:

Ajmere and Merwara . . . .	1818	By conquest and cession.
Coorg . . . .	1834	Conquest and annexation.
British Baluchistan . . . .	1841-1876	Conquest and treaty.
Andaman Islands . . . .	1858	Annexation

The following is a list of the principal Indian states or agencies which are more or less under the control of the British government:

Hyderabad  
Baroda  
Mysore

Kashmir  
Sikkim  
Shan States

Rajputana States, including		
Udaipur		Dholpur
Jodhpur		Alwar
Bikaner		Jhalawar
Jaipur (and feudatories)		Tonk
Bhurtpur		Kotah
Central Indian States, including		
Indore		Bhopal
Rewa		Gwalior
Bombay States, including		
Cutch		Khairpur (Sind)
Kolhapur (and dependencies)		
Madras States, including		
Travancore		Cochin
Central Provinces States		
Bastar		
Bengal States		
Cooch Behar		Hill Tipperah
N.-W. Provinces States, including		
Rampur		Garhwal
Punjab States, including		
Patiala		Sirmur (Nahan)
Bahawalpur		Maler Kotla
Jind		Faridkot
Nabha		Chamba
Kapurthala		Suket
Mandi		Kalsia

In addition to these there are British tracts known as the Upper Burma frontier and the Burma frontier. There is also a sphere of British influence in the border of Afghanistan. The state of Nepal, though independent, has been since the campaign of 1814-15 in close relations with Great Britain. All these native states have come into relative dependency upon Great Britain as a result of conquest or of treaty consequent upon the annexation of the neighbouring provinces. The settlement of Aden, with its dependencies of Perim and Socotra Island, forms part of the government of Bombay.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF THE EMPIRE

This vast congeries of states, widely different in character, and acquired by many different methods, holds together under the supreme headship of the crown on a generally acknowledged triple principle of self-government, self-support, and self-defence. The principle is more fully applied in some parts of the empire than in others; there are some parts which have not yet reached their full political evolution; some others in which the principle is temporarily or for special reasons in abeyance; others, again — chiefly those of very small extent, which are held for purposes of the defence or advantage of the whole — to which it is not applicable; but the principle is generally acknowledged as the structural basis upon which the constitution of the empire exists.

In its relation to the empire the home section of the British Isles is distinguished from the others as the place of origin of the British race and the residence of the crown. The history and constitutional development of this portion of the empire will be found fully treated under separate headings.

The total revenue, expenditure, and trade of the home section of the empire in 1900 were as follows:

Revenue . . . . .	£119,839,905
Expenditure . . . . .	133,976,920
Imports . . . . .	568,146,659
Exports . . . . .	387,522,633

It is enough to say that for purposes of administration the Indian Empire is divided into nine great provinces (of which the ninth, the N.-W. Frontier, was proclaimed in 1901) and four minor commissionerships. The nine great provinces are presided over by two governors (Bombay and Madras), four lieutenant-governors (Bengal, North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma) and three chief commissioners (Assam, the Central Provinces, and the N.-W. Frontier Province). The four minor commissionerships are presided over each by a chief commissioner. Above these the supreme executive authority in India is vested in the viceroy in council. The council consists of five ordinary members besides the existing commander-in-chief. For legislative purposes the governor-general's council is increased by the addition of sixteen members nominated by the crown, and has power under certain restrictions to make laws for British India, for British subjects in the native states, and for native Indian subjects of the crown in any part of the world. The administration of the Indian Empire in England is carried on by a secretary of state for India assisted by a council of not less than ten members. The expenditure of the revenues is under the control of the secretary in council.

The total revenue, expenditure, and trade of India for 1900 were as follows:

Revenue	£87,617,800
Expenditure	64,976,920
Imports	64,185,440
Exports	78,646,690

The colonial empire — exclusive of the Transvaal and Orange River colonies — comprises forty-three district governments. It is divided into colonies of three classes and dependencies; these, again, are in some instances associated for administrative purposes in federated groups. The three classes of colonies are crown colonies, colonies possessing representative institutions but not responsible government, and colonies possessing representative institutions and responsible government. In crown colonies the crown has entire control of legislation, and the public officers are under the control of the home government. In representative colonies the crown has only a veto on legislation, but the home government retains control of the public officers. In responsible colonies the crown retains a veto upon legislation, but the home government has no control of any public officer except the governor.

In crown colonies — with the exception of Gibraltar and St. Helena, where laws may be made by the governor alone — laws are made by the governor with the concurrence of a council nominated by the crown. In some crown colonies, chiefly those acquired by conquest or cession, the authority of this council rests wholly on the crown; in others, chiefly those acquired by settlement, the council is created by the crown under the authority of local or imperial laws. The crown council of Ceylon may be cited as an example of the first kind, and the crown council of Jamaica of the second.

In colonies possessing representative institutions without responsible government, the crown cannot (generally) legislate by order in council, and laws are made by the governor with the concurrence of the legislative body or bodies, one at least of these bodies in cases where a second chamber exists possessing a preponderance of elected representatives. The Bahamas, Barbadoes, and Bermuda have two legislative bodies — one elected and one nominated by the crown; Malta and the Leeward Islands have but one, which is partly elected and partly nominated.

Under responsible government legislation is carried on by parliamentary means exactly as at home, with a cabinet responsible to parliament, the

crown reserving only a right of veto which is exercised at the discretion of the governor in the case of certain bills. The executive councils in those colonies designated as at home by parliamentary choice are appointed by the governor alone, and the other public officers only nominally by the governor on the advice of his executive council.

Colonial governors are classed as governors-general; governors; lieutenant-governors; administrators; high commissioners; and commissioners, according to the status of the colony and dependency, or group of colonies and dependencies over which they preside. Their powers vary according to the position which they occupy. In all cases they represent the authority of the crown.

As a consequence of this organisation the finance of crown colonies is under the direct control of the imperial government; the finance of representative colonies, though not directly controlled, is usually influenced in important departures by the opinion of the imperial government. In responsible colonies the finance is entirely under local control, and the imperial government is dissociated from either moral or material responsibility for colonial debts.

The total revenue, expenditure, and trade of the colonial empire for 1900 were as follows:

Revenue	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	£58,815,700
Expenditure	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	58,583,660
Imports	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	181,846,110
Exports	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	192,830,040

In federated groups of colonies and dependencies matters which are of common interest to a given number of separate governments are by mutual consent of the federating communities adjudged to the authority of a common government, which, in the case of self-governing colonies, is voluntarily created for the purpose. The associated states form under the federal government one federal body, but the parts retain control of local matters, and exercise all their original rights of government in regard to these. The advantages of united action are thus secured for larger questions without impairing the vigour of independent initiative in matters of individual concern. The two great self-governing groups of federated colonies within the empire are the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia. India, of which the associated provinces are under the control of the central government, may be given as an example of the practical federation of dependencies. Examples of federated crown colonies and lesser dependencies are to be found in the Leeward Island group of the West Indies and the federated Malay States.

This rough system of self-government for the empire has been evolved not without some strain and friction, by the recognition through the vicissitudes of three hundred years of the value of independent initiative in the development of young countries. Queen Elizabeth's first patent to Sir Walter Raleigh permitted British subjects to accompany him to America, "with guarantee of a continuance of the enjoyment of all the rights which her subjects enjoyed at home."

This guarantee may presumably have been intended at the time only to assure the intending settlers that they should lose no rights of British citizenship at home by taking up their residence in America. Its mutual interpretation in a wider sense, serving at once to establish in the colony rights of citizenship equivalent to those enjoyed in England, and to preserve for the colonist the status of British subject at home and abroad, has formed in

application to all succeeding systems of British colonization the unconscious charter of union of the empire.

The first American colonies were all settled under royal grants. Each had its own constitution, and looked to no other head but the king. Their governments were free — the executive being responsible to the elective element in the legislature, as now in the colonies which enjoy responsible self-government. The immense distance which in those days separated America from Great Britain secured them from interference on the part of the home authorities. They paid their own most moderate governing expenses, and they contributed largely to their own defence. From the middle of the seventeenth century their trade was not free, but this was the only restriction from which they suffered. The great war with France in the middle of the eighteenth century temporarily destroyed this system. That war, which resulted in the conquest of Canada and the delivery of the North American colonies from French antagonism, cost the imperial exchequer £90,000,000. The attempt to avert the repetition of such expenditure by the assertion of a right to tax the colonies through the British parliament led to the one great rupture which has marked the history of the empire. It has to be noted that at home during the latter half of the seventeenth century and the earlier part of the eighteenth century parliamentary power had to a great extent taken the place of the divine right of kings. But parliamentary power meant the power of the English people and taxpayers. The struggle which developed itself between the American colonies and the British parliament, was in fact a struggle on the part of the people and taxpayers of one portion of the empire to resist the domination of the people and taxpayers of another portion. In this light it may be accepted as having historically established the fundamental axiom of the constitution of the empire, that the crown is the supreme head from which the parts take equal dependence.

The crown requiring advice in the ordinary and constitutional manner receives it in matters of colonial administration from the secretaries of state for the colonies and for India. After the great rupture separate provision in the home government for the administration of colonial affairs was at first judged to be unnecessary, and the "council of trade and plantations," which up to that date had supplied the place now taken by the two offices of the colonies and India, was suppressed in 1782. There was a reaction from the liberal system of colonial self-government, and an attempt was made to govern the colonies which remained, simply as dependencies, the home treasury being responsible for their expenditure as now in the crown colonies.

In 1791, not long after the extension of the range of parliamentary authority in another portion of the empire, by the creation in 1784 of the board of control for India, Pitt made the step forward of granting to Canada representative institutions, of which the home government kept the responsible control. Similar institutions were also given at a later period to Australia and South Africa. But the long peace of the early part of the nineteenth century was marked by great colonial developments; Australia, Canada, and South Africa became important communities. Representative institutions controlled by the home government were insufficient for their needs, and they reasserted the old British colonial claim for liberty to manage their own affairs.

Fully responsible government was granted to Canada in 1840, and gradually extended to the other colonies. In 1854 a separate secretary of state for the colonies was appointed at home, and the colonial office was established on its present footing. In India, as in the colonies, there came with the growing needs of empire a recognition of the true relations of the parts to each other

and of the whole to the crown. In 1858, on the complete transference of the territories of the East India Company to the crown, the board of control was abolished, and the India council, under the presidency of a secretary of state for India, was created. It was especially provided that the members of the council may not sit in parliament.

Thus, although it has not been found practicable in the working of the British constitution to carry out the full theory of the direct and exclusive dependence of colonial possessions on the crown, the theory is recognised as far as possible. It is understood that the principal sections of the empire enjoy equal rights under the crown, and that none are subordinate to each other. The intervention of the imperial parliament in colonial affairs is only admitted theoretically in so far as the support of parliament is required by the constitutional advisers of the crown. To bring the practice of the empire into complete harmony with the theory it would be necessary to constitute for the purpose of advising the crown upon imperial affairs, a parliament or council in which all important parts of the empire should be represented.

The gradual recognition of the constitutional theory of the British Empire, and the assumption by the principal colonies of full self-governing responsibilities, has cleared the way for a movement in favour of a further development which should bring the supreme headship of the empire more into accord with modern ideas.

It was during the period of domination of the "Manchester school," of which the most effective influence in public affairs was exerted for about thirty years, extending from 1845 to 1875, that the fullest development of colonial self-government was attained, the view being generally accepted at that time that self-governing institutions were to be regarded as the preliminary to inevitable separation. A general inclination to withdraw from the acceptance of imperial responsibilities throughout the world gave to foreign nations at the same time an opportunity by which they were not slow to profit and contributed to the force of a reaction of which the part played by Great Britain in the scramble for Africa marked the culmination. Under the increasing pressure of foreign enterprise, the value of a federation of the empire for purposes of common interest began to be discussed. Imperial federation was openly spoken of in New Zealand as early as 1852. A similar suggestion was officially put forward by the general association of the Australian colonies in London in 1857. The Royal Colonial Institution, of which the motto "United Empire" illustrates its aims, was founded in 1868.

First among leading British statesmen to repudiate the old interpretation of colonial self-government as a preliminary to separation, Lord Beaconsfield, in 1872, spoke of the constitutions accorded to the colonies as "part of a great policy of imperial consolidation." In 1875 Mr. W. E. Forster, afterwards a member of the liberal government, made a speech in which he advocated imperial federation as a means by which it might become practicable to "replace dependence by association." The foundation of the Imperial Federation League — in 1884, with Mr. Forster for its first president, shortly to be succeeded by Lord Rosebery — marked a distinct step forward. The colonial conferences of 1887 and 1894, in which colonial opinion was sought and accepted in respect of important questions of imperial organisation and defence, and the enthusiastic loyalty displayed by the colonies towards the Crown on the occasion of the jubilee manifestations of Queen Victoria's reign, were further indications of progress in the same direction. Coincidentally with this development, the achievements of Sir George Goldie and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who, the one in West Africa, and the other in South Africa, added between

them to the empire in a space of less than twenty years a dominion of greater extent than the whole of British India, followed by the action of a host of distinguished disciples in other parts of the world, effectually stemmed the movement initiated by Cobden and Bright. A tendency which had seemed temporarily to point towards a complacent dissolution of the empire was arrested, and the closing years of the nineteenth century were marked by a growing disposition to appreciate the value and importance of the unique position which the British Empire has created for itself in the world. No stronger demonstration of the reality of imperial union can be needed than that which was afforded by the support given to the imperial forces by the colonies and India in the South African War. It remains only to be seen by what process of evolution the further consolidation of the empire will find expression in the machinery of government.

The question of self-government is closely associated with the question of self-support. Plenty of good land and the liberty to manage their own affairs were the causes assigned by Adam Smith for the marked prosperity of the British colonies towards the end of the eighteenth century. The same causes are still to be observed to produce the same effects, and it may be pointed out that since the date of the latest of Adam Smith's writings, upwards of 6,000,000 square miles of virgin soil, rich with possibilities of agricultural, pastoral, and mineral wealth, have been added to the empire. In the same period the white population has grown from about 12,000,000 to 52,000,000, and the developments of agricultural and industrial machinery have multiplied, almost beyond computation, the powers of productive labour.

#### INDUSTRY AND TRADE

It is scarcely possible within this article to deal with so widely varied a subject as that of the productions and industry of the empire. For the purposes of a general statement, it is interesting to observe that concurrently with the acquisition of the vast continental areas during the nineteenth century, the progress of industrial science in application to means of transport and communication brought about a revolution of the most radical character in the accepted laws of economic development. Railways did away with the old law that the spread of civilisation is necessarily governed by facilities for water carriage and is consequently confined to river valleys and sea-shores. Steam and electricity opened to industry the interior of continents previously regarded as unapproachable. The resources of these vast inland spaces which have lain untouched since history began became available to individual enterprise, and over a great portion of the earth's surface were brought within the possessions of the British Empire. The production of raw material within the empire increased at a rate which can only be appreciated by a careful study of figures.

The tropical and temperate possessions of the empire include every field of production which can be required for the use of man. There is no main staple of human food which is not grown; there is no material of textile industry which is not produced. The British Empire gives occupation to more than one-third of the persons employed in mining and quarrying in the world. It may be interesting, as an indication of the relative position in this respect of the British Empire to the world, to state that at present it produces one-third of the coal supply of the world, one-sixth of the wheat supply, and very nearly two-thirds of the gold supply. But while these figures may be taken

as in themselves satisfactory, it is far more important to remember that as yet the potential resources of the new lands opened to enterprise have been barely conceived, and their wealth has been little more than scratched. Population as yet has been only very sparsely sprinkled over the surface of many of the areas most suitable for white settlement. In the wheat lands of Canada, the pastoral country of Australasia, and the mineral fields of South Africa and western Canada alone, the undeveloped resources are such as to ensure employment to the labour and satisfaction to the needs of at least as many millions as they now contain thousands of the British race. In respect of this promise of the future the position of the British Empire is unique.

In regard to the distribution of existing industry, although the more important colonies have established manufactures of their own, of which the prosperity is assured, the general conditions have hitherto been maintained under which Great Britain has remained the manufacturing centre for the raw material of the whole. The primary production of the colonies and the industrial development of Great Britain are still, therefore, the important divisions of the subject. These subjects are dealt with elsewhere in detail.

It is not too much to say that trade has been at once the most active cause of expansion and the most potent bond of union in the development of the empire. Trade with the tropical and settlement in the temperate regions of the world formed the basis upon which the foundations of the empire were laid. Trading companies founded most of the American and West Indian colonies; a trading company won India; a trading company colonised the northwestern districts of Canada; commercial wars during the greater part of the eighteenth century established the British command of the sea, which rendered the settlement of Australasia possible. The same wars gave Great Britain, South Africa, and chartered companies in the nineteenth century carried the British flag into the interior of the African continent from south and east and west. Trading companies produced Borneo and Fiji. The bonds of prosperous trade have kept the Australasian colonies within the empire. The protection of colonial commerce by the imperial navy is one of the strongest of material links which connect the crown with the outlying possessions of the empire.

The trade of the empire, like the other developments of imperial public life, has been profoundly influenced by the variety of local conditions under which it has flourished. In the early settlement of the North American colonies their trade was left practically free; but by the famous Navigation Act of 1660 the importation and exportation of goods from British colonies were restricted to British ships, of which the master and three-fourths of the mariners were English. This act, of which the intention was to encourage British shipping and to keep the monopoly of British colonial trade for the benefit of British merchants, was followed by many others of a similar nature up to the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the introduction of free trade into Great Britain. And the Navigation Acts were repealed in 1849. Thus for very nearly two hundred years British trade was subject to restrictions, of which the avowed intention was to curtail the commercial intercourse of the empire with the world. During this period the commercial or mercantile system, of which the fallacies were exposed by the economists of the latter half of the eighteenth century, continued to govern the principles of British trade. Under this system monopolies were common, and among them few were more important than that of the East India Company.

In 1813 the trade of India was, however, thrown open to competition, and in 1846, after the introduction of free trade at home, the principal British colonies which had not yet at that date received the grant of responsible gov-

ernment were specially empowered to abolish differential duties upon foreign trade. A first result of the commercial emancipation of the colonies was the not altogether unnatural rise in the manufacturing centres of a school known as the Manchester school, which was disposed to question the value to Great Britain of the retention of colonies which were no longer bound to give her the monopoly of their commercial markets. An equally natural desire on the part of the larger colonies to profit by the opportunity which was opened to them of establishing local manufactures of their own, combined with the convenience in new countries of using the customs as an instrument of taxation, led to something like a reciprocal feeling of resentment, and there followed a period during which the policy of Great Britain was to show no consideration for colonial trade, and the policy of the principal colonies was to impose heavy duties upon British trade. By a gradual process of better understanding, largely helped by the development of means of communication, the antagonistic extreme was abandoned, and a tendency towards a system of preferential duties within the empire displayed itself. At the colonial conference held in London in 1887, a proposal was formally submitted by the South African delegate for the establishment within the empire of a preferential system, imposing a duty of 2 per cent. upon all foreign goods, the proceeds to be directed to the maintenance of the imperial navy. To this end it was requested that certain treaties with foreign nations which imposed restrictions on the trade of various parts of the empire with each other should be denounced. Some years later the treaties in question were denounced, but simultaneously with the movement in favour of reciprocal fiscal advantages to be granted within the empire by the many local governments to each other, there was a growth of the perception that an increase of the foreign trade of Great Britain, which is carried on chiefly in manufactured goods, was accompanied by a corresponding enlargement of the home markets for colonial raw material, and consequently that injury to the foreign trade of Great Britain must necessarily react upon the colonies. This view was definitely expressed at the colonial conference at Ottawa in 1894, and made itself felt in the relinquishment of the demand that in return for colonial concessions there should be an imposition on the part of Great Britain of a differential duty upon foreign goods. Canada was the first important British colony to give substantial expression to the new imperial sentiment in commercial matters by the introduction in 1897 of an imperial tariff, granting without any reciprocal advantage a deduction of 25 per cent. upon customs duties imposed upon British goods. The same advantage is offered to all British colonies trading with her upon equal terms. Although in Great Britain trade is free, and customs duties are only imposed for purposes of revenue on a few selected articles, about half the national income is derived from customs and excise. In most of the colonies customs form of necessity one of the important sources of revenue. It is, however, worthy of remark that in the self-governing colonies, even those which are avowedly protectionist, a smaller proportion of the public revenue is derived from customs and excise than is derived from these sources at home. The proportion in Australasia before federation was about one-quarter. In Canada it is more difficult to estimate it, as customs and excise form the principal provision made for federal finance, and note must therefore be taken of the separate sources of revenue in the provinces. With these reservations it will still be seen that customs, or, in other words, a tax upon the movements of trade, forms one of the chief sources of imperial revenue.

The development of steam shipping and electricity gave to the movements

of trade a stimulus no less remarkable than that given by the introduction of railroads and industrial machinery to production and manufactures. Whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century the journey to Australia occupied eight months, and business communications between Sydney and London could not receive answers within the year, the journey can now be accomplished in thirty-one days, and telegraphic despatches enable the most important business to be transacted within twenty-four hours. For one cargo carried in the year at the beginning of the nineteenth century at least six may now be carried by the same ship, and from the point of view of trade the difference of a venture which realises its profits in two months, as compared with one which occupied a whole year, does not need to be insisted on. The increased rapidity of the voyage and the power of daily communication by telegraph with the most distant markets have introduced a wholly new element into the national trade of the empire, and commercial intercourse between the southern and the northern hemispheres has received a development from the natural alternation of the seasons, of which until quite recent years the value was not even conceived. Fruit, eggs, butter, meat, poultry, and other perishable commodities pass in daily increasing quantities between the northern and the southern hemispheres with an alternate flow which contributes to raise in no inconsiderable degree the volume of profitable trade. Thus the butter season of Australasia is from October to March, while the butter season of Ireland and Northern Europe is from March to October. In three years after the introduction of ice-chambers into the steamers of the great shipping lines, Victoria and New South Wales built up a yearly butter trade of £1,000,000 with Great Britain without seriously affecting the Irish and Danish markets whence the summer supply is drawn. These facilities, combined with the enormous additions made to the public stock of land and labour, contributed to raise the volume of trade of the empire from a total of less than £100,000,000 in the year 1800 to a total of nearly £1,500,000,000 in 1900. The declared volume of British exports to all parts of the world in 1800 was £38,120,120, and the value of British imports from all parts of the world was £30,570,605; total, £68,690,725. As in those days the colonies were not allowed to trade with any other country this must be taken as representing imperial trade. The exact figures of the trade of India, the colonies, and the United Kingdom for 1900 were: imports, £809,178,209; exports, £657,899,363; total, £1,467,077,572.

#### DEFENCE OF THE EMPIRE

A question of sovereign importance to the continued existence of the empire is the question of defence. A country of which the main thoroughfares are the oceans of the world demands in the first instance a strong navy. It has of late years been accepted as a fundamental axiom of defence that the British navy should exceed in strength any reasonable combination of foreign navies which could be brought against it. The expense of maintaining such a floating armament is colossal, and until within the decade of 1890-1900 it was borne exclusively by the taxpayers of the United Kingdoms. As the benefits of united empire have become more consciously appreciated in the colonies, and the value of the fleet as an insurance for British commerce has been recognised, a desire manifested itself on the part of the self-governing colonies to contribute towards the formation of a truly imperial navy. As yet the movement remains in its infancy. In 1895 the Australasian colonies voted a small subsidy of £126,000 per annum for the maintenance of an Australasian

squadron, and in 1897 the Cape Colony also offered a contribution of £30,000 a year to be used at the discretion of the imperial government for naval purposes. The colonies have also contributed in some degree to their own naval defence by the erection of fortifications at selected points upon their shores. The net cost of the navy to the imperial exchequer, as estimated for the year 1900-1901 was £27,522,600. Though available for service throughout the empire, and forming the principal bulwark of colonial defence, the cost, with the trivial exceptions named, is still borne exclusively by the home government, and recruiting for the navy is carried on wholly in the British Isles.

Land defence has hitherto been regarded as forming a secondary branch of the great question of imperial defence. But though secondary it has been intimately connected with the development and internal growth of the empire. In the case of the first settlement of the American colonies they were expected to provide for their own land defence. To some extent in the early part of their career they carried out this expectation, and even on occasion, as in the taking of Louisburg, which was subsequently given back at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle as the price of the French evacuation of Madras, rendered public service to the empire at large. In India the principle of local self-defence was from the beginning carried into practice by the East India Company. But in America the claim of the French wars proved too heavy for local resources. In 1755 Great Britain intervened with troops sent from home under General Braddock, and up to the outbreak of the American war the cost of the defence of the North American colonies was borne by the imperial exchequer. To meet this expense the imperial parliament took upon itself the right to tax the American colonies. In 1765 a Quartering Act was passed by which 10,000 imperial troops were quartered in the colonies. As a result of the American war which followed and led to the loss of the colonies affected, the imperial authorities accepted the charge of the land defences of the empire, and with the exception of India and the Hudson Bay territories, where the trading companies determined to pay their own expenses, the whole cost of imperial defence was borne as the cost of the navy still is, by the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. This condition of affairs lasted till the end of the Napoleonic wars.

During the thirty years' peace which followed there came time for reconsideration. The fiscal changes which towards the middle of the nineteenth century gave to the self-governing colonies the command of their own resources very naturally carried with them the consequence that a call should be made on colonial exchequers to provide for their own governing expenses. Of these defence is obviously one of the most essential. Coincidentally, therefore, with the movements of free trade at home, the renunciation of what was known as the mercantile system and the accompanying grants of constitutional freedom to the colonies, a movement for the reorganisation of imperial defence was set on foot. In the decade which elapsed between 1846 and 1856 the movement as regards the colonies was confined chiefly to calls made upon them to contribute to their own defence by providing barracks, fortifications, etc., for the accommodation of imperial troops, and in some cases paying for the use of troops not strictly required for imperial purposes. In 1857 the Australian colonies agreed to pay the expenses of the imperial garrison quartered in Australia. This was a very wide step from the imperial attempt to tax the American colonies for a similar purpose in the preceding century. Nevertheless, in evidence given before a departmental committee in 1859, it was shown that at that time the colonies of Great Britain were free from almost every obligation of contributing either by personal service or money

payment towards their own defence, and that the cost of military expenditure in the colonies in the preceding year had amounted in round figures to £4,000,000. A committee of the house of commons sat in 1861 to consider the question, and in 1862 it was resolved without a division, that "colonies exercising the right of self-government ought to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security, and ought to assist in their own external defence." The decision was accepted as the basis of imperial policy.

The first effect was the gradual withdrawing of imperial troops from the self-governing colonies, together with the encouragement of the development of local military systems by the loan, when desired, of imperial military experts. A call was also made for larger military contributions from some of the crown colonies. The committee of 1859 had emphasised in its report the fact that the principal dependence of the colonies for defence is necessarily upon the British navy, and in 1865, exactly 100 years after the Quartering Act, which had been the cause of the troubles that led to the independence of the United States, a Colonial Naval Defence Act was passed which gave power to the colonies to provide ships of war, steamers, and volunteers for their own defence, and in case of necessity to place them at the disposal of the crown. In 1868 the Canadian Militia Act gave the fully organised nucleus of a local army to Canada. In the same year the imperial troops were withdrawn from New Zealand, leaving the colonial militia to deal with the native war still in progress. In 1870 the last imperial troops were withdrawn from Australia, and in 1873 it was officially announced that military expenditure in the colonies was almost "wholly for imperial purposes." In 1875 an imperial officer went to Australia to report for the Australian government upon Australian defence. The appointment in 1879 of a royal commission to consider the question of imperial defence, which presented its report in 1882, led to a considerable development and reorganisation of the system of imperial fortifications. Coaling stations were also selected with reference to the trade routes. In 1885 rumours of war roused a very strong feeling in connection with the still unfinished and in many cases unarmed condition of the fortifications recommended by the commission of 1879. Military activity was stimulated throughout the empire, and the Colonial Defence Committee was created to supply a much-felt need for organised direction and advice to colonial administrations acting necessarily in independence of each other. The question of colonial defence was among the most important of the subjects discussed at the colonial conference held in London in 1887, and it was at this conference that the Australasian colonies first agreed to contribute to the expense of their own naval defence.

From this date the principle of local responsibility for self-defence has been fully accepted. With the exception of Natal all the self-governing colonies have provided practically for their own military requirements. India has its own native army, and pays for the maintenance within its frontiers of an imperial garrison. Early in the summer of 1899, when hostilities in South Africa appeared to be imminent, the government of the principal colonies took occasion to express their approval of the policy pursued by the imperial government, and offers were made by the governments of India, the Australasian colonies, Canada, Hong-Kong, the Federal Malay states, some of the West African and other colonies, to send contingents for active service in the event of war. On the outbreak of hostilities these offers, on the part of the self-governing colonies, were accepted, and colonial contingents upwards of thirty thousand strong were among the most efficient sections of the British

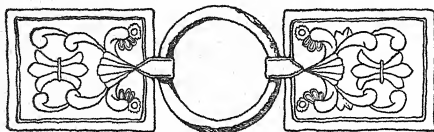
fighting force. The manner in which these colonial contingents were raised, their admirable fighting qualities, and the service rendered by them in the field, have disclosed altogether new military possibilities within the empire, and the reorganisation of the army on an imperial footing is among the more probable developments of the near future.

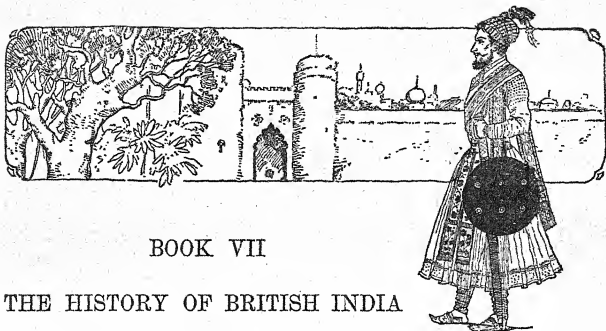
The feudatory and dependent native states have native armies of their own which, according to the latest available estimates, number about 350,000 men, with upwards of 4,000 guns. Offers of military service in South Africa in 1900 were received from some of the principal feudatory states.

Special expenditure has been made by the Indian government upon coast defences armed with modern breechloading guns. Large sums have also been spent upon external and border defences, and an establishment of two coast-defence ironclads, a despatch vessel, two first-class torpedo gunboats, seven first-class torpedo boats, as well as armed gunboats, etc., is maintained.

With the exceptions of Natal and the garrisons of the naval stations of Cape Town and Halifax, no imperial garrisons are under normal conditions maintained in the self-governing colonies. In the crown colonies garrisons are maintained in Gibraltar, Malta, Mauritius, Sierra Leone, St. Helena, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, and the West Indies. There are imperial naval stations at Simon's Bay, Trincomalee, Bermuda, Esquimalt, Halifax, Malta, Gibraltar, St. Lucia, Ascension, Hong-Kong, and Wei-hai-Wei.

Systems of justice throughout the empire have a close resemblance to each other, and the privy council of the house of lords, on which the self-governing colonies and India are represented, constitutes a supreme court of appeal for the entire empire; but common law varies according to its origin in some important divisions. Religion, of which the forms are infinitely varied is everywhere free except in cases where the exercise of religious rites leads to practices foreign to accepted laws of humanity. Systems of instruction of which the aim is generally similar in the white portions of the empire, and is directed towards giving to every individual the basis of a liberal education, are governed wholly by local requirements. Native schools are established in all settled communities under British rule.





## BOOK VII

# THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

## CHAPTER I

### THE MOHAMMEDAN AND THE MUGHAL EMPIRES

[664-1857 A.D.]

MODERN critics have remarked with surprise how well the descriptions of India given by the officers of Alexander the Great portray what we now behold in that country at the distance of two thousand years. The delicate and slender forms of the people; their dark complexion; their black, uncurled hair; their cotton raiment; their vegetable food; their training of elephants to battle; their division into separate castes; the prohibition of intermarriage from one caste to another; the name of Brachmani or Brahmans to their priests; the custom of widows burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands — these and several other particulars which Arrian has recorded apply to the modern quite as perfectly as to the ancient Hindus.

The progress of Alexander in India itself did not extend beyond the district of the Punjab, and the navigation of the Indus between that district and the sea. But on Afghanistan he made a more lasting impression; a dynasty which he founded in that country is proved by its coins to have subsisted during several generations; and a monument which he raised even now remains. When, in May, 1842, a melancholy train of captives, the survivors of the greatest military disaster that England had ever yet to mourn, were slowly wending up the mountain passes of Kabul, they beheld, towering high above them, the column of the Macedonian conqueror.

Many ages after Alexander's expedition, the tide of Mohammedan invasion, which had already overwhelmed the kingdom of Persia, approached the shores of the Indus and the Ganges. The gentle, unwarlike Hindus were ill fitted to withstand the enthusiasm of a new religion, and the energy of a fiercer race. But it is remarkable that, widely as the disciples of the Koran spread in India, there was never, as in like cases, any amalgamation between the conquered and the conquerors — between the old faith and the new. Although the Mohammedans have succeeded in converting almost every man

of almost every other nation that they conquered, and although in India they formed the sovereign and controlling power in so many states and for so many years, yet they do not now exceed, and never have exceeded, one-fifth of the whole Indian population.<sup>b</sup>

THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUEST (664-1001); MAHMUD OF GHAZNI (997-1026 A.D.)

In volume II we have traced the history of India down to the Mohammedan era, and described the cults of Brahma and Buddha. The first Mussulman invasions of India go back as far as the seventh century [the first in 664; the second in 711, under Muhammed Khasim]. They were successful incursions; but they were not followed by lasting settlements. [In 750 the Hindus revolted and expelled the Mohammedans.] It was only at the beginning of the eleventh century that the serious conquest of India was begun under the leadership of Mahmud of Ghazni.

Mahmud was the descendant of a Turkish adventurer who had created for himself an independent principality in the mountainous district of Ghazni, a town situated in Afghanistan, to the south of Kabul. When he appeared in India, the northwest of the peninsula was divided between several Rajput princes who, in a greater or less degree, acknowledged the supremacy of the rajah of Delhi. The rajah of Kanauj, as a descendant of Rama, was lord over the principalities of Oudh and of the Ganges valley. Bengal and Behar obeyed the Pal dynasty and Malwa was governed by the successors of Vikramaditya.

Mahmud of Ghazni did not establish his supremacy without difficulty. The Rajputs, notably the king of Lahore, offered a most desperate resistance. It required no less than seventeen expeditions, between the years 1001 and 1026 to subdue the north of the peninsula. He carried his arms as far as Guzerat, where he pillaged the temple of Somnath, but he retained lasting possession only of the Punjab. The Rajputs remained practically independent, and later on, when the successors of Mahmud extended the Mussulman conquests, they emigrated into the mountainous regions of Rajputana, to which access was difficult and where they founded states, that, even under the Mughals [or Moguls] were never really subdued. Several Rajput dynasties still continue to reign.

Mahmud's conquest was as much religious as political. He was a Mussulman by conviction, desirous to enforce the law of the prophet. He everywhere gave himself out as the propagator of the religion and of the civilisation of the Arabs, and the caliph of Baghdad bestowed on him the title, Protector of the True Believers. When Mahmud penetrated into India, that country was of an incomparable opulence. The oriental historians and Mahmud himself have no terms strong enough to express their admiration. When he entered Muttra, in 1019, Mahmud was amazed at the splendour displayed on all sides. This is what he wrote on the subject:

"This marvellous city," he said, "encloses more than a thousand structures, the greater number in marble and as firmly established as the faith of the true believers. If we reckon the money which all these monuments must have cost, it will not be too much to estimate it at several millions of dinars, and moreover it must be said that such a city could not be built even in two centuries. In the pagan temples my soldiers found five idols of gold, whose eyes were formed of rubies of the value of 50,000 dinars; another idol wore as an ornament a sapphire, weighing 400 miskals, and the image itself,

[1026-1398 A.D.]

when melted, yielded 98 miskals of pure gold. We found besides a hundred silver idols, representing as many camel loads."

Mahmud encountered the same wonders in all the cities he passed through. On the expedition which he made in 1024, chiefly for the purpose of destroying the temple of Somnath in Guzerat, Mahmud found a wonderful temple whose fifty-six pillars were covered with plates of gold and had precious stones scattered all about them; thousands of statues of gold and silver surrounded the sanctuary. The successors of Mahmud were no less surprised at the wealth and marvels which they encountered everywhere in India. At Benares, Mahmud of Ghor destroyed the idols of a thousand temples and loaded four thousand camels with the booty seized.

#### THE AFGHAN DYNASTY OF GHOR; THE SLAVE KINGS, ALA-UD-DIN, FIROZ, AND TUGHLAK

The first Afghan dynasty, founded by Mahmud of Ghazni, reigned from 996 to 1186 at Ghazni and Lahore. In 1186 it was overthrown by Mahmud of Ghor [or Ghur], founder of a second Afghan dynasty. He began his conquest by following a very simple method which was employed with success by all subsequent conquerors, including the English. It consisted of intervening in the quarrels of the native princes and of profiting by their rivalries, first to enfeeble them, and afterwards to take possession of their kingdoms. Having intervened as an ally in a quarrel which divided the kings of Delhi and Kanauj, he united these two kingdoms and formed a vast empire, having for borders Benares on the east and Gwalior and Guzerat on the south; the seat of the government was Delhi.

After the death of Mahmud, one of his viceroys, Kutub-ud-din [or Kutab], made himself independent and became the chief of a dynasty, Afghan by origin and known as that of the Slave Kings. This dynasty reigned from 1206 to 1290. It was this prince who founded the famous tower of the Kutab at Delhi. The most celebrated sovereign of this dynasty was the emperor Altamsh, whose magnificent mausoleum is one of the most remarkable monuments of Delhi. He reigned from 1211 to 1236 and had several times to contend with the incursions of the Mughals and the revolts of the native tribes. The dynasty of Ghor was soon replaced by another dynasty, of which Ala-ud-din was one of the most notable princes (1294-1316). He considerably extended the Mussulman conquests and had the same taste for architecture as his predecessors. The famous sculptured gate at Delhi which bears his name is the proof of this. Unfortunately for the new dynasty, the Mughals enrolled in the imperial army became more and more dangerous. The chief of these mercenaries soon founded a fifth Afghan dynasty (1320 to 1414), of which Firoz and Tughlak were the most remarkable princes. They also distinguished themselves by the impulse they gave to architecture. Elphinstone<sup>e</sup> calls Tughlak "one of the most accomplished princes and one of the most furious tyrants that ever adorned or disgraced human nature."

#### THE MUGHAL INVADERS: TIMUR (1398 A.D.) AND BABER (1525 A.D.)

It was in 1398, in the reign of this last prince, that the Mughal Timur, or Tamerlane, invaded India. He pillaged Delhi, but merely crossed the peninsula like a storm and soon regained his own country. During the struggles which the sovereigns of Delhi had to sustain, the governors of the provinces

attempted to make themselves independent; in this several of them succeeded and founded different kingdoms, whose capitals rivalled each other in splendour and were adorned with monuments that still subsist in great numbers.

After Timur's invasion the anarchy was complete. The governors of the Mussulman provinces, having become independent, tried to make themselves masters of Delhi. In 1450 the Lodi, who were governors of Lahore, managed to seize it and founded a new Afghan dynasty — the seventh. In 1517 they were still reigning there.

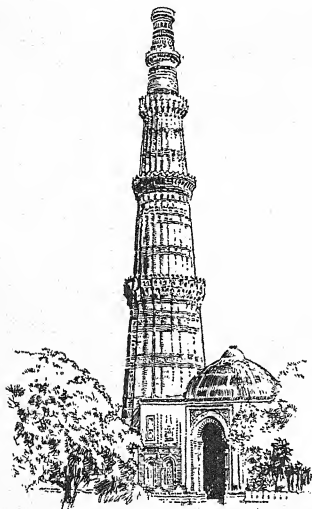
At this period a new governor of Lahore, who had complied with tradition by endeavouring to make himself independent, finding that he was pursued by Ibrahim Lodi who wished to make him return to his obedience, called to his aid a Mughal king of Kabul, Zehir-ud-din, surnamed Baber, or the Tiger, who was a descendant of Timur and Jenghiz Khan.<sup>c</sup>

In 1525 Baber invaded India, won the victory of Panipat over Ibrahim the last of the Lodi dynasty, and founded the Mughal Empire, which lasted, at least in name, until 1857.<sup>d</sup> Ibrahim was killed, and the Indian army, having been nearly surrounded during the battle, suffered prodigious loss in the defeat. Baber judged from observation that fifteen thousand lay dead on the field, of whom five thousand lay in one spot around their king. The Indians reported that not less than forty thousand perished in the battle and pursuit. Delhi was surrendered, and Baber advanced and took possession (May 10th) of Agra, which had lately been the royal residence.

Baber's conduct to the places where he met with resistance was as inhuman as that of Timur, who was naturally his model. The smallness

of his force was some justification of the means he took to strike a terror; but the invariable practice of his country is the best palliation for him.<sup>e</sup>

Baber's own *Memoirs*, which are still preserved, relate in detail the exploits by which he overcame the arts by which he circumvented his numerous opponents.<sup>b</sup> They contain a minute account of the life of a great Tatar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of extreme frankness and candour. His mind was as active as his body: besides the business of the kingdom, he was constantly taken up with aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, as well as introducing new fruits and other productions of



KUTAB MINAR, OLD DELHI

(Erected by the Mussulmans to commemorate their victory over the Rajputs in 1193)

[1530-1545 A.D.]

remote countries. Yet he found time to compose many elegant Persian poems and a collection of Turki compositions, which are mentioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his own country.<sup>e</sup> Baber died in 1530, when on the point of carrying his arms beyond Behar. But his schemes of conquest were fulfilled or exceeded by his successors, each of whom became known in Europe by the title, Great Mogul (Mughal).<sup>b</sup>

Humayun, eldest son of Baber, succeeded to the throne of his father, but was not long suffered to enjoy it in peace. His brother Kamran, in the government of Kabul, formed a resolution of seizing upon the Punjab; and Humayun was fain to confer upon him the government of all the country from the Indus to Persia, on condition of his holding it as a dependency. A conspiracy was formed in favour of Muhammed, a prince of the race of Timur; and Bahadur, king of Guzerat, was excited to hostilities by the protection Humayun afforded to the Rana of Chitor. Bahadur was unequal to his enterprise; the war against him was pushed with activity and vigour, and he lost entirely the kingdom of Guzerat. From Guzerat Humayun marched to the eastern provinces, and reduced Chunar. Having gained the passes he then entered Bengal, the government of which had recently been usurped, and its sovereign expelled by Shir the Afghan regent of Behar. After a negotiation, it was agreed that the government of Behar and Bengal should be conferred upon Shir, on his paying a slight tribute in acknowledgment of dependence. The chance of finding the camp of the emperor unguarded, under the negligence inspired by the prospect of peace, was one among the motives which led Shir to open the negotiation. The perfidy succeeded; and Humayun, having lost his army, was constrained to fly. He fled from one place to another, subject at times to the greatest hardships; and was at last obliged to quit the kingdom, and seek an asylum in Persia, where he was hospitably and honourably entertained. His misfortunes excited the compassion of a favourite sister of the king, and of several of his councillors. At their instigation an army of ten thousand horse was intrusted to Humayun [by means of which he eventually succeeded in recovering his father's dominions of Kabul, Kandahar, and Badakshan].

Immediately after his victory, Shir assumed the imperial title Shah, and exerted himself with great activity in reducing the provinces to his obedience.<sup>f</sup> Shir Shah is hardly treated with justice by the usual historian, according to W. Crooke,<sup>1</sup> who credits him with forestalling many of Akbar's broad ideals. Keene<sup>m</sup> says that "No government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan." He was killed accidentally by an explosion during a siege in 1545; his son Islam Shah proved a cruel monarch who undid his father's work in the course of a nine years' reign and led the way to Humayun's restoration.<sup>a</sup>

Though now in possession of part of his ancient dominions, though aware of the distraction which prevailed in the rest, and invited by the inhabitants of Agra and Delhi, Humayun paused at the thought of invading Hindustan. At first he was able to raise an army of only fifteen thousand horse. With that he began to advance towards the Indus, where he was joined by his veterans from Kandahar. [He was opposed by Sekunder, a nephew of Shir and for the time master of Hindustan] and a great battle was fought under the walls of Sirhind, in which the young Akbar, son of Humayun, showed remarkable spirit and resolution. Sekunder, being routed, fled to the mountains of Sewalik. Humayun re-entered Delhi, but was not destined to a long enjoyment of the power which he had regained. As he was supporting himself by his staff on the marble stairs of his palace, the staff slipped, and the emperor

fell from the top to the bottom. He was taken up insensible, and expired in a few days in the year 1556, the fifty-first of his age.

THE GREAT AKBAR, "GUARDIAN OF MANKIND" (1556-1605 A.D.)

Akbar, the son of Humayun, though not quite fourteen years of age, was placed on his father's throne. Bairam, a man of talents, but of a severe, or rather of a cruel disposition, was appointed regent during the minority; which, in so unsettled and turbulent an empire, was not likely to be attended with general submission and peace. The first object of the new government was to exterminate the party of the late pretended emperor, Sekunder; and for this purpose an army, with the young sovereign at its head, marched towards the mountains. Sekunder fled; and the rainy season coming on, the army retired into quarters.

In the mean time the governor, who had been left by Humayun in the command of Budakshan, assumed independence; and presumed so far upon the weakness of the new government as to march against Kabul. The city stood a siege of four months; but at last submitted, and acknowledged the authority of the invader.

This calamity arrived not alone. Himu, the vizir of Sekunder's predecessor, retained a part of the eastern provinces, and now marched to the centre of the empire with a formidable army. He took Agra. He took Delhi. The contending parties arrived in presence of one another in the neighbourhood of Panipat. The Mughals, who had been reinforced on the march, fought with great constancy, and the enemy were thrown into disorder.

When the battle ended, Himu was brought into the presence of Akbar, almost expiring with his wounds. Bairam, addressing the king, told him it would be a meritorious action to kill that dangerous infidel with his own hands. Akbar, in compliance with the advice of his minister, drew his sword, but only touching with it gently the head of his gallant captive, burst into tears. This movement of generous compassion was answered by the minister with a look of stern disapprobation; and with one blow of his sabre he struck the head of the prisoner to the ground.

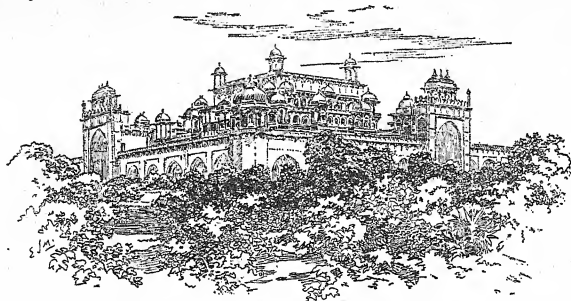
This important victory restored tranquillity to the principal part of Akbar's dominions. The overbearing pretensions of an imperious, though useful servant, and the spirit of a high-minded, though generous sovereign, could not long be reconciled. Mutual jealousies and discontents arose. When the royal ear was found open to accusations against the harsh and domineering Bairam, courtiers were not wanting to fill it. He was secretly charged with designs hostile to the person and government of the shah; and the mind of Akbar, though firm, was not unmoved by imputations against the man he disliked, however destitute of facts to support them. After some irresolution and apprehension, a proclamation was issued to announce that Akbar had taken upon himself the government; and that henceforth no mandates but his were to be obeyed. Bairam attempted arms, but met with no support; and, driven to his last resource, implored the clemency of his master. Akbar hastened to assure him of forgiveness, and invited him to his presence. Bairam, desiring leave to repair to Mecca, received a splendid retinue and allowance; but in his passage through Guzerat an Afghan chief, whose father he had formerly slain in battle, pretending salutation, stabbed him with a dagger, and killed him on the spot.

Akbar stands among the pitifully small number of those sovereigns who,

[1556-1605 A.D.]

not fearing to wield the sword, have used their power as a protection for religious freedom and the freedom of thought. His efforts to protect his subjects from injustice and hardship—notably the burning of widows (suttee or sati)—brought him from posterity the title of Guardian of Mankind; a more glorious one never was devised.<sup>a</sup>

Crooke<sup>1</sup> declares that the life of Akbar is the history of India during his long reign of forty-nine years, and that "his personality stands high, even when compared with his great contemporaries, Elizabeth of England and Philip of Spain." He likens this wonderful young man—only thirteen when, with the aid of the gallant Bairam Khan, he crumpled up the Afghan hosts on the historic field of Panipat—in courage and strength, in love of sport and knightly exercises, to another notable prince of the same age, Henry IV of Navarre.



TOMB OF AKBAR AT SECUNDRA

When his rule was thus established, the later life of Akbar falls, as Keene has shown, into three periods: "During the first, which lasted about fifteen years, he was much occupied with war, field sports, and building; and the men by whom he was ultimately influenced were still at that time young, like himself. Opinions were forming; territorial and administrative operations were in hand. About 1576 began a second period, marked by the arrival of certain Shiah and other persons of heretical opinions from Persia, and the growth of their influence over Akbar. At the same time the emperor, now in the maturity of his intellect, turned his attention to the Hindus, and to the amelioration and establishing of the revenue system, by which they were so much affected. This period lasted for about fifteen years, and was followed by that sadder period when, as must happen, except under exceptional circumstances, men in power grow old without having found competent successors. In such conditions originality drivels into cant, and caution withers into decay. One by one the reformers, a few years since so full of hope and vigour, drop into senility, or, more fortunate, into the tomb. No one is left but some lover of letters who, wiser than the rest, retires betimes into the shade to prepare the record of departed greatness."<sup>m</sup>

The charge which Akbar had taken on himself seemed beyond the strength of a youth of eighteen; but the young king was possessed of more than usual advantages, both from nature and education.

He was born in the midst of hardships, and brought up in captivity. His courage was exercised in his father's wars, and his prudence, called forth by the delicacy of his situation during the ascendancy of Bairam. He was engaging in his manners, well formed in his person, excelled in all exercises of strength and agility, and showed exuberant courage even in his amusements, as in taming unbroken horses and elephants, and in rash encounters with tigers and other wild beasts. Yet with this disposition and a passionate love of glory he founded his hopes of fame at least as much on the wisdom and liberality of his government as on its military success. It required all his great qualities to maintain him in the situation in which he was placed.

Of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Timur was the weakest and the most insecure in its foundations. Its only adherents were a body of adventurers, whose sole bond of union was their common advantage during success. The weakness arising from this want of natural support had been shown in the easy expulsion of Humayun, and was still felt in the early part of the reign of his son.

It was probably by these considerations, joined to a generous and candid nature, that Akbar was led to form the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or religion, into one community. This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindus to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every party to the highest stations in the service, according to their rank and merit; until, as far as his dominions extended, they were filled with a loyal and united people. But these were the fruits of time; and the first calls on Akbar's attention were of an urgent nature: (1) to establish his authority over his chiefs; (2) to recover the dominions of the crown; (3) to restore, in the internal administration of them, that order which had been lost amidst so many revolutions.

It is to his internal policy that Akbar owes his place in that highest order of princes, whose reigns have been a blessing to mankind; and that policy shows itself in different shapes, as it affects religion or civil government. Akbar's tolerant spirit was displayed early in his reign, and appears to have been entirely independent of any doubts on the divine origin of the Mohammedan faith. It led him however to listen, without prejudice, to the doctrines of other religions, and involved him in enmity with the bigoted members of his own; and must thus have contributed to shake his early belief, and to dispose him to question the infallible authority of the Koran. The political advantages of a new religion, which should take in all classes of his subjects, could not fail, moreover, to occur to him. The blame of corrupting Akbar's orthodoxy is thrown by all Mussulman writers on Feizi and his brother Abul Fazl. These eminent persons were the sons of a learned man named Mobarik, who was probably a native of Nagor, and who, at one time, taught a college or school of law and divinity at Agra. He was at first a Sunni, but turned Shia; and afterwards took to reading the philosophical works of ancients, and became a freethinker, or, according to his enemies, an atheist. So great a persecution was raised against him on this account, that he was constrained to give up his school, and fly with his family from Agra. His sons conformed, in all respects, to the Mohammedan religion; though it is probable that they never were deeply imbued with attachment to the sect. Feizi was the first Mussulman that applied himself to a diligent study of Hindu literature and science.

Along with Feizi and Abul Fazl, there were many other learned men of

[1556-1605 A.D.]

all religions about the court; and it was the delight of Akbar to assemble them, and sit for whole nights assisting at their philosophical discussions. Some specimens of the discussions at those meetings (probably imaginary ones) are given in the *Dabistan*, a learned Persian work on the various religions of Asia. Notwithstanding the adulation of his courtiers, and some expressions in the formulæ of his own religion, Akbar never seems to have entertained the least intention of laying claims to supernatural illumination. His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason; and his right to interfere at all with religion was grounded on his duty as civil magistrate. He took the precaution, on promulgating his innovations to obtain the legal opinions of the principal Mohammedan lawyers that the king was the head of the church and had a right to govern it according to his own judgment, and to decide all disputes among its members; and, in his new confession of faith, it was declared that "There is no god but God, and that Akbar is his caliph."

In the propagation of his opinions, Akbar confined himself to persuasion, and made little progress except among the people about his court and a few learned men; but his measures were much stronger in abrogating the obligations of the Mussulman religion, which, till now, had been enforced by law. Prayers, fasts, alms, pilgrimages, and public worship were left optional: the prohibition of unclean animals, that of the moderate use of wine, and that of gaming with dice were taken off; and circumcision was not permitted until the age of twelve, when the person to undergo it could judge the propriety of the rite.

Some of the other measures adopted seemed to go beyond indifference, and to show a wish to discountenance the Mohammedan religion. The era of the Hegira and the Arabian months were changed for a solar year, dating from the vernal equinox nearest the king's accession, and divided into months named after those of ancient Persia. The study of the Arabic language was discouraged: Arabian names (as Muhammed, Ali, etc.) were disused. Even wearing the beard, a practice enjoined by the Koran, was so offensive to Akbar, that he would scarcely admit a person to his presence who conformed to it. This last prohibition gave peculiar disgust to the Mohammedans, as did a regulation introducing on certain occasions the Persian custom of prostrating (or kissing the ground, as it was called) before the king; a mark of respect regarded by the Mohammedans as exclusively appropriated to the Deity.

As the Hindus had not been supported by the government, Akbar had less occasion to interfere with them; and, indeed, from the tolerant and inoffensive character of their religion, he seems to have had little inclination. He, however, forbade trials by ordeal, and marriages before the age of puberty, and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. He also permitted widows to marry a second time, contrary to the Hindu law; above all, he positively prohibited the burning of Hindu widows against their will, and took effectual precautions to ascertain that their resolution was free and uninfluenced. On one occasion, hearing that the rajah of Jodpur was about to force his son's widow to the pyre, he mounted his horse and rode to the spot to prevent the intended sacrifice.

In the seventh year of his reign he abolished the *jezia* or capitation tax on infidels; an odious impost which served to keep up animosity between people of the predominant faith and those under them. Another humane edict, issued still earlier, (1561), though not limited to any one class, was,

in practice, mainly beneficial to the Hindus: it was a prohibition against making slaves of persons taken in war.

Akbar's revenue system, though so celebrated for the benefits it conferred on India, presented no new invention. It only carried the previous system into effect with greater precision and correctness: it was, in fact, only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shir Shah, whose short reign did not admit of his extending it to all parts of his kingdom. The objects of it were: (1) to obtain a correct measurement of the land; (2) to ascertain the amount of the produce of each *bigah* of land, and to fix the proportion of that amount that

each ought to pay to the government; (3) to settle an equivalent for the proportion so fixed, in money. When Akbar made these improvements respecting the land tax, he abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers.

The result of these measures was to reduce the amount of the public demand considerably, but to diminish the defalcation in realising it; so that the profit to the state remained nearly the same, while the pressure on individuals was much lessened. Abul Fazl even asserts that the assessment was lighter than that of Shir Shah, although he professed to take only one-fourth of the produce, while Akbar took one-third. The author of the reform was rajah Todar Mal, by whose name it is still called everywhere.

Amidst the reforms of other departments, Akbar did not forget his army. We have no means of guessing the number of the troops. Abul Fazl<sup>i</sup> says the local militia of the provinces amounted to

4,400,000; but this is probably an exaggerated account of those bound by their tenure to give a limited service in certain cases: probably few could be called on for more than a day or two to beat the woods for a hunting party; and many, no doubt, belonged to hill rajahs and tribes who never served at all.

The same methodical system was carried through all branches of Akbar's service. The *Ayeni Akberi* (Regulations of Akbar) by Abul Fazl, from which the above account of the civil and military arrangements is mostly taken, contains a minute description of the establishment and regulations of every department, from the mint and the treasury down to the fruit, perfumery, and flower offices, the kitchen and the kennel. The whole presents an astonishing picture of magnificence and good order; where unwieldy numbers are managed without disturbance, and economy is attended to in the midst of profusion. Akbar, according to Ferishta,<sup>k</sup> had never less than five thousand elephants and twelve thousand stable horses, one thousand hunting leopards, besides vast hunting and hawking establishments, etc.



SENTINEL GOD SIRA

[1556-1605 A.D.]

The greatest displays of his grandeur were at the annual feasts of the vernal equinox, and the king's birthday. They lasted for several days, during which there was a general fair and many processions and other pompous shows. The king's usual place was in a rich tent, in the midst of awnings to keep off the sun. At least two acres, according to Hawkins as quoted by Purchas,<sup>7</sup> were thus spread with silk and gold carpets and hangings, as rich as velvet, embroidered with gold, pearl and precious stones, could make them. The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the king; dresses, jewels, horses, and elephants were bestowed on the nobility; the king was weighed in golden scales against silver, gold, perfumes, and other substances, in succession, which were distributed among the spectators.

In the midst of all this splendour, Akbar appeared with as much simplicity as dignity. He is thus described by two European eye-witnesses, quoted by Purchas.<sup>7</sup> After remarking that he had less show or state than other Asiatic princes, and that he stood or sat below the throne to administer justice, they say, "He is affable and majestic, merciful, and severe; skilful in mechanical arts, as making guns, casting ordnance, etc.; of sparing diet, sleeps but three hours a day, curiously industrious, affable to the vulgar, seeming to grace them and their presents with more respective ceremonies than the grantees; loved and feared of his own, terrible to his enemies."<sup>e</sup>

Notwithstanding the virtues of Akbar's administration, the spirit of rebellion, inherent in the principles of Indian despotism, left him hardly a moment's tranquillity, during the whole course of a long and prosperous reign. Hussun revolted in Ajmir, and gained at first a victory over the imperial troops who were sent to oppose him. Hakim, brother of Akbar, a weak man, the governor of Kabul, began to act as an independent prince. A slave of his, approaching the king while marching with his troops, let fly an arrow which wounded him in the shoulder. Akbar, whom neither exertion nor danger dismayed, opposed himself to his enemies with an activity which often repaired the deficiencies of prudence. It would be tedious to follow minutely a series of expeditions, so much the same, to subdue one rebellious chieftain after another.

The province of Bengal paid a nominal submission to the throne of Delhi, but during several reigns had been virtually independent. After the other provinces of the empire were reduced to more substantial obedience, it was not likely that grounds of quarrel would long fail to be laid between Akbar and the king of Bengal. [That province like Guzerat in 1580 and Kashmir in 1586 was also added to Akbar's dominions.]

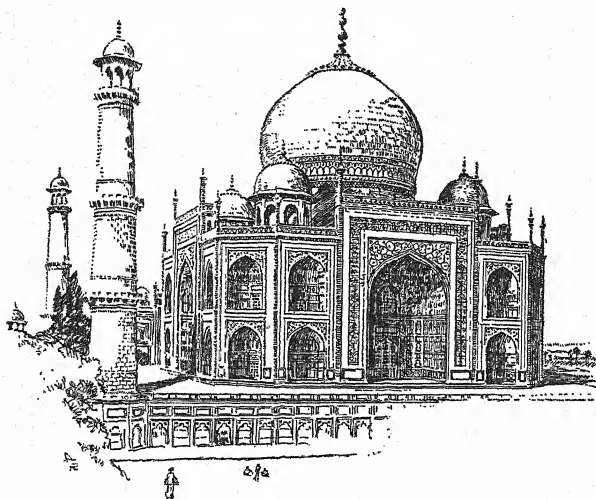
Next his brother, in Kabul, marched against Lahore. Akbar never allowed disobedience in the upper provinces to gain strength by duration. He hastened to Lahore, overcame his brother, followed him close to Kabul, and received a message from the vanquished prince, imploring forgiveness. Akbar, with his usual generosity, which was often inconsiderate and cost him dear, replaced him in his government. Soon after this, the governor of Kandahar, a province which hitherto had paid but a nominal submission to the Mughal throne, unable to defend himself against his rebellious brothers, and the Usbegs, who had now rendered themselves masters of Transoxania and Bactria, and were formidable neighbours to the northern provinces of Hindustan, offered to deliver up his government to Akbar; and received that of Multan in exchange.

Akbar, who now beheld himself master, from the mountains of Persia, and Tatory, to the confines of the Deccan, began to cast the eyes of ambition on

[1556-1605 A.D.]

that contiguous land. He gave directions to his governors, in the provinces nearest the Deccan, to prepare as numerous armies as possible; and to omit no opportunity of extending the empire. He despatched ambassadors to the kingdoms of the Deccan, more with a design to collect information, than to settle disputes. And at last a great army, under Mirza,<sup>1</sup> the son of Bairam, marched in execution of this project of unprovoked aggression and unprincipled ambition.

This expedition resulted in a long war and the conquest of Berar, which



TAJ MAHAL, AGRA

was incorporated in Akbar's dominions. It was the last addition to the Mughal Empire made before the death of the emperor, which took place in 1605.<sup>a</sup>

#### SELIM AND SHAH JAHAN (1605-1658 A.D.)

After Akbar's death there appear in the empire of the great Mughal of Delhi the same phenomena as are observable in the other eastern realms, at Constantinople and Ispahan — revolt and civil war, harem intrigues, family ties destroyed, the rule of women and the influences of favourites, debauchery and prodigality, crime and sensuality. All these evils appeared even under Akbar's son Selim, who assumed the title Jahangir, that is Conqueror of the World. In his day the fair Nur Mahal (Light of the Harem), whom Jahangir

<sup>1</sup> Mirza was his title; his name was Abdul Ruheem, but he was commonly called Mirza Khan: he was also entitled Khan-khanan.

[1605-1658 A.D.]

had won as David won the wife of Uriah, ruled both court and empire. [It was during this reign that the sovereign of Delhi received the first embassy despatched thither from the power which was to replace that of the great mughals.]

Jahangir's son and successor (reigned 1627-1658) who styled himself Shah Jahan (King of the World) was a great lover of display. His great peacock throne is said to have been worth more than six millions sterling. His magnificent palace in Delhi and the mausoleum [known as the Taj Mahal], which he built at Agra to the memory of his wife, are reckoned amongst the wonders of the world.<sup>g</sup>

Crooke<sup>i</sup> characterizes this famous monarch, whose wealth and magnificence are a notable part of the world's history, as a keen soldier in his early days, but three parts a Hindu, a fact to which he owed the support of the Rajputs in the early part of his career. He attributes the ultimate ruin of the dynasty to the persecution of the Hindus which began in his reign. Jahangir seems to have treated their religion with contemptuous toleration. His own belief was too vague to encourage iconoclasm. But in 1632, the year after the death of Mumtaz Mahal, Shah Jehan embarked in an active persecution—an example which his successor followed with disastrous results. The chronicler goes on to relate how "It had been brought to the notice of his majesty that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity." He adds that the infidel, being desirous of completing them, his majesty ordered that all the temples which had been begun at Benares and at other places throughout his dominions should be cast down. Crooke, nevertheless, contradicts the popular idea that Shah Jehan was always absorbed in the pleasures of the harem, and that as a consequence he neglected the duties of administration.

But his reign was clouded by domestic troubles. As in France during the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, so even during the lifetime of Shah Jahan a fratricidal war broke out between his four sons. The three youngest, Suja, Aurangzeb, and Morad, grudged the eldest, Dara, the succession which his father intended him. They declared themselves independent in the governments which had been assigned to them and assumed the titles of kings. Shah Jahan himself was conquered by their arms and ended his life as a prisoner. After long conflicts the crafty and treacherous Aurangzeb won the imperial seat at Delhi, after having caused his eldest brother to be put to death and the two others to be shut up in prison.<sup>g</sup>

It was in 1658 that Aurangzeb proclaimed himself emperor, and he swayed the sceptre of the great Mughal for nearly fifty years during an epoch which constitutes the apogee of the dynasty's power and which was followed by its swift decay. We must here pause to give some account of that southern portion of India whose conquest Akbar, as we have seen, had already begun more than half a century before.<sup>a</sup>

#### EARLY DYNASTIES IN SOUTHERN INDIA: MADURA; THE DECCAN

The earliest local traditions agree in dividing the extreme south into four provinces, Kerala, Pandya, Chola, and Chera, which together made up the country of Dravida, occupied by Tamil-speaking races. Of these kingdoms the greatest was that of Pandya, with its capital of Madura, the foundation of which is assigned on high authority to the fourth century, B.C. The local *purana*, or chronicle of Madura, gives a list of two Pandyan dynasties, the

[1605-1658 A.D.]

first of which has seventy-three kings, the second forty-three. Parakrama, the last king of the second dynasty, was overthrown by the Mohammedan invader Malik Kafur, in 1324; but the Mussulmans never established their power in the extreme south, and a series of Hindu lines ruled at Madura into the eighteenth century.

No other Dravidian kingdom can boast such a continuous succession as that of Madura. The chronicles enumerate fifty Chera kings, and no less than sixty-six Chola kings, as well as many minor dynasties which ruled at various periods over fractions of the south. Little confidence, however, can be placed in Hindu genealogies, and the early history of the Dravidian races yet remains to be deciphered from mouldering palm leaves and the more trustworthy inscriptions on copper and stone.

Authentic history begins with the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar or Narsingha, which exercised an ill-defined sovereignty over the entire south from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The foundation of the city of Vijayanagar is assigned to the year 1118, and to an eponymous hero, Raja Vijaya, the fifth of his line. Its extensive ruins are still to be traced on the right bank of the Tungabhadra river within the Madras district of Bellary. The city itself has not been inhabited since it was sacked by the Mohammedans in 1565, but vast remains still exist of temples, fortifications, tanks, and bridges, haunted by beasts of prey and venomous reptiles. The empire of Vijayanagar represents the last stand made by the national faith in India against conquering Islam. For at least three centuries its sway over the south was undisputed, and its rajahs waged wars and concluded treaties of peace with the sultans of the Deccan on equal terms.

The earliest of the Mohammedan dynasties in the Deccan was that founded by Ala-ud-din in 1347 or 1357, which has received the name of the Bahmani dynasty from the supposed Brahman descent of its founder. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the Bahmani Empire fell to pieces, and five independent kingdoms divided the Deccan among them. These were (1) the Adil Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Bijapur, founded in 1489 by a son of Murad II, sultan of the Ottomans; (2) the Kutab Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Golconda, founded in 1512 by a Turkoman adventurer; (3) the Nizam Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Ahmadnagar, founded in 1490 by a Brahman renegade, from the Vijayanagar court; (4) the Imad Shahi dynasty of Berar, with its capital at Ellichpur, founded in 1484, also by a Hindu from Vijayanagar; (5) the Barid Shahi dynasty, with its capital at Bidar, founded about 1492 by one who is variously described as a Turk and a Georgian slave.

It is, of course, impossible here to trace in detail the history of these several dynasties. In 1565 they combined against the Hindu rajah of Vijayanagar, who was defeated and slain in the decisive battle of Talikota. But, though the city was sacked and the supremacy of Vijayanagar forever destroyed, the Mohammedan victors did not themselves advance into the south. The Naiks or feudatories of Vijayanagar everywhere asserted their independence. From them are descended the well-known Palegars (Polygars) of the south, and also the present rajah of Mysore. One of the blood-royal of Vijayanagar fled to Chandragiri, and founded a line which exercised a prerogative of its former sovereignty by granting the site of Madras to the English in 1639. Another scion claiming the same high descent lingers to the present day near the ruins of Vijayanagar, and is known as the rajah of Anagundi, a feudatory of the nizam of Hyderabad. Despite frequent internal strife, the sultans of the Deccan retained their independence until conquered by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

[1658-1707 A.D.]

## THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB (1658-1707 A.D.)

Aurangzeb's long reign, from 1658 to 1707, may be regarded as representing both the culminating point of Mughal power and the beginning of its decay. Unattractive as his character was, it contained at least some elements of greatness. None of his successors on the throne was anything higher than a debauchee or a puppet. He was the first to conquer the independent sultans of the Deccan, and to extend his authority to the extreme south. But even during his lifetime two new Hindu nationalities were being formed in the Marhattas [or Mahrattas] and the Sikhs; while immediately after his death the nawabs of the Deccan, of Oudh, and of Bengal raised themselves to practical independence. Aurangzeb had enlarged the empire, but he had not strengthened its foundations. During the reign of his father Shah Jahan he had been the viceroy of the Deccan, or rather of the northern portion only, which had been annexed to the Mughal Empire since the reign of Akbar. His early ambition was to conquer the Mohammedan kings of Bijapur and Golconda, who, since the downfall of Vijayanagar, had been practically supreme over the south. This object was not accomplished without many tedious campaigns, in which Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta confederacy, first comes upon the scene. In name Sivaji was a feudatory of the house of Bijapur, on whose behalf he held the rock forts of his native Ghats; but in fact he found his opportunity in playing off the Mohammedan powers against one another, and in rivalling Aurangzeb himself in the art of treachery.<sup>d</sup>

## SIR HENRY LAWRENCE ON SIVAJI

Few conquerors have effected so much with equal means. Long disowned by his father, and unaided by the local chiefs, until by his own stripling arm he had rendered himself independent, he died the recognised ruler of a territory fifty thousand square miles in area; his name was dreaded from Surat to Tanjore, and in every quarter between those remote points his hands had levied contributions and tribute. The Mohammedan yoke was now forever broken in Maharashthra. The long-dormant military spirit of the people was aroused, to be quelled only in another disruption of that system on which it had risen. The genius of Sivaji emancipated the Mahrattas: succeeding chiefs, by neglecting the policy which had aggrandised their founder and adopting an organisation which they could never perfectly master, precipitated the state to a second downfall.

Personally brave, Sivaji never fought when he could fly, or when stratagem or treachery could effect his object: but whatever was his design, he weighed it deliberately, gained the most accurate information on all necessary points and then, when least expected, pounced upon his prey. The heavy and slow-moving Mughals must have been sadly puzzled at encountering such a foe. Many stories are told of the terror his very name inspired. He was equally feared as a soldier, a marauder, and an assassin. His own dagger, or those of his emissaries, could reach where his troops could not penetrate; no distance or precaution could keep his prey from him. It must be remembered that it was not with the chiefs that Sivaji commenced operations, but with the despised and half-starving peasantry. It was when Sivaji had gained a name, and had himself become a chief, that chiefs joined his standard. It is ever so in India. There is always ample material abroad to feed the wildest flame of insurrection; but not until it has assumed a head will those who have a stake in the land join it. They will attack, they will riot, they will plot; but seldom,

unless in instances of great infatuation, when misled by false prophets, will the chiefs of the land join an insurrectionary move, so long as their own *izzut* has not been touched.

During Sivaji's whole career, he cannot be said to have enjoyed or rather suffered one single year of peace. He seems from the outset to have declared perpetual hostility against all who had anything to lose. His pacifications, or rather truces, were but breathing spaces, to enable him to recruit or collect a meaus, or to leave him unshackled to direct his whole force in another quarter. Aurangzeb played into Sivaji's hands by his timid and suspicious policy. The emperor was incessantly changing his commanders, and feared to trust any one of his sons or generals with means sufficient to quell the Deccan insurrections, lest the power, so deputed, should be used, as he himself had used it, to the usurpation of the throne. Thus distrusted, his children and officers managed the war with Sivaji, as with Bijapur and Golconda, for their own aggrandisement. They fought as little as they could, yet they plundered and received bribes as much as possible.

There was thus much in the times and there was more in the condition and feeling of the country favourable to Sivaji. His cause was, and appeared to be, that of the people. They had long groaned beneath a Mohammedan yoke, and some openly, all secretly, hailed a liberator of their own blood, caste, and country. It was this strong feeling in his favour that enabled him to procure the excellent intelligence for which he was noted; his spies were in every quarter. The Mohammedan government in India had, in short, lost its tact, elasticity, and vigour; luxury had sapped the Moslem strength, and deadened their one solitary virtue. Their hardihood declined, and with it their empire fell. Sivaji was first to take advantage of the imperial decay, and his example was soon followed in every quarter of India.

Sivaji early established a strict military system. Horse and foot of all ranks were hardy, active, and abstemious. Camp equipage was unknown among them, a single blanket, in addition to their light coarse vestments, completed their wardrobe; and a small bag of parched grain sufficed for their commissariat supplies. Thus furnished, the infantry would for days and days thread the defiles and jungles of their wild country, and, by paths known only to themselves, appear where least expected; while the cavalry, supplied with small saddle-bags to hold such grain or plunder as they might pick up, swept the country at the rate of fifty, sixty, and even eighty miles within twenty-four hours. The grand secret of Mahratta hardihood was that chiefs and officers shared equally in the privations of their men. During Sivaji's life all the plunder was public property. It was brought at stated periods to his darbar, where the man who had taken it was praised, rewarded, or promoted.

“Then lands were fairly proportioned;  
Then spoils were fairly sold:  
The Burgees were like brothers  
In the brave days of old.”

Sivaji had sense enough to perceive how much he would personally gain by the punctual payment of his army. All accounts were closed annually: assignments were given for balances on collectors, but never on villages. Cows, cultivators, and women were exempt from plunder. Rich Mohammedans and Hindus in their service were favourite game. Towns and villages were systematically sacked, and where money or valuables were not forthcoming, Sivaji would take promissory notes from the local authorities. He shed no unnecessary blood; he was not cruel for cruelty's sake, but on these

[1658-1707 A.D.]

occasions of plunder he mercilessly slaughtered and tortured all who were supposed to have concealed treasure. An Englishman, captured by Sivaji at Surat, reported that he found the marauder, surrounded by executioners, cutting off heads and limbs. The mountain fortresses were the keystones of his power. His treasure, plunder, and family safe, he could freely move wherever an opening offered.

It is only justice to state that this extraordinary man, while devastating other lands, was not unmindful of the duty he owed to his own subjects. In his conquered territory, and where the inhabitants had compounded for security, he was kind, considerate, and consequently popular. On the whole, we may pronounce the founder of the Mahratta Empire to have been the man of his day in India — greater than any of the Mahratta kings who succeeded him, and unrivalled since, even by Hyder Ali or Ranjit Singh. Sivaji could not only conquer and destroy, but he could legislate and build up. There is a germ of civil organisation in his arrangement; and had he lived the ordinary period of man's life, he might have left to his successors a united and well-established principality. He died suddenly, and with him his empire may be said to have expired.

Sivaji left immense treasure. The amount has been variously estimated; but always in millions of pounds sterling. Heaped together in his coffers at Rajjurrh were the dollars of Spain, the sequins of Venice, the pagodas of the Carnatic, and all the various gold mohurs of the different quarters of India, with innumerable kinds of rupees of every shape and stamp. But all his spoil, the harvest of more than thirty years of crime and blood, of restless nights, of ceaseless and unseasonable marches, did not bring peace to the owner, nor save his son from a fearful death; it did not preserve his successors from the prison his own hands had prepared, nor his people from being split into factions that soon sealed their own destruction.<sup>h</sup>

#### THE GLORY OF AURANGZEB

The loss of Sivaji was, for the time at least, irreparable to the Mahrattas. Though never subdued, they were defeated and dispersed, and compelled to take shelter in their hill forts or impervious jungles. On the whole, it is probable that there never yet had been a time in Hindustan when the whole peninsula was so nearly brought beneath the supreme dominion of one man.

The power of Aurangzeb and the magnificence of the court of Delhi are described by more than one intelligent European traveller. "In riches and resources," says Tavernier,<sup>n</sup> "the great Moghal is in Asia what the king of France is in Europe. When I took leave of his majesty on the 1st of November, 1665, he was pleased to desire that I should stay, and see the festivals in honour of his birth day. On this occasion the emperor is weighed in state, and if he is found to weigh more than on the preceding year there are great public rejoicings. The grandees of the empire, the viceroys of the provinces, and the ladies of the court came to make their offerings, which, in precious stones, gold and silver, rich carpets and brocades, elephants, camels, and horses, amounted when I was present to upwards of thirty millions of our livres. The tents are of red velvet, embroidered with gold, so heavy that the poles which support them are as thick as the masts of ships, and some of them from thirty-five to forty feet in height. The great Moghal has seven splendid thrones; one covered with diamonds, others with rubies, with emeralds, and with pearls. The value of the one most precious (called the peacock throne) is estimated by the royal treasurers at a number of lacs of rupees equivalent to

above one hundred and sixty millions of livres. While the emperor is on his throne fifteen horses stand ready caparisoned on his right and as many on his left, the bridles of each horse enriched with precious stones, and some great jewel dependent from his neck. Elephants are trained to kneel down before the throne, and do his majesty reverence with their trunks; and the emperor's favourite elephant costs five hundred rupees of monthly expense, being fed on good meat with abundance of sugar, and having brandy to drink. When the emperor rides abroad on his elephant he is followed by a great number of his *omrahs*, or nobles, on horseback — and the meanest of these *omrahs* commands two thousand cavalry." <sup>b</sup>

#### LAST YEARS OF AURANGZEB

It was in 1680 that Sivaji died, and his son and successor, Sambhaji, was betrayed to Aurangzeb and put to death. The rising Mahratta power was thus for a time checked, and the Mughal armies were set free to operate in the eastern Deccan. In 1686 the city of Bijapur was taken by Aurangzeb in person, and in the following year Golconda also fell. No independent power then remained in the south, though the numerous local chieftains, known as *palegars* and *naiks*, never formally submitted to the Mughal Empire. During the early years of his reign Aurangzeb had fixed his capital at Delhi, while he kept his dethroned father, Shah Jahan, in close confinement at Agra. In 1682 he set out with his army on his victorious march into the Deccan, and from that time until his death in 1707 he never again returned to Delhi.

In this camp life Aurangzeb may be taken as representative of one aspect of the Mughal rule, which has been picturesquely described by European travellers of that day. They agree in depicting the emperor as a peripatetic sovereign, and the empire as held together by its military highways no less than by the strength of its armies. The great road running across the north of the peninsula, from Dacca in the east to Lahore in the west, is generally attributed to the Afghan usurper, Shir Shah. The other roads branching out southward from Agra, to Surat and Burhanpur and Golconda, were undoubtedly the work of Mughal times. Each of these roads was laid out with avenues of trees, with wells of water, and with frequent *sarais* or rest-houses. Constant communication between the capital and remote cities was maintained by a system of foot-runners, whose aggregate speed is said to have surpassed that of a horse. Commerce was conducted by means of a caste of bullock-drivers, whose occupation in India is hardly yet extinct.

#### THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL AND THE MOHAMMEDAN POWERS (1707-1857 A.D.)

On the death of Aurangzeb, in 1707, the decline of the Mughal Empire set in with extraordinary rapidity. Ten emperors after Aurangzeb are enumerated in the chronicles, but none of them has left any mark on history. His son and successor was Bahadur Shah, who reigned only five years. Then followed in order three sons of Bahadur Shah, whose united reigns occupy only five years more. In 1739 Nadir Shah of Persia, the sixth and last of the great Mohammedan conquerors of India, swept like a whirlwind over Hindustan, and sacked the imperial city of Delhi.

Thenceforth the great Mughal became a mere name, though the hereditary succession continued unbroken down to our own day. Real power had passed into the hands of Mohammedan courtiers and Mahratta generals, both of

[1707-1857 A.D.]

whom were then carving for themselves kingdoms out of the dismembered empire, until at last British authority placed itself supreme over all. From the time of Aurangzeb no Mussulman, however powerful, dared to assume the title of sultan or emperor, with the single exception of Tipu's brief paroxysm of madness.

The name of *nawab*, corrupted by Europeans into "nabob," appears to be an invention of the mughals to express delegated authority, and as such it is the highest title conferred upon Mohammedans at the present day, as *maharaja* is the highest title conferred upon Hindus. At first nawabs were found only in important cities, such as Surat and Dacca, with the special function of administering civil justice; criminal justice was in the hands of the *kotwal*. The corresponding officials at that time in a large tract of country were the *subahdar* and the *faujdar*. But the title of *subahdar*, or viceroy, gradually dropped into desuetude, as the paramount power was shaken off, and nawab became a territorial title with some distinguishing adjunct.

During the troubled period of intrigue and assassination that followed on the death of Aurangzeb, two Mohammedan foreigners rose to high positions as courtiers and generals, and succeeded in transmitting their power to their sons. The one was Chin Kulich Khan, also called Asaf Jah, and still more commonly Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was of Turkoman origin, and belonging to the Sunni sect. His independence at Hyderabad in the Deccan dates from 1712. The other was Saadat Ali Khan, a Persian, and therefore a Shia, who was appointed subahdar or nawab of Oudh in 1720. Thenceforth these two important provinces paid no more tribute to Delhi, though their hereditary rulers continued to seek formal recognition from the emperor on their succession. The Mahrattas were in possession of the entire west and great part of the centre of the peninsula; while the rich and unwarlike province of Bengal, though governed by an hereditary line of nawabs founded by Murshid Kuli Khan in 1704, still continued to pour its wealth into the imperial treasury.

The central authority never recovered from the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, who carried off plunder variously estimated at from eight to thirty millions sterling. The Mahrattas closed round Delhi from the south, and the Afghans from the west. The victory of Panipat, won by Ahmad Shah Durani over the united Mahratta confederacy in 1761, gave the Mohammedan one more chance to rule. But Ahmad Shah had no ambition to found a dynasty of his own, nor were the British in Bengal yet ready for territorial conquest. Shah Alam, the lineal heir of the mughal line, was thus permitted to ascend the throne of Delhi, where he lived during the great part of a long life as a puppet in the hands of Mahadaji Sindhia. He was succeeded by Akbar II, who lived similarly under the shadow of British protection. Last of all came Bahadur Shah, who atoned for his association with the mutineers in 1857 by banishment to Burmah.

Thus ended the Mughal line, after a history which covers three hundred and thirty years, Mohammedan rule remodelled the revenue system, and has left behind forty millions of Mussulmans in British India.<sup>d</sup>





## CHAPTER II

### THE EUROPEAN EMPIRE IN INDIA: THE RISE OF CLIVE

[1498-1774 A.D.]

#### PORTUGUESE AND DUTCH SETTLEMENTS

At about the same period that the Mughals were founding their empire along the Ganges the Portuguese discovered the passage of the Cape of Good Hope. Vasco da Gama and his brave companions stepped on the Indian shore at Calicut in the month of May, 1498. Seldom have truth and poetry been so closely combined; the achievement of that voyage by Vasco da Gama is the greatest feat of the Portuguese in arms; the celebration of that voyage by Luiz de Camoens is their greatest feat in letters. The valour of their captains overcame the resistance of the native chiefs, and made good their settlements from the coast of Malabar to the Gulf of Persia.<sup>b</sup>

The story of the valour, cruelty, and greed of their warriors, governors, and merchants, and their full century of monopoly of the trade from 1500 to 1600, has been told with such fulness in the history of Portugal, Chapters II and III, that it need not be recounted here further than to emphasise the importance in Indian history of such names as Vasco da Gama, Cabral, Almeida, Pacheco, the great Albuquerque, Silveira, Mascarenhas, and Da Cunha.<sup>a</sup>

The Dutch were the first European nation to break through the Portuguese monopoly. During the sixteenth century Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam became successively the great emporia whence Indian produce, imported by the Portuguese, was distributed to Germany and even to England. At first the Dutch, following in the track of the English, attempted to find their way to India by sailing round the north coasts of Europe and Asia. William Barents is honourably known as the leader of three of these arctic expeditions, in the last of which he perished. The first Dutchman to double the Cape of Good Hope was Cornelius Houtman, who reached Sumatra and Bantam in 1596.

Forthwith private companies for trade with the East were formed in many parts of the United Provinces, but in 1602 they were all amalgamated by the states general into The Dutch East India Company. Within a few years the

[1498-1579 A.D.]

Dutch had established factories on the continent of India, in Ceylon, in Sumatra, on the Persian Gulf, and on the Red Sea, besides having obtained exclusive possession of the Moluccas. In 1618 they laid the foundation of the city of Batavia in Java, to be the seat of the supreme government of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, which had previously been at Amboyna. At about the same time they discovered the coast of Australia, and in North America founded the city of New Amsterdam, or Manhattan, now New York. During the seventeenth century the Dutch maritime power was the first in the world.

The massacre of Amboyna in 1623 led the English East India Company to retire from the eastern seas to the continent of India, and thus, though indirectly, contributed to the foundation of the British Indian empire. The long naval wars and bloody battles between the English and the Dutch within the narrow seas were not terminated until William of Orange united the two crowns in 1689.

In the Far East the Dutch ruled without a rival, and gradually expelled the Portuguese from almost all their territorial possessions. In 1635 they occupied Formosa; in 1640 they took Malacca—a blow from which the Portuguese never recovered; in 1651 they founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope, as a half-way station to the East; in 1658 they captured Jaffnapatam, the first stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon; in 1664 they wrested from the Portuguese all their earlier settlements on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar.

The rapid and signal downfall of the Dutch colonial empire is to be explained by its short-sighted commercial policy. It was deliberately based upon a monopoly of the trade in spices, and remained from first to last destitute of the true imperial spirit. Like the Phœnicians of old, the Dutch stopped short of no acts of cruelty towards their rivals in commerce; and, like the Phœnicians, they failed to introduce a respect for their own higher civilisation among the natives with whom they came in contact. The knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive, when in 1758 he attacked the Dutch at Chinsura both by land and water, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. In the great French war from 1781 to 1811 England wrested from Holland every one of her colonies, though Java was restored in 1816 and Sumatra in exchange for Malacca in 1824.

The earliest English attempts to reach India were made by the Northwest Passage. In 1553 the ill-fated Sir Hugh Willoughby attempted to force a passage along the north of Europe and Asia, the successful accomplishment of which was reserved for a Swedish savant of the nineteenth century. Sir Hugh perished miserably, but his second in command, Chancellor, reached an harbour on the White Sea, now Archangel. Thence he penetrated by land to the court of the grand duke of Moscow, and laid the foundation of "the Russia company for carrying on the overland trade between India, Persia, Bokhara, and Moscow."

Many subsequent attempts were made by the Northwest Passage from 1576 to 1616, which have left on our modern maps the imperishable names of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin. Meanwhile, in 1577, Sir Francis Drake had circumnavigated the globe, and on his way home had touched at Ternate, one of the Moluccas, the king of which island agreed to supply the English nation with all the cloves it produced.

The first Englishman who actually visited India was Thomas Stephens, in 1579—unless there be any foundation for the statement of William of Malmesbury,<sup>d</sup> that in the year 833 Sighelmus of Sherborne, being sent by

[1588-1600 A.D.]

King Alfred to Rome with presents to the pope, proceeded from thence to the East Indies to visit the tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore (Mailapur, also called Saint Thomé, a suburb of Madras), and brought back with him a quantity of jewels and spices. Stephens was educated at New College, Oxford, and was rector of the Jesuits' College in Salsette. His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India.

In 1583 three English merchants, Ralph Fitch, James Newberry, and Leedes, went out to India overland as mercantile adventurers. The jealous Portuguese threw them into prison at Ormuz, and again at Goa. At length Newberry settled down as a shopkeeper at Goa, Leedes entered the service of the great Mughal, and Fitch, after a lengthened peregrination in Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, and other parts of the East Indies, returned to England.

The defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588, at which time the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, gave a fresh stimulus to maritime enterprise in England; and the successful voyage of Cornelius Houtman in 1596 showed the way round the Cape of Good Hope into waters hitherto monopolised by the Portuguese.

#### THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY FOUNDED (1600 A.D.)

The foundation of the English East India Company was on this wise: "In 1599 the Dutch, who had now firmly established their trade in the east, having raised the price of pepper against us from 3s. per pound to 6s. and 8s., the merchants of London held a meeting on the 22nd of September at Founders' Hall, with the lord mayor in the chair, and agreed to form an association for the purpose of trading directly with India. Queen Elizabeth also sent Sir John Mildenhall by Constantinople to the great Mughal to apply for privileges for the English company, for which she was then preparing a charter, and on the 31st of December, 1600, the English East India Company was incorporated by royal charter under the title of The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies."

The original company had only one hundred and twenty-five shareholders, and a capital of £70,000, which was raised to £400,000 in 1612, when voyages were first undertaken on the joint-stock account. Courten's association, known also as the Assada Merchants, from a factory founded by them in Madagascar, was established in 1635, but after a period of internecine rivalry united with the London Company in 1650. In 1655 the Company of Merchant Adventurers obtained a charter from Cromwell to trade with India, but united with the original company two years later. A more formidable rival subsequently appeared in the English company, or General Societ, trading to the East Indies, which was incorporated under powerful patronage in 1698, with a capital of £2,000,000 sterling.

According to Evelyn, in his *Diary* for March 5th, 1698, "the old East India Company lost their business against the new company by ten votes in parliament, so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tiger baited by dogs." However, a compromise was speedily effected through the arbitration of Lord Godolphin in 1702, and the London and the English companies were finally amalgamated in 1709, under the style of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. At the same time the company advanced a loan to the state of £3,190,000 at 3 per cent. interest, in consideration of the exclusive privilege to trade to all places between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

[1600-1640 A.D.]

The early voyages of the company, from 1600 to 1612, are distinguished as the "separate voyages," twelve in number. The subscribers individually bore the expenses of each voyage, and reaped the whole profits. With the exception of the fourth, all these separate voyages were highly prosperous, the profits hardly ever falling below 100 per cent. After 1612 the voyages were conducted on the joint-stock account.<sup>1</sup>

During the civil wars the company shared in the decline of every other branch of trade and industry. But soon after the accession of Charles II they obtained a new charter, which not only confirmed their ancient privileges but vested in them authority, through their agents in India, to make peace and war with any prince or people not being Christians, and to seize within their limits and send home as prisoners, any Englishmen found without a licence. It may well be supposed that in the hands of any exclusive company this last privilege was not likely to lie dormant. Thus, on one occasion, when one of their governors had been urged to enforce the penalties against interlopers with the utmost rigour, and had replied that unhappily the laws of England would not let him proceed so far as might be wished — Sir Josiah Child, as chairman of the court of directors, wrote back in anger as follows: "We expect that our orders are to be your rules, and not the laws of England, which are a heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly know how to make laws for the good of their own families much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce."

#### ENGLISH COLLISIONS WITH THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH

After the grant of the first charter by Queen Elizabeth and the growth of the company's trade in India, their two main factories were fixed at Surat and Bantam. Surat was then the principal sea-port of the Mughal Empire, where the Mohammedan pilgrims were wont to assemble for their voyages towards Mecca. Bantam, from its position in the island of Java, commanded the best part of the spice trade. But at Surat the company's servants were harassed by the hostility of the Portuguese, as at Bantam by the hostility of the Dutch.

To such heights did these differences rise that in 1622 the English assisted the Persians in the recovery of Ormuz from the Portuguese, and in 1623 the Dutch committed the outrage termed the Massacre of Amboyna — putting to death, after a trial and confession of guilt extorted by torture, Captain Towerson and nine other Englishmen, on a charge of conspiracy. In the final result many years afterwards the factories both at Bantam and Surat were relinquished by the company. Other and newer settlements of theirs had, meanwhile, grown into importance.

In 1640 the English obtained permission from a Hindu prince in the Carnatic to purchase the ground adjoining the Portuguese settlement of St. Thomé, on which they proceeded to raise Fort St. George and the town of Madras. "At the Company's first beginning to build a fort" — thus writes the Agency — "there were only the French *padre's* and about six fishermen's houses!" But in a very few years Madras had become a thriving town. About twenty years afterwards, on the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, the town and island of Bombay were ceded to the king of England as a part of the infant's dowry. For some time the Portuguese governor continued to evade the grant, alleging that the patent of his majesty was not in accordance with the customs of Portugal; he was compelled to yield; but the possession being found on trial to cost more than it produced, it was given

up by King Charles to the East India Company, and became one of their principal stations.

Considering the beauty and richness of Bengal, a proverb was current among the Europeans that there are a hundred gates for entering and not one for leaving it. The Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English had established their factories at or near the town of Hooghly [Hugli] on one of the branches — also called Hooghly — of the Ganges. But during the reign of James II the imprudence of some of the company's servants, and the seizure of a Mughal junk had highly incensed the native powers. The English found it necessary to leave Hooghly, and drop twenty-five miles down the river to the village of Sutanati. Some petty hostilities ensued, not only in Bengal but along the coasts of India; several small factories of the company were taken and plundered, nor did they speed well in their endeavours either for defence or reprisal.

It was about this period that their settlement at Surat was finally transferred to Bombay. So much irritated was Aurangzeb at the reports of these hostilities that he issued orders for the total expulsion of the company's servants from his dominions, but he was appeased by the humble apologies of the English traders, and the earnest intercession of the Hindu, to whom this commerce was a source of profit. The English might even have resumed their factory at Hooghly, but preferred their new station at Sutanati, and in 1698 obtained from the Mughal, on payment of an annual rent, a grant of the land on which it stood. Then, without delay, they began to construct for its defence a citadel, named Fort William, under whose shelter there grew by degrees from a mean village the great town of Calcutta — the capital of modern India.

Thus before the accession of the house of Hanover these three main stations — Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay — had been erected into presidencies or central posts of government, each independent of the rest. Each was governed by a president and a council of nine or twelve members, appointed by the court of directors in England. Each was surrounded with fortifications, and guarded by a small force, partly European and partly native, in the service of the company. The Europeans were either recruits enlisted in England or strollers and deserters from other services in India. Among these the descendants of the old settlers, especially the Portuguese, were called *Topasses* — from the *tope* or hat which they wore instead of turban. The natives, as yet ill-armed and ill-trained, were known by the name of *sepoys* — a corruption from the Indian word *sipahi*, a soldier. But the territory of the English scarcely extended out of sight of their towns, nor had their military preparations any other object than the unmolested enjoyment of their trade. Far from aiming at conquest and aggrandisement, they had often to tremble for their homes. So late as 1742 the Mahratta Ditch was dug round a part of Calcutta, to protect the city from an inroad of the fierce race of Sivaji.

#### THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS: LA BOURDONNAIS AND DUPLEIX

Even before the commencement of the eighteenth century, it might be said that all rivalry had ceased in India between the company's servants and the Dutch or Portuguese. The latter, besides their treaties of close alliance with England, had utterly declined from their ancient greatness and renown. The Dutch directed by far their principal attention to their possessions in Java and the adjoining islands. But another still more formidable power had already struck root on the Indian soil.

[1744 A.D.]

The French under Louis XIV had established an East India Company<sup>1</sup> in emulation of the English; like them, they had obtained a settlement on the Hooghly river — at Chandernagor, above Calcutta; like them, they had built a fort on the coast of the Carnatic, about eighty miles south of Madras, which they called Pondicherry. In Malabar and Khandesh they had no settlement to vie with Bombay; but on the other hand they had colonised two fertile islands in the Indian Ocean — the one formerly a Dutch possession, and called Mauritius, from Prince Maurice of Orange; the second, discovered by the Portuguese, with the appellation of Mascarenhas. The first now received the name of Isle de France, and the second of Isle de Bourbon, and both, under the assiduous care of their new masters, rapidly grew in wealth and population. On the whole, the settlements of the French on the Indian coasts and seas were governed by two presidencies — the one at Isle de France, the other at Pondicherry.

It so chanced that at the breaking out of the war between France and England in 1744 both the French presidencies were ruled by men of superior genius. Mahé de la Bourdonnais commanded at Isle de France; a man of Breton blood, full of the generous ardour, of the resolute firmness, which have ever marked that noble race. Since his tenth year he had served in the navy on various voyages from the Baltic to the Indian seas, and he had acquired consummate skill, not only in the direction and pilotage but in the building and equipment of a fleet. Nor was he less skilled in the cares of civil administration. It is to him that Mauritius owes the first dawn of its prosperity. Ever zealous for his country's welfare, he was yet incapable of pursuing it by any other means than those of honour and good faith.

Dupleix was the son of a farmer general, and the heir of a considerable fortune. From early youth he had been employed by the French East India Company, and had gradually risen to the government of Pondicherry and of all the subordinate factories on the continent of Hindustan. During his whole career he had zealously studied the interests of the company without neglecting his own, and the abilities which he had displayed were great and various. The calculations of commerce were not more habitual or more easy to him than the armaments of war or the wiles of diplomacy. With the idea of Indian sovereignty ever active in his mind, he had plunged headlong into all the tangled and obscure intrigues of the native powers. Above all he caballed with the native *nawab* [or *nabob*] or deputed prince of Arcot, or, as sometimes called, of the Carnatic (Arcot being the capital, and Carnatic the country), and with his superior the subahdar or viceroy of the Deccan, more frequently termed the *nizam*.

Beguiled by a childish vanity, he was eager to assume for himself, as they did, the pompous titles of *nawab* and *bahadur*, which, as he pretended, had been conferred upon him by the court of Delhi. His breach of faith on several occasions with his enemies is even less to be condemned than his perfidy to some of his own countrymen and colleagues. But fortunate was it perhaps for the supremacy of England in the East, that two such great commanders as Dupleix and La Bourdonnais should by the fault of the first have become estranged from any effective combination, and have turned their separate energies against each other.

[<sup>1</sup> The first French East India Company was founded in 1604; a second in 1611; a third in 1615; Richelieu's in 1643; Colbert's in 1644, and a sixth in 1719, called the "Compagnie des Indes," and formed by the union of the East and West Indian companies with those of Senegal and China. The monopoly was suspended by the king in 1763, and the company abolished by the National Assembly in 1796.]

## FRENCH VICTORIES OVER THE ENGLISH (1746 A.D.)

On the declaration of war in 1744 an English squadron under Commodore Bernet had been sent to the Indian seas. La Bourdonnais, exerting his scanty means with indefatigable perseverance, succeeded in fitting out nine ships, but nearly all leaky and unsound, and he embarked upwards of three thousand men, but of these there were four hundred invalids and seven hundred Kaffirs or Lascars. On the 6th of July, 1746, the two fleets engaged near Fort St. David, but the battle began and ended in a distant cannonade. Next morning the English stood out to sea, while the French directed their course to Pondicherry. The object of La Bourdonnais was the capture of Madras, and he made a requisition on Dupleix for some stores and sixty pieces of artillery. But the jealous mind of Dupleix could ill brook contributing to his rival's success. He refused the stores, allowed only thirty cannon of inferior calibre, and sent on board water so bad as to produce a dysentery in the fleet.

Not disheartened, however, by these unexpected difficulties, La Bourdonnais appeared off Madras in September, 1746, and proceeded to disembark his motley force. The city, though at this period rich and populous, was ill-defended; one division, called the Black Town, only covered by a common wall; the other, the White Town, or Fort St. George, begirt with a rampart and bastions, but these very slight and faulty in construction. There were but three hundred Englishmen in the colony, and of them only two hundred were soldiers. Under such circumstances no effective resistance could be expected; nevertheless the garrison sustained a bombardment during three days, and obtained at last an honourable capitulation. It was agreed that the English should be prisoners of war upon parole, and that the town should remain in possession of the French until it should be ransomed, La Bourdonnais giving his promise that the ransom required should be fair and moderate. The sum was fixed some time afterwards between the French commander and the English council at 440,000*l*. On these terms the invaders marched in; the keys were delivered by the governor at the gate, and the French colours were displayed from Fort St. George. Not a single Frenchman had been killed during the siege, and only four or five English from the explosion of a bomb.

Dupleix could not restrain his resentment when he heard the terms of the capitulation. To his views of sovereignty in India it was essential that the English should be expelled the country, and Madras be either retained or rased to the ground. Accordingly when La Bourdonnais again disembarked at Pondicherry with the spoils of the conquered town, a long and fierce altercation arose between the rival chiefs.

These differences with Dupleix prevented La Bourdonnais from pursuing as he had designed, his expedition against the other British settlements in India. All his proposals for a union of counsels and resources were scornfully rejected by Dupleix, who had now no other object than to rid himself of an aspiring colleague. For this object he stooped at length to deliberate falsehood. He gave a solemn promise to fulfil the capitulation of Madras, on the faith of which La Bourdonnais consented to re-embark, leaving a part of his fleet with Dupleix, and steering with the rest to Achin in quest of some English ships. Not succeeding in the search he returned to the Mauritius, and from thence to France, to answer for his conduct. On his voyage home he was taken by the English, and conveyed to London, but was there received with respect and dismissed on parole.

At Paris, on the contrary, he found himself preceded by the perfidious

[1747-1748 A.D.]

insinuations of his rival. He was thrown into the Bastille, his fortune plundered, his papers seized, and his will torn open. He was secluded from his wife and children, and even debarred the use of pen and ink for his defence. When after many months' suspense he was examined before a royal commission he heard his services denied, his integrity questioned, and the decline of commerce resulting from the war urged as his reproach. "Will you explain," asked of him one of the East Indian Directors, "how it happened that under your management your own private affairs have thriven so well and those of the Company so ill?"

"Because," answered La Bourdonnais without hesitation, "I managed my own affairs according to my own judgment, and I managed the Company's according to your instructions!" After many harassing inquiries, and three years' detention, his innocence was publicly acknowledged; but his long imprisonment had broken his health, or rather, perhaps, his heart; he lingered for some time in a painful illness, and in 1754 expired. The government, wise and just too late, granted a pension to his widow.

#### THE AMBITIONS AND SUCCESSES OF DUPLEIX

Only seven days after La Bourdonnais had sailed from Pondicherry, Dupleix, in utter defiance of his recent promise, obtained a warrant from his council annulling the capitulation of Madras. Thus, so far from restoring the city within a few weeks, on payment of the stipulated sum, the principal inhabitants were brought under a guard to Pondicherry, and paraded in triumph through the streets. Such conduct had, at least, the advantage of absolving them from the obligation of their previous parole, and several of them, assuming Hindu attire or other disguises, made their way from Pondicherry to Fort St. David, the two settlements being less than twenty miles asunder. Among those who thus escaped was young Robert Clive, then a merchant's clerk, afterwards a conqueror and statesman.

It was not long ere some troops were sent out by Dupleix (Dupleix himself was no warrior) for the reduction of Fort St. David; but the nawab of Arcot, to whom the cession of Madras had been promised, being now disappointed in his hopes and filled with resentment, joined his forces to the English, and the invaders were repulsed with loss. Not discouraged, Dupleix opened a new negotiation with the nawab, who, on some fresh lures held out to him, consented to desert the English, and again embrace the French interest. Thus, in March, 1747, Dupleix could under better auspices resume his expedition against Fort St. David, and his soldiers were advancing, as they thought, to a certain conquest, when a number of ships were descried in the offing as about to anchor in the roads. These were no sooner recognised as English than the French relinquished their design, and hastened back to Pondicherry.

The English fleet, thus opportune in its appearance, was commanded by Admiral Griffin, who had been sent from England with two men-of-war to strengthen the Bengal squadron. In the next ensuing months further reinforcements, both naval and military, were brought at different times by Admiral Boscawen and Major Lawrence; the former taking the chief command at sea, and the second on shore. So large was this accession of force as to turn at once, and heavily, the scale against the French. It became possible nay, even, as it seemed, not difficult, to retaliate the loss of Madras by the capture of Pondicherry. With this view the English took the field in August, 1748, having in readiness two thousand seven hundred European troops, one

thousand sailors who had been taught the manual exercise during the voyage, and two thousand sepoys in the service of the company.

At the news of this armament, the greatest perhaps from modern Europe which India had yet seen, the nawab of Arcot hastened to change sides once more, and declare himself an English ally; he even promised the succour of two thousand horse, but only sent three hundred. Dupleix, on his part, could muster eighteen hundred Europeans and three thousand sepoys, but his dispositions were by far the more skilful and able. He knew how to inspire his men with military ardour, while the English were dispirited by the want of practice in their commanders, wasted by sickness, and harassed by rains which had begun three weeks before the usual season. At length they found it necessary to raise the siege, after thirty-one days of open trenches, and the loss of one thousand men. The French governor, in his usual boastful strain, immediately proclaimed his triumph by letters to all the chief subahdars of India, and even to the great Mughal.

Such was the state of affairs in India when the tidings came that a peace had been signed at Aix-la-Chapelle [Aachen], and that a restitution of conquests had been stipulated. It became necessary for Dupleix to yield Madras to the English, which he did with extreme reluctance and after long delay. On this occasion of recovering Madras, the English also took possession of St. Thomé, which the natives had conquered from the Portuguese.

The rival settlements of Pondicherry and Madras, though now debarred from any further direct hostility, were not long in assailing each other indirectly, as auxiliaries in the contests of the native princes. A new scene was rapidly opening to the ambition of Dupleix. The nizam, or viceroy of the Deccan under the Mughal, had lately died, and been succeeded by his son, Nasir Jang, but one of his grandsons, Muzaffar Jang, had claimed the vacant throne. At the same time in the dependent province of the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib, son-in-law of a former nawab, appeared as a competitor to the reigning prince, Anwaru-din.

Dupleix eagerly seized the opportunity to enhance his own importance, by establishing through his aid a viceroy of the Deccan and a nawab of the Carnatic. He promised his support to the two pretenders, who had combined their interests and their armies, and who were now reinforced with two thousand sepoys and several hundred Europeans. Nor did they want skilful officers from Pondicherry; one, above all, the marquis de Bussy, showed himself no less able in the field than Dupleix was in council. In August, 1749, a battle ensued beneath the fort of Ambur, when the discipline of the French auxiliaries turned the tide of victory, and when the veteran and subtle nawab, Anwaru-din, was slain. His capital, Arcot, and the greater part of his dominions fell into the hands of the conquerors.

His son, Muhammed Ali, with the wreck of his army, fled to Trichinopoli, and endeavoured to maintain himself, assuming the title of nawab of Arcot, and acknowledged as such by the English; but their zeal in his behalf was faint and languid, and, moreover, they were at this juncture entangled with some insignificant operations in Tanjore. Dupleix, on the contrary, was all activity and ardour. Even on learning that his confederate, Muzaffar Jang, had suffered a reverse of fortune and was a prisoner in the camp of Nasir Jang he did not slacken either in warfare or negotiation. When, at length, in December, 1750, the army which he had set in motion came in sight of Nasir Jang's, the Indian prince viewed its scanty numbers with scorn. But a conspiracy had been formed by the French among his own followers; one of them aimed a carabine as Nasir Jang rode up on his elephant, and the Indian

[1750 A.D.]

prince fell dead on the plain. His head was then severed from his body, and carried on a pole before the tent of Muzaffar Jang, who, freed from his fetters, was by the whole united army hailed as the nizam.

The exultation of Dupleix knew no bounds. On the spot where Nasir Jang had fallen he began to build a town with the pompous title of Dupleix Fathabad — the City of the Victory of Dupleix — and in the midst of that town he laid the foundation of a stately pillar, whose four sides were to bear inscriptions proclaiming in four different languages the triumph of his arms. With the same vainglorious spirit he resolved to celebrate, at the seat of his own government, the installation of the new nizam. On the day of that ceremony he might have passed for an Asiatic potentate as he entered the town in the same palanquin with his ally, and in the garb of a Mohammedan amir, with which the prince himself had clothed him. He accepted, or assumed, the government, under the Mughal, of all the country along the eastern coast between the river Kistna and Cape Comorin; a country little less in extent than France itself.

No petition was granted by the nizam unless signed by the hand of Dupleix; no money was henceforth to be current in the Carnatic except from the mint of Pondicherry. "Send me reinforcements," wrote Bussy to his chief, "and in one year more the emperor shall tremble at the name of Dupleix!" But the French governor soon discovered that his own vanity had been a fatal bar in the way of his ambition. His rivals at Fort St. George and Fort St. David took an alarm at his lofty titles which they might not have felt so soon as his extended power.

It appeared on this occasion, to the heads of the English factory, that, although the contest for the Deccan had been decided by the fall of Nasir Jang, they might still advantageously take part in the contest for the Carnatic. Accordingly they sent several hundred men under Captain Gingers to reinforce their confederate, Muhammed Ali; but these troops were put to flight at Volkondah, and compelled to take shelter with Muhammed Ali in his last stronghold of Trichinopoli. There he was soon besieged and closely pressed by the army of Chanda Sahib, and the auxiliaries of Dupleix. If the place should fall it was clear that the French would gain the mastery over all the provinces adjoining Fort St. George and Fort St. David, and would at the first opportunity renew their attack upon those settlements. On the other hand, the English were at this time ill prepared for any further active hostilities; their only officer of experience, Major Lawrence, had gone home, and the garrisons remaining for their own defence were extremely small. There seemed almost equal danger in remaining passive or in boldly advancing. These doubts were solved, these perils overcome, by the energy of one man — Robert Clive.

## THE RISE OF ROBERT CLIVE

The father of Clive was a gentleman of old family but small estate, residing near Market Drayton in Shropshire. There Robert, his eldest son, was born in 1725. From early childhood the boy showed a most daring and turbulent spirit. At various schools to which he was sent he appears to have been idle and intractable. Even in after life he was never remarkable for scholarship; and his friendly biographer, Malcolm,<sup>e</sup> admits that wide as was his influence over the native tribes of India, he was little, if at all, acquainted with their languages. His father was soon offended at his waywardness and neglect of his studies, and instead of a profession at home, obtained for him

a writership in the East India Company's service, and in the presidency of Madras.

There is no doubt that the climate at Madras was unfavourable to his health, and his duty at the desk ill-suited to his temper. But worse than all other discomfort was his own constitutional and morbid melancholy — a melancholy which may yet be traced in the expression of his portraits, and which, afterwards heightened as it were by bodily disease and mental irritation, closed the career of this great chief by the act of his own hand before he had attained the age of fifty years. As a writer at Madras he twice one day snapped a pistol at his own head. Finding it miss fire, he calmly waited until his room was entered by an acquaintance, whom he requested to fire the pistol out of the window. The gentleman did so, and the pistol went off. At this proof that it had been rightly loaded Clive sprang up with the exclamation, "Surely then I am reserved for something!" and relinquished his design.

We have already found occasion to relate how Clive was led a prisoner from Fort St. George to Pondicherry, and how he effected his escape from Pondicherry to Fort St. David.

From this time forward, however, the undaunted spirit of Clive found a nobler scope against the public enemy. During the petty hostilities which ensued — when the merchants' clerks were almost compelled in self-defence to turn soldiers — the name of Ensign or Lieutenant Clive is often, and always honourably, mentioned, and during the intervals of these hostilities he returned to his ledgers and accounts; but on the emergency produced by the successes of Dupleix, the siege of Trichinopoli, and the departure of Major Lawrence, he accepted a captain's commission, and bade adieu to trade. With no military education, with so little military experience, this young man of twenty-five shone forth not only, as might have been foreseen, a most courageous, but a most skilful and accomplished commander.

At this crisis he discerned that although it was not possible to afford relief to Trichinopoli a diversion might still be effected by a well-timed surprise of Arcot, thus compelling Chanda Sahib to send a large detachment from his army. The heads of the presidency on whom he strenuously urged his views not only approved the design, but accepted the offer of his own services for its execution. Accordingly, in August, 1751, Captain Clive marched from Madras at the head of only three hundred sepoys and two hundred Europeans. Scanty as seems this force, it could only be formed by reducing the garrison at Fort St. David to one hundred and the garrison of Madras to fifty men; and of the eight officers under Clive, six had never before been in action, and four were merchants' clerks who, incited by his example, took up the sword to follow him. A few days' march brought the little band within ten miles of Arcot, and within sight of the outposts of the garrison. There a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and rain arose, through which, however, Clive undauntedly pushed forward. Slight as seems this incident it became attended with important results, for the garrison, apprised by their outposts of the behaviour of the English, were seized with a superstitious panic, as though their opponents were in league with the heavens, and they fled precipitately not only from the city but from the citadel. Thus Clive, without having struck a blow, marched through the streets amidst a concourse of a hundred thousand spectators, and took quiet possession of the citadel or fort. In that stronghold the Arcot merchants had, for security, deposited effects to the value of 50,000*l.*, which Clive punctually restored to the owners; and this politic act of honesty conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the English interest.

[1751 A.D.]

Clive, learning that the fugitive garrison had been reinforced and had taken post in the neighbourhood, made several sallies against them; in the last he surprised them at night, and scattered or put them to the sword. But his principal business was to prepare against the siege which he expected, by collecting provisions and strengthening the works of the fort. As he had foretold, his appearance at Arcot effected a diversion at Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib immediately detached four thousand men from his army, who were joined by two thousand natives from Vellore, by one hundred and fifty Europeans from Pondicherry, and by the remains of the fugitive garrison. Altogether, the force thus directed against Arcot exceeded ten thousand men, and was commanded by Raja Sahib, a son of Chanda Sahib.

The fort in which the English were now besieged was, notwithstanding some hasty repairs, in great measure ruinous; with the parapet low and slightly built, with several of the towers decayed, with the ditch in some parts fordable, in others dry, and in some choked up with fallen rubbish. But Clive undauntedly maintained, day after day, such feeble bulwarks against such overwhelming numbers. Nor did he neglect, amidst other more substantial means of defence, to play upon the fears and fancies of his superstitious enemy.

After several weeks' siege, however, the besiegers, scanty and ill-served as was their artillery, had succeeded in making more than one practicable breach in the walls. Some succour to the garrison was attempted from Madras, but in vain. Another resource, however, remained to Clive. He found means to despatch a messenger through the enemy's lines to Murari Rao, a Mahratta chieftain, who had received a subsidy to assist Muhammed Ali, and who lay encamped with six thousand men on the hills of Mysore. He sent down a detachment of his troops from the hills.

Raja Sahib, when he learned that the Mahrattas were approaching, perceived that he had no time to lose. He sent a flag of truce to the garrison promising a large sum of money if Clive would surrender, and denouncing instant death if Clive awaited a storm; but he found his offers and his threats received with equal disdain. Exasperated at the scornful answer, he made every preparation for a desperate attack on the morrow. It was the 14th of November, the fiftieth day of the siege, and the anniversary of the festival in commemoration of that martyr of early Islam, Hosein, when, according to the creed of the Mohammedans of India any one who falls in battle against unbelievers is wafted at once into the highest region of paradise. But every assault was repulsed with heavy loss. In the first part of the night their fire was renewed, but at two in the morning it ceased, and at the return of daylight it appeared that they had raised the siege, and were already out of sight, leaving four hundred men dead upon the ground, with all their ammunition and artillery.

Elated at this result of his exertions, Clive was not slow in sallying forth and combining his little garrison with the detachment from Murari Rao, and with some reinforcements from Europe which had lately landed at Madras. Thus strengthened, he sought out Raja Sahib, and gave him battle near the town of Arni. On this occasion he beheld for the first time in action — happily for him, ranged on his own side — the activity and bravery of the Mahrattas. On the other hand, Raja Sahib, though the greater part of his own troops were dispersed, had been reinforced from Pondicherry with three hundred Europeans and nearly three thousand sepoys. The issue of the battle, however, was a complete victory for Clive; the enemy's military chest, containing a hundred thousand rupees, fell into the hands of his Mahrattas;

and not less than six hundred of the French sepoys, dispirited by their failure came over with their arms and consented to serve in the English ranks.

Clive next proceeded against the great *pagoda* or Hindu temple of Conjeveram, into which the French had thrown a garrison, and, entering the place, after three days' cannonade, found the French garrison escaped by night and the English officers unhurt.

Notwithstanding these events, Raja Sahib was not disheartened. In January, 1752, finding that Clive had marched to Fort St. David, he suddenly collected a body of his own troops and of his French auxiliaries and pushed forwards to Madras. Clive was recalled in haste from the south, and again

encountered Raja Sahib with complete success. From the scene of action he marched back in triumph to Fort St. David, passing on his way near the newly raised City of the Victory of Dupleix, and the foundation of the pompous pillar. Clive directed that these monuments of premature exultation should be rased to the ground.

At Trichinopoli the effect of Clive's earliest successes had been to turn the siege into a languid blockade. At this period, however, Major Lawrence returned from Europe.

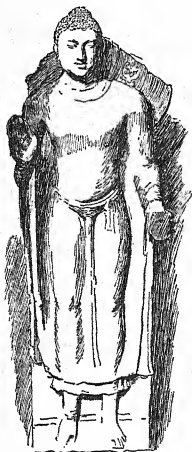
The expedition to Trichinopoli, led by Lawrence and Clive, was crowned with triumphant success. In the result the French besiegers of Muhammed Ali were themselves besieged in the island of Srirangam in the river Kaveri, and were compelled to lay down their arms. Chanda Sahib himself surrendered to a native chief named Manakji, who took an oath for his safety on his own sabre and poniard — the most sacred of all oaths to an Indian soldier — but who, nevertheless, shortly afterwards put his prisoner to death.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE LAST DAYS OF DUPLEIX

It might have been expected that such successes — and above all the murder of one of the competitors — would finally decide the conquest for

the government of the Carnatic. But immediately after his victory Muhammed Ali had become involved in dissensions with his allies, the Mahrattas and Mysoreans, to whom he had promised, without ever really intending, the cession of Trichinopoli. These bickerings gave fresh life and spirit to Dupleix. Although he found his recent policy disapproved by his employers in Europe, although he received from them only reproofs instead of supplies, although the recruits sent out to him were according to his own description, no other than "boys, shoe-blacks, and robbers," he yet clung to his own schemes with unconquerable perseverance. He laboured to train and discipline his recruits; and, in the want of other funds, he advanced for the public service not less than 140,000*l.* of his own money. Dupleix now resumed hostilities — again attempted Arcot, and again besieged Trichinopoli. Notwithstanding all his exertions, the warfare proved weak and languid, and was far from enabling the French to recover their lost ground.

[<sup>1</sup> Colonel Malleon is of opinion that Major Lawrence connived at this act.]



AN IMAGE OF BUDDHA

[1753-1754 A.D.]

Clive had for some time continued to distinguish himself in the desultory operations which followed the surrender of Srirangam. He had reduced in succession the two important forts of Kovlaon and Chingleput. But his health was beginning to fail beneath the burning sun of India; his return to England had become essential to his recovery, and he embarked at Madras early in the year 1753, immediately after his marriage to Miss Margaret Maskelyne. He found himself received at home with well-earned approbation and rewards. The court of directors at one of their public dinners drank the health of the young captain by the name of "General Clive," and, not satisfied with this convivial compliment, voted him the gift of a sword set with diamonds.

Far different were the feelings which the directors of the French East India Company entertained towards Dupleix. They looked with slight interest on the struggles for the Carnatic, and thought the failure of their dividends an unanswerable argument against the policy of their governor. A negotiation for the adjustment of all differences was carried on for some time in London between them and their English rivals. At length they determined to send over M. Godeheu as their commissioner to India, with full powers to conclude a peace and to supersede Dupleix. Godeheu landed at Pondicherry in August, 1754, and hastened to sign with the chiefs of the English presidency a provisional treaty, to be confirmed or annulled in Europe, according to which the French party yielded nearly all the points at issue and virtually acknowledged Muhammed Ali as nawab of the Carnatic.

Dupleix, who looked on this pacification with unavailing grief and anger, had even before its final conclusion embarked for France. There he found neither reward for the services he had rendered nor even repayment for the sums he had advanced. Where was now that proud and wily satrap so lately bedecked with pompous titles and glittering with the gold of Trichinopoly or the diamonds of Golconda? Had any curious travellers at the time sought an answer to that question they might have found the fallen statesman reduced, as is told us by himself, to the most deplorable indigence — compiling in some garret another fruitless memorial, or waiting for many a weary hour in some under-secretary's antechamber. For several years he pursued most unavailingly his claims and his complaints, until in 1763 he expired, sick at heart and broken in fortunes, like his rival and his victim, La Bourdonnais.<sup>b</sup>

## COLONEL MALLESON'S ESTIMATE OF DUPELIX

"It is impossible," says Malleson, "to deny to Dupleix the possession of some of the greatest qualities with which any man has ever been endowed. He was a great administrator, a diplomatist of the highest order, a splendid organiser, a man who possessed supremely the power of influencing others." Malleson ascribes to his hero not only great quickness and subtle intelligence, a wide range of ideas, an indomitable energy, and a persistence and determination that could not be daunted, but also the possession of equally invaluable moral traits of a quite different character, making him noble, generous, and sympathetic. He thinks Dupleix incapable of envy or jealousy, and possessed of a fortitude altogether admirable. And, that an extraordinary character may be grounded out in almost every direction, it is declared even that the Frenchman possessed a capacity for the practice of arms, in witness of which, attention is called to his conduct at the siege of Pondicherry by Boscawen. All of this savours somewhat of adulation, yet serves to remind us that the capacity to excite such enthusiasm is in itself one of the traits of the hero."

## CLIVE'S RETURN AS GOVERNOR (1756 A.D.)

Within two years the health of Clive grew strong in his native air, and his spirit began to pine for active service. On the other hand, experience of his merits, and apprehension of a war with France, rendered both the king's ministers and the East India Company eager to employ him. From the former he received the rank of lieutenant colonel in the army, from the latter the office of governor of Fort St. David. Landing at Bombay with some troops in November, 1755, he found there Admiral Watson and a British squadron. There was little at that time on the coast of Coromandel to demand the exertions of these two commanders, and they thought the opportunity tempting to reduce in conjunction a formidable nest of pirates, about two degrees south of Bombay. Their spoils, valued at £120,000, were shared as prize-money between the naval and military captors.

Having performed this service in February, 1756, Clive pursued his voyage to Fort St. David, and took the charge of his government on the 20th of June — the very day when the nawab of Bengal was storming Fort William. In fact a crisis had now occurred on the shores of the Hooghly, threatening the utmost danger, and calling for the utmost exertion.

## SIRAJ-UD-DAULA

The viceroys of Bengal, like the viceroys of the Deccan, retained only a nominal dependence on the Mughal Empire. From their capital, Murshidabad (Moorshedabad) — “a city,” says Clive, “as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London” — they sent forth absolute and uncontrolled decrees over the wide provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, ill-disguised by the mockery of homage to that empty phantom “the Kings of Kings” at Delhi. The old nawab, Ali Vardi Khan, had died in April, 1756, and been succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-Daula (Surajah Dowlah), a youth only nineteen years of age. Siraj-ud-Daula combined in no small degree a ferocious temper with a feeble understanding. The torture of birds and beasts had been the pastime of his childhood, and the sufferings of his fellow-creatures became the sport of his riper years. His favourite companions were buffoons and flatterers, with whom he indulged in every kind of debauchery, amongst others, the immoderate use of ardent spirits. Towards the Europeans, and the English especially, he looked with ignorant aversion, and still more ignorant contempt. He was often heard to say that he did not believe there were ten thousand men in all Europe.

Differences were not slow to arise between such a prince as Siraj-ud-Daula and his neighbours, the British in Bengal. He seized the British factory at Kasimbazar, the port of Murshidabad upon the river, and he retained the chiefs of that settlement as his prisoners. Siraj-ud-Daula had heard much of the wealth at Calcutta; that wealth he was determined to secure; and he soon appeared before the gates at the head of a numerous army.

## THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA (1756 A.D.)

The defences of Calcutta, notwithstanding the wrath which they had stirred in the nawab, were at this time slight and inconsiderable. For a garrison there were less than two hundred Europeans, and scarcely more than one thousand natives, hastily trained as militia, and armed with matchlocks.

No example of spirit was set them by their chiefs. On the contrary, the gov-

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error, Mr. Drake, and the commanding officer, Captain Minchin, being struck with a disgraceful panic, embarked in a boat and escaped down the Hooghly.

Under these circumstances a civilian, Mr. Holwell, though not the senior servant of the company, was by the general voice called to the direction of affairs. At this time the nawab's artillery was already thundering at the walls, yet under every disadvantage Mr. Holwell protracted for two days longer the defence of the fort. When at length, on the evening of the 20th of June, all resistance had ceased, the nawab seated himself in the great hall of the factory, and received the congratulations of his courtiers on his prowess. Soon after he sent for Mr. Holwell, to whom he expressed much resentment at the presumption of the English in daring to defend their fort, and much dissatisfaction at his having found so small a sum — only 50,000 rupees — in their treasury. On the whole, however, he seemed more gracious than his character gave reason to expect, and he promised, "on the word of a soldier," as he said, that the lives of his prisoners should be spared.

Thus dismissed by the tyrant, and led back to the other captives, Mr. Holwell cheered them with the promise of their safety. We are told how, relieved from their terrors and unconscious of their doom, they laughed and jested amongst themselves. But their joy and their jesting were of short duration. They had been left at the disposal of the officers of the guard, who determined to secure them for the night in the common dungeon of the fort — a dungeon known to the English by the name of the Black Hole — its size only eighteen feet by fourteen; its airholes only two small windows, and these overhung by a low veranda. Into this cell — hitherto designed and employed for the confinement of some half dozen malefactors at a time — it was now resolved to thrust a hundred and forty-five European men and one Englishwoman, some of them suffering from recent wounds, and this in the night of the Indian summer-solstice, when the fiercest heat was raging! Into this cell accordingly the unhappy prisoners, in spite of their expostulations, were driven at the point of the sabre, the last, from the throng and narrow space, being pressed in with considerable difficulty, and the doors being then by main force closed and locked behind them.<sup>b</sup>

Nothing in history or fiction [says Macaulay], not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who even in that extremity retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the nawab's orders, that the nawab was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him.

Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down; fought for the places at the windows; fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies; raved, prayed, blasphemed; implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The nawab had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work.

When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the

charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously and covered up.

But these things which after the lapse of years cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage nawab. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be gained, were suffered to depart; but those from whom it was thought that any thing could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the nawab procured their release. One Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in the harem of the prince at Murshidabad.<sup>h</sup>

#### ENGLISH ALLIANCE WITH THE NAWAB

At Calcutta meanwhile Siraj-ud-Daula was lending a ready ear to the praises of his courtiers, who assured him that his reduction of the British settlement was the most heroic and glorious achievement performed in India since the days of Timur. In memory of the Divine blessing (for so he deemed it) he ordered that on his arms Calcutta should thenceforward bear the name of *Alinagar* — “the Port of God.” Another edict declared that no Englishman should ever again presume to set foot within the territory. Then, leaving a garrison of three thousand men in Calcutta, and levying large sums, by way of contribution, from the Dutch at Chinsura and the French at Chandarnagar, Siraj-ud-Daula returned in triumph to his capital.

It was not till the 16th of August that tidings of the events of Calcutta reached Madras. Measures were then in progress for sending a detachment into the Deccan to counteract the influence of Bussy. But all other considerations were overborne by the cry for vengeance against Siraj-ud-Daula, and the necessity of an expedition to Bengal. It happened fortunately that Admiral Watson and his squadron had returned from the western coast and were now at anchor in the roads. It happened also, from the projected march to the Deccan, that the land-forces were at this period combined, and ready for action. The presidency summoned Clive from Fort St. David, and appointed him chief of the intended expedition.

#### THE BRITISH IN INDIA

On the whole the force entrusted to Clive amounted to nine hundred Europeans, and fifteen hundred sepoys. The powers granted him were to be in all military matters independent of the members of the council of Calcutta; but his instructions were positive and peremptory, to return at all events and under any circumstances by the month of April next, about which time a French expedition was expected on the coast of Coromandel.

The armament of Clive and Watson having been delayed two months by quarrels at Madras, and two more by contrary winds at sea, did not enter the Hooghly until the middle of December, and then they pushed forward against Calcutta. The scanty garrison left by Siraj-ud-Daula ventured to sally forth, but was easily routed with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. Calcutta,

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after one or two random discharges from the wall, was quietly abandoned to the English, who thus on the 2nd of January, 1757, again became masters of the place. Nay, more, after this first success, Clive and Watson advanced against the town of Hooghly, which they stormed and sacked with little loss. This was the first opportunity of distinction to Captain Coote, afterwards Sir Eyre Coote.

At these tidings, Siraj-ud-Daula, much irritated, but also in some degree alarmed, marched back from Murshidabad at the head of forty thousand men. By this time intelligence had reached India of the declaration of war between France and England, and the nawab proposed to the French at Chandarnagar that they should join him with their whole force, amounting to several hundred Europeans. But the memory of their reverses on the coast of Coromandel was still present in their minds, and they not only rejected the nawab's overture, but made an overture of their own to the English for a treaty of neutrality. As, however, the French at Chandarnagar did not, like the English at Calcutta, form a separate presidency, but were dependent on the government of Pondicherry, they had not in truth the powers to conclude the treaty they proposed, and for this and other reasons it was finally rejected by the British chiefs.

During this time Siraj-ud-Daula had advanced close upon Fort William, at the head of his large but ill-disciplined and irregular army. Clive, considering the disparity of numbers, resolved to surprise the enemy in a night attack. The loss of the English in the action which ensued was no less than one hundred sepoys and one hundred and twenty Europeans — a great proportion of their little army.

Yet if the object of Clive had been mainly to show the superiority of the Europeans in warfare, and to strike terror into the mind of the nawab, that object was fully attained. Siraj-ud-Daula passed from an ignorant contempt of the English to a kind of timid awe. He agreed to grant them the confirmation of their previous privileges — the right to fortify Calcutta in any manner they pleased — the exemption of all merchandise under their passes from fees and tolls — and the restoration of or compensation for all such of their plundered effects as had been carried to the nawab's account.

Three days after a peace had been signed on these conditions the new-born friendship of the nawab for the English, joined to some fear of a northward invasion from the Afghans, led him so far as to propose another article for an intimate alliance, offensive and defensive. It seemed ignominious, and a stain on the honour of England, to conclude such a treaty, or indeed any treaty, with the author of the atrocities of the Black Hole, while those atrocities remained without the slightest satisfaction, requital, or apology. But, as Clive had previously complained, the gentlemen at Calcutta were then callous to every feeling but that of their own losses. "Believe me," says Clive [in a letter to the governor of Madras], "they are bad subjects, and rotten at heart. The riches of Peru and Mexico should not induce me to live among them." Nevertheless it must be observed that whatever may have been Clive's feelings on this occasion he showed himself to the full as eager and forward as any of the merchants in pressing the conclusion of the treaty of alliance. Among the chiefs none but Admiral Watson opposed it, and it was signed and ratified on the 12th of February, the same day that it was offered.

This new and strange alliance seemed to the English at Calcutta to afford them a most favourable opportunity for assailing their rivals at Chandarnagar. Clive wrote to the nawab applying for permission, and received an evasive

answer, which he thought fit to construe as assent. Operations were immediately commenced; Clive directing them by land, and Watson by water. The French made a gallant resistance, but were soon overpowered and compelled to surrender the settlement, on which occasion above four hundred European soldiers became prisoners of war.

The nawab, who by this time had gone back to his capital, was most highly exasperated on learning of the attack upon Chandarnagar, which he had never really intended to allow. It produced another complete revolution in his sentiments. His former hatred against the English returned, but not his former contempt. On the contrary, he now felt the necessity of strengthening himself by foreign alliances against them, and with that view he entered into correspondence with Bussy in the Deccan. His letters pressed that officer to march to his assistance against the Englishman, *Sabut Jung*, "The daring in war" — a well-earned title, by which Clive is to this day known among the natives of India. Copies of these letters fell into the hands of the English, and left them no doubt as to the hostile designs of the nawab.

#### CLIVE'S DUPLICITY TOWARDS OMICHUND

With this conviction strongly rooted in his mind, and the danger to Bengal full before his eyes, the bold spirit of Clive determined to set aside of his own authority the instructions commanding his immediate return to Madras. He entered eagerly into the conspiracy forming at Murshidabad to depose Siraj-ud-Daula, and to place on the throne the general of the forces, Mir Jafar. It may readily be supposed that in these negotiations Mir Jafar was liberal, nay lavish, in his promises of compensation to the company, and rewards to their soldiers. Still more essential was the engagement into which he entered, that on the approach of an English force, he would join their standard with a large body of his troops.

In these negotiations between the native conspirators and the English chiefs, the principal agent next to Mr. Watts was a wealthy Hindu merchant of the name of Omichund. A long previous residence at Calcutta had made him well acquainted with English forms and manners, while it had lost him none of the craft and subtlety that seemed almost the birthright of a Bengal. As the time for action drew near, he began to feel — not scruples at the treachery — not even the apprehensions as to the success — but doubts whether his own interests had been sufficiently secured. He went to Mr. Watts and threatened to disclose the whole conspiracy to Siraj-ud-Daula unless it were stipulated that he should receive thirty lacs of rupees, or 300,000*l.*, as a reward for his services — which stipulation he insisted on seeing added as an article in the treaty pending between Mir Jafar and the English. Mr. Watts, in great alarm for his own life, soothed Omichund with general assurances, while he referred the question as speedily as possible to the members of the select committee at Calcutta.

The committee were equally unwilling to grant and afraid to refuse the exorbitant claim of Omichund. But an expedient was suggested by Clive. Two treaties were drawn up; the one on white paper intended to be real and valid and containing no reference to Omichund, the other on red paper with a stipulation in his favour, but designed as fictitious and merely with the object to deceive him. The members of the committee, like Clive, put their names without hesitation to both treaties; but Admiral Watson, with higher spirit, would only sign the real one. It was foreseen that the omission of such a

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name would rouse the suspicion of Omichund, and in this emergency Clive directed another person to counterfeit the admiral's signature.

For his share in these transactions Clive was many years afterwards taunted to his face in the house of commons. Unable to deny he endeavoured to defend his conduct. "It was," he said, "a matter of true policy and of justice to deceive so great a villain as Omichund." The villainy of Omichund, however, appears mainly this — that for the treachery which the English encouraged and abetted he claimed a larger reward than the English were willing to pay. But even admitting to the fullest extent the guilt of the Hindu intriguer, this does not suffice to vindicate the British chief; this does not prove that it was justifiable, as he alleges, to deceive the deceiver, and to foil an Asiatic by his own Asiatic arts. Such expedients as fictitious treaties and counterfeited signatures are not to be cleared by any refinements of ingenuity, or any considerations of state advantage, and they must forever remain a blot on the brilliant laurels of Clive.

Omichund having thus been successfully imposed upon, and the conspiracy being now sufficiently matured, Mr. Watts made his escape from Murshidabad, and Clive set his army in motion from Calcutta. He had under his command three thousand men, all excellent troops, and one third Europeans.

Siraj-ud-Daula proceeded to assemble near the village of Plassey his whole force amounting to fifteen thousand cavalry, and thirty-five thousand foot. Nor was it merely in numbers of men that he surpassed the English; while Clive brought only eight field pieces and two howitzers, Siraj-ud-Daula had above forty pieces of cannon of the largest size, each drawn by forty or fifty yoke of white oxen, and each with an elephant behind, trained to assist in pushing it over difficult ground. Forty Frenchmen in the nawab's pay directed some smaller guns. The greater part of the foot were armed with matchlocks, the rest with various weapons — pikes, swords, arrows, and even rockets.

The nawab, distrustful of Mir Jafar, had before he left the capital exacted from him an oath of fidelity upon the Koran. Either a respect for this oath, or, what is far more probable, a doubt as to the issue of the war, seemed to weigh with Mir Jafar; he did not perform his engagement to the English, of joining them with his division at the appointed place of meeting, but kept aloof, sending them only evasive answers or general assurances. The troops were led across the river; and at one o'clock in the morning of the memorable 23rd of June, 1757, they reached the mango-grove of Plassey. The mingling sounds of drums, clarions, and cymbals convinced them that they were now within a mile of the nawab's camp. For the remainder of that night Clive took up his quarters in a small hunting-house belonging to the nawab, but could not sleep; while his soldiers, less concerned than their general, stretched themselves to rest beneath the adjoining trees.

## BATTLE OF PLASSEY (1757 A.D.)

At sunrise Clive ascended the roof of the hunting-house, and surveyed with a steadfast eye the rich array and the spreading numbers of his enemy. He saw them advance from several sides, as if to enclose him, but they halted at some distance.<sup>b</sup>

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the nawab did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect. Several of the most distinguished officers in Siraj-ud-Daula's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expedi-

ency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Siraj-ud-Daula were dispersed, never to reassemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of near sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain.<sup>h</sup>

Of this battle it may be said that it was gained against a disparity of force nearly such as the Spaniards encountered in Mexico and Peru. But there is a difference highly honourable to the English. The natives of Mexico and Peru were wholly ignorant of gunpowder, and viewed the Spaniards with their fire-arms as demi-gods, wielding the lightning and thunder of the heavens. The natives of India, on the contrary, were well acquainted with the natives of Europe; they looked on them with no superstitious awe; and however unskilful in the use of artillery, they were at least not surprised at its effects. From the day of Plassey dates the British supremacy above them. From that day they began to feel that none of the things on which they had heretofore relied — not their tenfold or twentyfold numbers — their blaze of rockets — the long array of their elephants — the massy weight of their ordnance — their subtrefuges and their wiles — would enable them to stand firm against the energy and discipline of the island-strangers. They began to feel that even their own strength would become an instrument to their subjugation; that even their own countrymen, when, under the name of sepoy, trained in European discipline, and animated by European spirit, had been at Plassey, and would be again, the mainstay and right arm of the British power.

On the morning after the battle Mir Jafar appeared at the English camp, far from confident of a good reception since his recent conduct. As he alighted from his elephant the guard drew out, and rested their arms to do him honour; but Mir Jafar, not knowing the drift of this compliment, started back in great alarm. Clive, however, speedily came forward, embraced his trembling friend, and hailed him nawab of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. It was agreed between them that Mir Jafar should immediately push forward with his division to Murshidabad, and that Clive and his English should follow more at leisure. But they neither expected nor found the slightest further resistance.

Even before the day of Plassey was decided Siraj-ud-Daula had mounted a camel, and ignominiously fled from the field. He was seized and brought back in chains to the palace of Murshidabad — to the very presence chamber, once his own, now that of Mir Jafar. The fallen prince, still more abject in spirit than in fortunes, flung himself down before his triumphant subject, and with an agony of tears implored his life. It is said that Mir Jafar was touched with some compassion, and merely directed that his prisoner should be led away; but his son Meeran, a youth no less ferocious and cruel than Siraj-ud-Daula himself, gave the guards orders that he should be despatched in his cell. Barely sufficient respite was granted him, at his own urgent entreaty, to make his ablutions and to say his prayers. Next morning the

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mangled remains were exposed to the city on an elephant, and then carried to the tomb of Ali Vardi, while Mir Jafar excused himself to the English for the deed of blood committed without their knowledge and consent.

The installation of Mir Jafar, as nawab of Bengal, was performed with great solemnity. Clive himself led his friend to the *masnad*, or seat of honour, and, according to the Indian custom, presented him with a plate full of gold rupees; he then, through an interpreter, addressed the native chiefs, exhorting them to be joyful that fortune had given them so good a prince. Nor did the new nawab fail to bestow on his allies marks as splendid and more substantial of his favour. It was agreed, according to the previous stipulation, that the English should have the entire property of the land within the Mahratta ditch, and for six hundred yards beyond it, and also the *zamindari*, or feudal tenure on payment of rent, of all the country between Calcutta and the sea.

The money granted them in compensation for their losses, and in donatives to the fleet, the army, and the committee, amounted to no less than 2,750,000*l.*, although, as the wealth of Siraj-ud-Daula proved far less than was expected, it was not found possible to pay the whole of this sum at once. Clive accepted for his own share a gift of above 200,000*l.* When, some years afterward, before a committee of the house of commons, he was accused for taking so much, he defended himself by saying that he might, if he had pleased, have taken much more. "When I recollect," he said, "entering the nawab's treasury at Murshidabad, with heaps of gold and silver to the right and left, and these crowned with jewels" — here he added an oath, and violently struck his hand to his head — "at this moment do I stand astonished at my own moderation!"

A painful office remained — to tell Omichund that notwithstanding the promise in his favour, he should have no share in all this wealth. As interpreter and spokesman for that purpose the British chief employed Mr. Scrafton, a civil servant of the company. A meeting having been held at the house of one of the principal bankers of Murshidabad, Clive, at its conclusion, said to Mr. Scrafton: "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." Mr. Scrafton, as if ashamed of the task, performed it in the fewest and shortest words. "Omichund, the red paper is a trick; you are to have nothing." At this announcement the unhappy dupe staggered back as from a blow; he fainted away, and was borne by an attendant to his house, where, on recovering from his swoon, he remained for many hours silent and abstracted, and then began to show symptoms of imbecility. Some days afterwards he visited Clive, who received him kindly, advised him, for change of scene, to undertake a pilgrimage to some one of the Indian shrines, and was willing, on his return, to employ him again in public business. But the intellect of Omichund had been wholly unhinged, and he expired not many months from this period in a state of second childhood.

#### CLIVE RETURNS AGAIN TO ENGLAND (1760 A.D.)

The return of Clive to Calcutta was attended with general rejoicing and applause, and from this time forward, during several years, he was, in truth, master of Bengal. The East India directors had, indeed, formed a most unwise scheme for conducting the government of Calcutta, by a system of rotation, but at the news of the victory of Plassey they gladly conferred the office of governor on Clive. As a statesman he displayed scarcely less ability than as a soldier. It was his energy as both which upheld the feeble character

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and the tottering throne of Mir Jafar. Thus, when, in 1759, Shah Alam, the eldest son of the emperor of Delhi, succeeded in collecting a large army of adventurers, and marched down upon Behar, the terrified nawab was eager to purchase peace by the cession of a province or the payment of a tribute.

Far different were the views of the British chief. With a little army, comprising less than five hundred Europeans, he undauntedly marched to the aid of his ally; and such were now the terrors of his name that at his approach the mighty host of Shah Alam melted away; the siege of Patna was raised, and the war ended without a blow. In gratitude for this great service Mir Jafar bestowed upon Clive a splendid *jagir*, or domain, producing, according to Clive's own computation, an income of 27,000*l.* a year.

At nearly the same period Clive was directing from afar hostilities in the districts known in the Carnatic by the name of the Northern Circars, a tract of coast extending from the mouth of the Kistna to the pagoda of Juggernaut. These districts had been invaded by Bussy from the Deccan, and on his departure a French force, commanded by the marquis de Conflans, had been left for their defence. On the other hand, Clive sent thither a large detachment, under Colonel Forde, an officer trained under his own eye. The result was complete success; the French were worsted in a pitched engagement, and the English reduced Masulipatam against a garrison superior in numbers to themselves.

Towards the close of the same year, 1759, the English in Bengal were threatened with danger, equally great and unforeseen, from the Dutch in Java. Although peace prevailed between the two nations the Dutch could not view without jealousy the success and renown of their commercial rivals; they entered into secret negotiations with Mir Jafar, who, with the usual fickleness of Asiatics, had become desirous of deserting the English alliance; and they sent into the Hooghly an armament of seven large ships and fourteen hundred soldiers. If Clive suffered the Dutch ships to pass up the river and the Dutch troops to join the nawab's, the English might be overpowered and driven from Bengal. If he attempted to stop them, there was the risk of kindling a war between the two nations, or on the other hand, of being disavowed by the authorities in England, and consigned to disgrace and ruin. Nor were other personal motives wanting to dissuade Clive from action. At this very period he had entrusted a large share of his fortune to the Dutch East India Company, for speedy remittance to Europe.

Nevertheless in this emergency Clive showed himself, as ever, firm, resolute, unwavering. He was informed that the Dutch had landed their troops and committed various acts of violence, and a letter was addressed to him by Colonel Forde, stating, that if he had an order of council he could now attack the invaders with a fair prospect of destroying them. Clive was playing at cards in the evening when he received this letter, and without leaving the table he wrote an answer in pencil: "Dear Forde, fight them immediately. I will send you the order of council to-morrow." Accordingly the Dutch were attacked both by land and water, and notwithstanding their superiority of force in both, they were defeated. Of their seven ships every one fell into the hands of the English.

Only a few weeks after these events, in February 1760, Clive, who was suffering from ill-health, embarked for England. "With him it appeared" (to use the strong language of a contemporary), "that the soul was departing from the body of the government of Bengal." At home he was rewarded with an Irish peerage, as Lord Clive, baron of Plassey, and speedily obtained

[1758 A.D.]

a seat in the English house of commons. During his second residence in India, a period of less than five years, he had acquired a fortune amounting at the very lowest computation to 40,000*l.* a year. Several of the transactions in which he had engaged for the public advantage or his own seem repugnant to justice and good faith.

Those who explore his character with minute attention may moreover detect, not merely some great faults, but some little foibles. Thus, although he was plain and free from all ostentation in the field, he might be thought in society fonder of fine clothes than becomes a hero. But with every drawback or deduction which can fairly be made from his character, there will still remain very much to call forth praise and inspire admiration. He was indeed, as Chatham once called him, "a heaven-born general," who, with no military training, had shown consummate military genius. With nearly as little study of politics he displayed nearly as great abilities for government. Energy — which, perhaps, of all human qualities is the one most conducive to success — energy and fearlessness were peculiarly his own. Whatever gratitude Spain owes to her Cortes, or Portugal to her Albuquerque, this — and in its results more than this — is due from England to Clive.

#### THE ARRIVAL OF COUNT LALLY (1758 A.D.); FRENCH SUCCESSES

The Carnatic had meanwhile been the scene of important transactions. The declaration of war between France and England found the chiefs both at Pondicherry and Madras ill-prepared for any expedition of importance, and engaging in none but desultory and feeble hostilities. The English set fire to Wandewash; the French, in retaliation, to Conjeveram. The latter, under Auteuil, besieged Trichinopoly; the former, under Captain Calliaud, relieved the place. But the attention of both parties was intently fixed on a great armament which France had announced the intention of despatching to the Indian seas; comprising nearly twelve hundred regular troops, and commanded by Lieutenant-General Count de Lally. This officer had sprung from an Irish family which had followed James II into exile; his true name being Lally of Tully-dale, since Gallicised to Tollendal. A soldier from his earliest years, he had highly distinguished himself both at Dettingen and Fontenoy; in December 1745 he had warmly pressed the expedition against England from Dunkirk, and had been appointed one of its chiefs. Brave, active, and zealous, he was well qualified for military service; but a hasty temper and a caustic wit too frequently offended his inferiors, and marred his exertions.

The armament of Lally was delayed by various causes, both in its departure and on its voyage, and it was not till near the close of April, 1758, that it cast anchor before Pondicherry. Almost immediately on its arrival the French squadron, which was commanded by the count d'Aché, was engaged by the British, but the battle proved indecisive. In August another naval engagement, equally indecisive, ensued. The count d'Aché, satisfied with this result, and with having landed the troops, then sailed back to the Mauritius.

Lally, who had brought out a commission as governor-general of the French in India, displayed from the first hour of his landing the impetuosity of his temper. His instructions prescribed the siege of Fort St. David, and he sent forth a body of troops for that object on the very same night that he arrived. The troops hurriedly despatched, without provisions or guides, arrived before Fort St. David wayworn and hungry, and ill-disposed for action. In a few days, however, they were quickened by large reinforcements and by the

presence of Lally. The works of the siege were now vigorously pushed forward; a part in them all being urged by compulsion on the reluctant and scrupulous natives.

"In India," says Orme,<sup>f</sup> "even the lower castes have their distinction, insomuch that the coolie, who carries a burden on his head, will not carry it on his shoulder. Distinctions likewise prevail amongst the soldiery, for the man who rides will not cut the grass that is to feed his horse; nor at this time would the sepoy dig the trench which was to protect him from a cannon-ball." Such prejudices were now derided and set at nought by Lally. Thus he carried his immediate object, but thus also he forfeited forever all claim to the attachment and regard of the native population. According to Mill,<sup>c</sup> "the consternation created by such an act was greater than if he had set fire to the town, and butchered every man whom it contained."

At this juncture Fort St. David was the strongest that the East India Company possessed, and it held a sufficient garrison; but the commanding officer was far from able, and part of the men are represented as drunken and disorderly. So early as the 2nd of June terms of surrender, by no means honourable to themselves, were proposed by the besieged, and on the evening of the same day were accepted by the besiegers. Lally, in pursuance of the instructions which he had brought from France, immediately rased the fortifications to the ground, nor have they ever been rebuilt. Thus the name of Fort St. David — up to that time so conspicuous in the annals of the company — henceforth no longer appears.

Elated with this conquest, Lally pursued his warfare; he failed in an expedition against Tanjore, but succeeded in an expedition against Arcot. His aspiring views extended to the siege of Madras, and to the extinction of the British name in the Carnatic. For this great object he mustered every man at his disposal, even recalling Bussy from the Deccan, which had so long been the scene of that officer's active and able exertions. His want of money was no small obstacle in the way of his designs; to supply it he again offended the natives by plundering a pagoda of its wealth; and in a more praiseworthy spirit subscribed largely from his own private funds, exhorting his subordinates to follow his example. But he had already made nearly all of them his personal enemies by his haughty reproaches and his bitter jests. Thus, for example, when he found his council less alert than they might have been in providing the beasts of burden he required, he exclaimed that he could not do better than harness to his waggons the members of council themselves! All his letters at this period were filled with invectives of no common asperity.

In December, 1758, Lally appeared before Madras, at the head of twenty-seven hundred European and four thousand native troops. The English had already, in expectation of a siege, called in nearly all their garrisons and outposts, and could muster within their walls four thousand soldiers, of whom 1,800 were of European race. The French had no difficulty in making themselves masters of the Black Town; but this, from the large stores of arrack it contained, proved rather an obstacle to their further progress, as augmenting the insubordination of the men. On the other hand, the English steadily continued the defence of Fort St. George. When, after nearly two months' investment, a breach had been effected by Lally's batteries, his principal officers declared that it was not accessible, adding their opinion that a prolongation of the siege would be merely a wanton waste of human lives. The sepoys had deserted in great numbers, and some of the Europeans threatened to follow their example.

[1759-1760 A.D.]

## ENGLISH NAVAL SUCCESSES

On the 16th of February 1759, Admiral Pocock and his squadron, which had sailed to Bombay several months before, returned with some fresh troops on board. The French, apprehensive of a combined attack upon them, commenced that very night their march to Arcot, leaving behind their sick and wounded, fifty-two pieces of artillery, and a hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder.

After this great reverse to the French arms, and the return of their chief to Pondicherry, hostilities languished for some time between the rival nations. But in the autumn there ensued another naval engagement, from another voyage of D'Aché to this coast. On the 2nd of September his squadron was encountered by Pocock's; the English having nine ships of the line and the French eleven, with a great superiority both in guns and men. The result, however, as on the two last occasions, was by no means decisive; the loss of men was nearly equal on both sides, and the English suffered the most damage in their ships. D'Aché immediately proceeded to disembark a few men and a little money at Pondicherry, and then, notwithstanding the vehement remonstrances of the governor and council, returned with his squadron to the islands.

At nearly the same period the English at Madras were cheered with the tidings that Eyre Coote had been promoted in England to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was coming over at the head of the king's 84th regiment and other reinforcements. Major Brereton, who meanwhile commanded in the field, appears to have been desirous of distinguishing himself before the arrival of his chief. Thus he attempted to reduce the fort of Wandewash by three divisions in a night-attack, but signally failed, with the loss of two hundred men. So indignant was Brereton himself at his repulse that, on seeing the crowd of English fugitives, he drew his sword and ran the first man he met through the body! Orme *adds*: "Unfortunately the man was one of the bravest in the army, so that this example carried little influence."

Colonel Eyre Coote, with the last division of his force, landed at Madras on the 27th of October, 1759. Born in 1726, Coote was now in the prime of life, with none of those infirmities of body or mind which clouded over his later years, and obscured the lustre of his fame. One of his earliest measures on reaching the Carnatic was to retrieve the recent check to the British arms, by a more regular and skilful attack on Wandewash. In this enterprise Major Brereton did good service at the head of a division, and the fort was carried with little loss on the last day of November.

At this news Lally took the field. His dissensions with the civil service still continued, and his want of money to pay the troops had already produced more than one mutiny among them. He had, however, obtained as auxiliaries a body of Mahrattas, and he had under his command the sagacious and experienced Bussy, but, unhappily for himself, was jealous of his influence and distrustful of his counsels. Bussy strongly urged the imprudence of attempting to recover Wandewash, in the face of the English army. Lally, however, thought the honour of his arms at stake, and persevered in the design.

At nearly the commencement of the battle, January 22nd, 1760, the French horse, led on by Lally in person, was thrown into disorder by two English pieces of artillery, and was driven back to the encampment. Lally hastened to put himself at the head of the foot soldiers, and cheered them on to the charge. The battle now became general, and fiercely contested among the Europeans, but ere long began to declare in favour of Coote—a result hastened by the accidental explosion of a tumbril in the French ranks.

Bussy, attempting to rally the fugitives, and fighting with undaunted spirit at the head of a handful of men that still adhered to him, was surrounded and made prisoner sword in hand. The day was now decided. The French, notwithstanding the efforts of Lally, gave way in all directions from the field. In the battle or pursuit their loss was estimated at nearly six hundred men; the English had one hundred and ninety killed and wounded. It deserves notice that the brunt of the conflict had fallen entirely on the Europeans of both armies, the native troops taking no part in it since the first cannonade.

The joy this day at Madras, says a contemporary, could only be compared to that at Calcutta on the news of Plassey. In truth, as the one victory gained Bengal for the British, so did the other the Carnatic. It is remarkable, however, in all these operations by or against Lally, how little weight the native powers threw into either scale. Arcot, Trincomalee, Devicota, Cuddalore, and several other places fell successively into Coote's hands.

#### END OF THE FRENCH POWER IN INDIA

The net was now closing round Pondicherry itself. Through the boundary hedge of thorns and prickly plants, which, as in many other Indian towns, encompassed its outer defences, the inhabitants could discern the hostile army encamped, and ready for the siege. The departure of D'Aché's squadron had left the English undisputed masters of the sea, and scarce any further supplies, either by land or water, could reach the beleaguered city. The French valour, the rainy season, and a most violent storm in the roads, interposed, however, considerable obstacles in the way of Coote. Nor was discord, which raged so fiercely within the walls of Pondicherry, altogether absent from the English camp. In consequence of orders from home, given in ignorance of the late events, a dispute as to the chief command arose between Colonel Coote and Colonel Monson. At one period Coote had already relinquished his post, and was preparing to embark for Bengal; but Monson receiving a severe wound, and becoming for a time disabled, the leadership happily reverted to the victor of Wandewash.

In the night between the 8th and 9th of December four English batteries opened against the walls of Pondicherry. The besieged were firm and resolute in their defence, fighting every foot of ground, and making more than one successful sally. Before the middle of January, there only remained sufficient provisions for two days. In this extremity Lally and his council sent deputies to capitulate, and failing to obtain more favourable terms, were compelled to surrender at discretion. Accordingly, on the 16th of January, 1761, the English marched into the place. Great civilities passed between the chiefs; Coote dining that day at Lally's table; but Lally and his French, still amounting to above two thousand, remained prisoners of war. "All," says Orme, "wore the face of famine, fatigue, or disease."

Almost immediately after the surrender a dispute arose among the victors for the possession of the place. Coote and his officers claimed it for the king; Pigot and the other civilians from Madras claimed it for the company. The quarrel grew high, until at length Pigot declared, that unless his pretensions were admitted he should refuse to supply funds for the subsistence of the troops. This threat barred all further argument. In return for the destruction of Fort St. David, and in pursuance of orders from home, Pigot took measures for rasing to the ground the fortifications of Pondicherry, nay, even all the buildings that stood within them.

Thus ended the French power in India. For although Pondicherry was

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restored to them by the peace of 1763, and although the stipulation in that peace against their raising fortresses or maintaining troops applies only to Bengal, yet even in the Carnatic they could never again attain their former influence nor recover their lost ground; and the extinction of their East India Company speedily ensued.

## THE FATE OF LALLY

This result, however mortifying to French ambition, has been acknowledged by French writers as a just retribution on that company, and on the government of Louis XV, for their cruel oppression of almost every great commander who had served them faithfully in India. The closing scenes of La Bourdonnais and of Dupleix have been already described; there remains to tell the still more tragic fate of Lally. On arriving a prisoner in England and hearing of the charges brought against him in France, he wrote to Pitt, soliciting that he might return on his parole, and confront his accusers, and with this request the British minister complied. But no sooner was Lally at Paris than he was thrown into the Bastille, where he remained fifteen months without even a preliminary examination. When at length his trial did come on before the parliament of Paris, it was pressed with the utmost acrimony, both by the crown and East India Company; and a legal quibble on the term "high treason" enabled his judges to sentence him to death. When informed of their decision, "Is this," he passionately cried, "the reward of forty-five years' service!" and snatching up a compass with which he had been drawing maps during his imprisonment, he struck it at his breast. His hand, however, was held back by some person near him; and that same afternoon, the 9th of May, 1766, he was dragged along to public execution in a dung-cart, with a gag between his lips, and beheaded on the Place de Grève. Such was the end of a veteran, who had fought and bled for his adopted country, seldom, indeed, with prudence and discretion, but always with courage and honour.

## ENGLISH CONFLICTS WITH THE NATIVES

By the downfall of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and, above all, the French power in India, a wide and still-extending scope was left to that of England. The best chance of supremacy to the native states had lain in resisting Europeans by Europeans — in setting the skill and energy of one northern race against another. Single-handed they fell one by one — some dropping from their own rottenness, like fruit from a tree, others resisting fiercely, but without avail.

The British had struck down their European rivals at Pondicherry, at Chandanagar, and at Chinsura. They had shot high above their titular liege-lords in the Deccan and Bengal. Of Bengal, indeed, they were in truth the masters, since Mir Jafar, as their tool and instrument, sat enthroned on the masnad of that province. On the other hand they had no longer a chief of genius and of energy to guide them. The principal authority since the departure of Clive had devolved on Henry Vansittart, a man of good intentions, but of moderate capacity. Thus the discipline of the victors was relaxed by their own successes. Thus their rapine ceased to be checked by a strong hand. Almost every Englishman in Bengal began to look upon speedy enrichment as his right, and upon the subservient natives as his prey.

Nor was it long ere a growing difference sprang up between them and

their new nawab. So early as the autumn of 1760, Mir Jafar was found to engage in cabals against the company. He was surrounded in his palace at the dead of night, compelled to resign the government, and then, at his own request, permitted to retire to Fort William, under the protection of the British flag; while his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, was in his stead proclaimed the viceroy of Bengal.

According to a compact made beforehand with the English, Mir Kasim forthwith yielded to them, as the price of their assistance, both an amount of treasure and an increase of territory. But his temper, which was bold and active, and by no means scrupulous, chafed at these sacrifices. Still less could he brook the oft-repeated acts of insolence and rapine of the *gomastahs* — the native factors or agents in the British pay. Ere long, therefore, he took some measures to shake off his subjection. He removed his court from Murshidabad to Monghyr, two hundred miles further from Calcutta. He increased and disciplined his troops. He imprisoned or disgraced every man of note in his dominions who had ever shown attachment to the English. He began to enforce against the private traders the revenue laws, from which they claimed exemption.

Angry disputes arose above all with the numerous English factory at Patna. Vansittart repaired to Monghyr in the hope to avert hostilities. He concluded a treaty, agreeing that his countrymen should pay the inland duties to the amount of 9 per cent.; and not refusing on that occasion a present to himself of seven lacs of rupees from Mir Kasim. But the council of Calcutta voted the terms dishonourable. As a last effort to avert hostilities, another deputation was sent from Calcutta to Monghyr. At its head was Amyatt, one of the principal members of the council. Not only, however, did these gentlemen wholly fail in their mission, but while passing the city of Murshidabad on their way back, they were inhumanly murdered by a body of Kasim's own troops. After such an outrage, peace was no longer possible. Thus, in the summer of 1763, war again commenced, the council of Calcutta resolving to depose Mir Kasim, and proclaiming the restoration of Mir Jafar.

#### MASSACRE OF PATNA

The British forces that took the field in this campaign amounted at first to scarcely more than six hundred Europeans, and twelve hundred sepoys. With these, however, their commander, Major Adams, obtained rapid and great successes. He drove the enemy from their strongholds, entered Murshidabad, gained a battle on the plains of Geriah, and, after a nine days' siege, reduced Monghyr. Nothing was left to Mir Kasim but Patna, and even Patna he perceived that he should not be able to maintain. Accordingly, he prepared for flight to the dominions of his powerful neighbour, Sujah-ud-Daula, the nawab of Oudh.

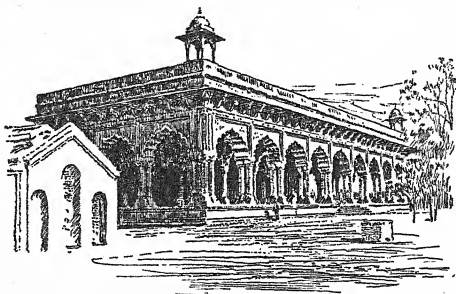
But first he wreaked his vengeance on the English by an act of savage barbarity, second in its horrors only to those of the Black Hole. His prisoners of the factory at Patna exceeded one hundred and fifty persons. They were comprised of many peaceful traders and one infant. All these the tyrant indiscriminately doomed to death — the massacre of Patna, as it has ever since been termed. For his purpose Mir Kasim found a congenial instrument in one Sombre, otherwise Sumroo, a Frenchman by birth, and a deserter from the European service. This wretch gave his victims a significant though trivial token of their coming doom by sending, in the first place, to seize and

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carry off all their knives and forks, which might have been weapons in their hands.

Next day, the 5th of October, in the evening, was the time of slaughter. Then the prison-house was surrounded by Sumroo and his band. Then the butchery of the prisoners was begun. It is said that they made all the resistance in their power, by throwing bottles and stones at their murderers. But of course, in vain. Some were cut to pieces with sabres, others shot down with musketry, and then barbarously mutilated. In both cases, the mangled limbs were flung into two wells, which were afterwards filled up with stones. Of the whole number of intended victims, only one was spared; a surgeon known to the nawab, and William Fullarton by name.

The reduction of Patna by the English, which speedily followed the atrocious act within its walls, completed their conquest of Bengal. Under their auspices, Mir Jafar was once more proclaimed as nawab throughout the



HALL OF PUBLIC AUDIENCE, DELHI

province. But, meanwhile, the thrusting forth of Mir Kasim — the dispossession by an European force of one of the native princes — seemed to the latter an act far more atrocious than the massacre of Patna. It gained favour for the exile at the court of Oudh, and the court of Oudh was then among the most powerful in India. Sujah-ud-Daula, besides the resources of his own vast province, could wield at his pleasure the authority, slender though it might be, that yet adhered to the imperial name. The titular emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam, had taken refuge with him, and had named him his vizir. Shah Alam, in real truth, was an exile and a wanderer, his very capital, Delhi, being held against him by Mahratta invaders, and half laid in ruins by their fury; but amidst every privation, in the eyes of the people he was still the great Mughal.

## BATTLE OF BAXAR (1764 A.D.)

Thus combining, the three princes advanced at the head of an army well provided with artillery, and which numbered fifty thousand men. On the other side, the English with their utmost exertions could bring into the field no more than eight thousand sepoys and twelve hundred Europeans. Their commander, Major Adams, having died, his place was filled by Major, after-

wards Sir Hector, Munro. But such in their ranks was the state of insubordination, nay, even mutiny, that the new chief found it necessary to make a most severe example of the ringleaders. He began by directing four-and-twenty native soldiers to be blown from the mouth of cannon. On this occasion, a touching incident occurred. When the orders were first given to tie four of these men to the guns from which they were to be blown, four others of the soldiers stepped forward and demanded the priority of suffering as a right, they said, which belonged to men who had always been first in the post of danger; and the claim thus preferred was allowed.

A captain Williams who was an eye-witness of the scene observes, as quoted by Malcolm:<sup>e</sup> "I belonged on this occasion to a detachment of marines. They were hardened fellows, and some of them had been of the execution party that shot Admiral Byng; yet they could not refrain from tears at the fate and conduct of these gallant grenadier sepoys."

Having thus in some measure, as he hoped, awed the disaffected, Munro led his troops to Baxar, a position above Patna, more than one hundred miles higher up the Ganges. There, in October, 1764, he was attacked by the army of Oudh. The battle was fierce, but ended in a brilliant victory to the English; the enemy leaving one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon and four thousand dead upon the field.

On the day after the battle, Shah Alam, having with some followers made his escape from the army of his own vizir, drew near to the English camp. So long as he had been dependent on the darbar of Oudh, the English had shown little willingness to acknowledge his authority, but no sooner did he join their ranks and appear a ready instrument in their hands, than he became to them at once the rightful sovereign of Hindustan. They concluded a treaty with him, he undertaking to yield them certain districts, and they to put him in possession of Allahabad and the other states of the nawab of Oudh.

The battle of Baxar, though so great a victory, did not decide the war. Major Munro failed in two attempts to storm the hill-fort of Chunar on the Ganges — a fort in which all the treasures of Kasim were thought to be contained; and Sujah-ud-Daula obtained the aid of Holkar, a powerful Mahratta chief. Nevertheless he sent to sue for peace. But Munro refused all terms unless both Kasim and Sumroo were first given up to punishment.

Sujah-ud-Daula refused to surrender the two exiles, but proposed an expedient altogether worthy of an Asiatic prince, that he would give secret orders for the assassination of Sumroo, in the presence of any person whom the English general might send to witness the deed. That expedient being of course rejected, the war was resumed. A new tide of successes poured in upon the English. Early in 1765 they reduced the fortress of Chunar, scattered far and wide the force of the enemy, and entered in triumph the great city of Allahabad.

Through all these last years of strife it is gratifying to observe not merely the valour but also the mercy and forbearance of the English, owned, at least in private, by their enemies. The skill of Oriental scholars has laid open to us the records of a Mussulman historian, Gholam Hossein,<sup>f</sup> of that period — the eye-witness, in some part, of the scenes which he describes: "It must be acknowledged," says he, "to the honour of those strangers, that as their conduct in war and in battle is worthy of admiration, so, on the other hand, nothing is more modest and more becoming than their behaviour to an enemy. Whether in the heat of action, or in the pride of success and victory, these people seem to act entirely according to the rules observed by our ancient chiefs and heroes." But at the same time, and, no doubt, with equal truth, this

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historian cannot forbear lamenting the grievous suffering and misrule endured by the helpless Bengals after the departure of Lord Clive. "Oh God!" thus in another passage citing the Koran, he concludes: "Oh God! come to the assistance of thy afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions they bear!"

## DISCORDS AND INTRIGUES IN ENGLAND

Meanwhile the transactions in India which followed the departure of Clive had produced no slight amount of discord and cabals in England. These were heightened by the want of any strong and well-framed authority in either country for Eastern affairs. In India, whether at Calcutta, at Madras, or at Bombay, the governor was entitled to no more than one voice in the council, with the advantage, should the numbers be found equal, of a second, or the casting vote. Moreover, the three presidencies being as yet upon an equal footing and with no central seat of power, were constant rivals, each envious of the other's successes, each believing that undue favour was accorded to the rest. In England, the whole body of twenty-four directors was renewed by annual election. On such occasions, and indeed on many others, the India House became the scene of the most violent debates, and the keenest party struggles. There were parties formed on every sub-division of selfish interests; the party of Bombay, the party of Madras, the party of Bengal, the party of Sullivan, the party of Lord Clive. Greater than all these, perhaps, in point of numbers, was the party anxious only for the high rate and the punctual payment of their dividends. Nor were these cabals altogether unconnected with the greater parties in the state. Sullivan, the paramount director until the appearance of Clive, was supported by Lord Bute. Clive at that time was a follower of Pitt. Thus no one incentive to violence and rancour was wanting from these contests at the India House.

At that time every share of 500*l.* conferred a vote, and the manufactory of fictitious votes was carried on to a gigantic scale. Clive, according to his own account, spent in this manner no less a sum than 100,000*l.* It was not until 1765 that this evil practice was arrested by an act of parliament, which required that each proprietor, before he voted, should take an oath that the stock entered in his name was really and in truth his own, and had been so for the last twelve months.

Sullivan looked mainly to commerce, and Clive mainly to empire. At last, an open breach ensued between them. In 1763 Clive made a desperately fought attempt to oust Sullivan, and Sullivan's friends, from the direction. He failed; and the new directors revenged themselves by confiscating, contrary to law, the jagir or domain which had been bestowed upon him by Mir Jafar. It became necessary for Clive to seek relief by a bill in the court of Chancery.

Such was the petty warfare raging at the India House, when ship after ship from Bengal brought news of the growing disorganisation of the British power, of misrule and plunder by its servants, of renewed hostilities with the native princes. It began to be felt on all sides that the crisis called for Clive — that he alone could order the confusion and allay the storm. So strong was this feeling in his favour as to carry everything before it. At a meeting of the proprietors, held early in the spring of 1764, they proposed to the directors the immediate restitution of the disputed jagir, and the appointment of Lord Clive as both governor and commander-in-chief of Bengal.

The directors found themselves, though most unwillingly, compelled to

appoint Lord Clive to both the offices desired. It was now within a month of the annual elections. Not only the chairman, but also the deputy-chairman, was chosen from among Clive's friends. The new board of directors, moreover, conferred upon him extraordinary powers. Aided by a committee of persons of his own naming, he was made, unlike the other governors, independent of his council. Clive embarked with the full purpose to use his powers most firmly — to curb and to crush at once the abuses which prevailed.

#### CLIVE'S LAST ADMINISTRATION

In May, 1765, after a long protracted passage, Clive landed at Calcutta. There he found another, a recent and glaring instance of the abuses which he came to quell. Mir Jafar had lately died, and a question had arisen respecting his inheritance. One party at his court declared for his base-born son, and another for his legitimate but infant grandson. Both parties appealed to the council at Calcutta, but the council viewed it only as a matter of bargain and sale. They found it easier to make terms with the illegitimate pretender. He was proclaimed nawab of the province, while they received from him, and divided among themselves, the sum of 140,000*l*. Such a course was directly in the teeth of recent orders from home, binding the servants of the company for the future to accept no presents from the native princes.

No time was lost by Lord Clive in assembling the council, showing them the full powers of his committee, and announcing his peremptory will. To Sujah-ud-Daula, who continued to bear the rank and title of vizir, he gave back the greater part of Oudh. He reserved only two districts of Korah and Allahabad as an imperial domain for Shah Alam, to whom it was also agreed that the company should make from their revenues an annual payment of twenty-six lacs of rupees. On the other hand, he obtained from the fallen emperor a deed, conferring on the English company the sole right of administration throughout the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. In this transaction, as in almost every other in India during the same period, it is striking how wide was the interval between nominal authority and effective power. Here we find the heir of Aurangzeb treated with as though still supreme, as though able at his pleasure to bestow upon the Europeans, or to withhold from them, the exercise of sovereignty in three great provinces. Yet at this very time, so low had his fortunes fallen, as to leave him destitute of even the common trappings or appurtenances of high state. During the solemn ceremony of the investiture, it was an English dining-table, covered over, that formed the imperial throne! Such was the prince, of whom the English in India continued to call themselves the vassals, whose coin they struck at their mint, whose titles they bore upon their public seal.

In this transaction there was no objection raised by the young nawab. With him, as with most Asiatic despots, the contingent future was but an empty name; and his desire to obtain a fixed and regular income, no longer to be embezzled or diverted by his ministers, overbalanced every other consideration in his feeble mind. As Lord Clive writes to Mr. Verelst: "He received the proposal of having a sum of money for himself and his household at his will with infinite pleasure, and the only reflection he made upon leaving me was: 'Thank God! I shall now have as many dancing girls as I please!'"

Clive now exacted from the civil servants of the company a written covenant, pledging them to accept no future presents from the native princes. Many murmured, some resigned, but no one dared to disobey. Another

[1766 A.D.]

measure which Clive considered most essential, and found most difficult, but which he succeeded in enforcing, was to debar the men in high places from private trade, granting them, as some compensation, a share in the salt monopoly. With respect to the military officers, Clive announced his intention to deprive them of the large dole or additional allowance, which, under the name of *double batta*, had been granted them by Mir Jafar after the battle of Plassey, but which, as Clive had always explained to them, could not, in all probability, be continued by the company. In fact, the court of directors had issued the most positive orders that the double batta should be discontinued.

In abolishing their double batta Clive had to encounter not remonstrances merely, nor dissatisfaction, but even mutiny. Nearly two hundred officers, combining together, bound themselves by an oath of secrecy, and undertook to fling up their commissions on one and the same day. Thus, while indulgent to the younger and less experienced officers, and willing to receive their tokens of contrition, he ordered the ringleaders into arrest, and sent them down the Ganges for trial at Calcutta. He did not shrink even from the bold measure of cashiering his second in command.

By such firmness was averted the shame of a successful mutiny — a shame which, in Clive's own strong language, all the waters of the Ganges could never wash away.

All this time the conduct of Clive was giving a lofty example of disregard to lucre. He did not spare his own personal resources, and was able some years afterwards to boast in the house of commons that this, his second Indian command, had left him poorer than it found him. His enemies might indeed observe that the virtue of disinterestedness is not so hard to practise when a fortune of forty thousand pounds a year has been already gained. Yet the fact remains that when presents from one of the native princes laid the foundations of his wealth the practice of receiving them was both usual and allowed, and that when it ceased to be at least the latter he stood firm against all temptation. In vain did the rajah of Benares press upon him two diamonds of large size. In vain did the nawab vizir produce a rich casket of jewels and offer a large sum of money. "Lord Clive," thus wrote from India an officer by no means his friend, "might then have added at least half a million to his fortune; and we may further note that the receipt of such gifts might have probably remained a secret since even their refusal was not known until after his decease."

On the whole it may be said that his second command was not less important for reform than his first had been for conquest. By this the foundations at least of good government were securely laid. And the results might have been far greater still could Clive have remained longer at his post. But the burning climate, combined with ceaseless anxiety and toil, had grievously impaired his health. In December, 1766, we find him during several weeks disabled from all writing, and at the close of the ensuing month he found it necessary to embark for England. He left the government to a man of no more than average ability — Verelst; yet under him there still continued the impulse given by a stronger hand.

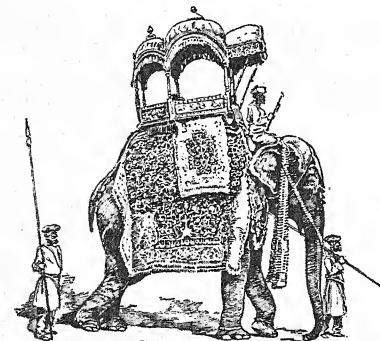
#### THE SUCCESSES OF HYDER ALI

At this period the main point of interest changes from the presidency of Bengal to the presidency of Madras. There the English were becoming involved in another war. There they had now, for the first time, to encounter

the most skilful and daring of all the enemies against whom they ever fought in India — Hyder Ali. He was of humble origin, the grandchild of a wandering *fakir* or Mohammedan monk. Most versatile in his talents, Hyder was no less adventurous in his career; by turns a private man devoted to sports of the chase, a captain of freebooters, a partisan chief, a rebel against the rajah of Mysore, and commander-in-chief of the Mysorean army. Of this last position he availed himself to dethrone and supplant his master. Indeed, during his whole course, we seldom find him either restrained by scruples or bound by promises.

One single instance of the kind will suffice to paint his character. A Brahman, Khonde Row by name, at one time his close confederate, but afterwards

his enemy, having taken the field against him, was reduced to the point of surrender. The rajah and the ladies of the palace sent a joint message to Hyder, pleading for their friend the Brahman, and inquiring what terms he might expect. "I will not only spare his life," said Hyder, "but I will cherish him like a parrot." Nevertheless, no sooner was the Brahman in his hands than he was treated with the utmost rigour, and imprisoned for the remainder of his life in an iron cage. When Hyder was thereupon gently reminded of his promise, he answered,



STATE ELEPHANT AT BENARES

that he had literally kept his word, referring in proof to the cage in which the captive was confined, and to the rice and milk allotted for his daily food!

Pursuing his ambitious schemes, Hyder Ali became not merely the successor of the rajah, but the founder of the kingdom of Mysore. From his palace at Seringapatam, as from a centre, a new energy was infused through the whole of southern India. By various wars and by the dispossession of several smaller princes, he extended his frontiers to the northward, nearly to the river Kistna. His posts on the coast of Malabar, Mangalore especially, gave him the means of founding a marine; and he applied himself with assiduous skill to train and discipline his troops according to the European models. The English at Madras were roused by his ambition, without as yet fully appreciating his genius. We find them at the beginning of 1767 engaged, with little care or forethought, in a confederacy against him with the nizams and the Mahrattas.

Formidable as that confederacy might seem, it was speedily dissipated by the arts of Hyder. At the very outset, a well-timed subsidy bought off the Mahrattas. The nizams showed no better faith; he was only more tardy in his treason. He took the field in concert with a body of English commanded by Colonel Joseph Smith, but soon began to show symptoms of defection, and

[1767-1769 A.D.]

at last drew off his troops to join the army of Hyder. A battle ensued near Trincomalee, in September, 1767. Colonel Smith had under him no more than fifteen hundred Europeans and nine thousand sepoys; while the forces combined on the other side were estimated, probably with much exaggeration, at seventy thousand men. Nevertheless, victory, as usual, declared for the English cause.

On the other hand, the troops of Hyder Ali, both then and afterwards, displayed not merely the effects of a braver chief and of a better discipline, but also the energies of a robust race. The people within the Ghats or hill-passes of southern India, though far below the mountain races of Afghanistan, are yet far superior to the Hindus of the plains. In these, the delicacy of limbs and the softness of muscles must be reckoned among the foremost causes of their failure on a battle-field. In these, the utter want of strength in their bodily organisation is only, on home occasions and for some purposes, redeemed by its suppleness. It has been computed that two English sawyers can perform in one day the work of thirty-two Indians. Yet, as the same authority assures us, see the same men as tumblers, and there are none so extraordinary in the world. Or employ them as messengers, and they will go fifty miles a day for twenty or thirty days without intermission.

The victory at Trincomalee produced as its speedy consequence a treaty of peace with the nizam. Hyder was left alone; but even thus proved fully a match for the English both of Madras and of Bombay. The latter had fitted out a naval armament which, in the course of the winter, reduced his sea-port of Mangalore and destroyed his rising fleet. Against these new enemies Hyder, like some wild beast at bay, made a sudden bound. Leaving to the eastward a force sufficient to employ and delude Colonel Joseph Smith, he silently descended the western Ghats, and in May, 1768, at the very time when least expected, appeared before the gates of Mangalore. The English garrison, taken by surprise, hastily re-embarked in boats, relinquishing all their artillery and stores, and leaving also more than two hundred sick and wounded to the mercy of their crafty foe.

Returning to the eastward, Hyder Ali continued to wage the war against Colonel Smith; inferior on any field of battle, but prevailing in wiles and stratagems, in early intelligence, and in rapid marches, he could not be prevented from laying waste the southern plains of the Carnatic, as the territory of one of the staunchest allies of England, Muhammed Ali, the nawab of Arcot.

At length, in the spring of 1769, Hyder Ali became desirous of peace, and resolved to extort it on favourable terms. First, by a dexterous feint he drew off the British forces a hundred and forty miles to the southward of Madras. Then suddenly, at the head of five thousand horsemen, Hyder himself appeared at St. Thomas' Mount, within ten miles of that city. The terrified members of the council were little inclined to dispute whatever might be asked by an enemy so near at hand. Happily his terms were not high. A treaty was signed, providing that a mutual restoration of conquests should take place, and that the contracting parties should agree to assist each other in all defensive wars.

In the career of Hyder Ali, this was by no means the first, nor yet the last occasion, on which he showed himself sincerely desirous of alliance with the English. He did not conceal the fact that in order to maintain his power and secure himself he must lean either on them or on the Mahrattas. He would have preferred the first; it was the vacillation and weakness of the council at Madras that drove him to the latter. Finding his overtures of friendship slighted he took his part, as always, decidedly and boldly. He became, even

in the midst of peace, a known and ardent enemy of the English race and name; ever watchful for any opening to assail them; ever ready to league himself against them with the Mahratta chiefs at Poona, or the French governors at Pondicherry.

It was no common enemy whom the Madras traders thus neglected or defied. The vigorous administration of Hyder at his court of Seringapatam, has been closely viewed and well described by more than one European in his service. Like the other Indian princes, he was addicted to licentious pleasure. Unlike them, he was never enslaved by it. Many of his leisure hours were passed in the company of dancing girls. To intoxication likewise he was often prone; and one instance is recorded how in that state he was seen by his whole court to seize and most severely cane his grown-up son, Tipu. It may be added that on common occasions his toilet took up a considerable portion of his time. But no sooner did any peril threaten or any object of ambition rise in view than all such habits of indulgence were promptly cast aside, and Hyder passed whole days and nights untired in his council-chambers, or on horseback with his cavalry. At all times he was most easy of access; freely receiving all those who desired to see him, except only the fakirs; a significant token of the degree of esteem in which he held his grandfather's profession. From all others he quickly drew whatever information he desired; and in dealing with them manifested the keenest insight of their various characters. So far had his education been neglected that he could neither read nor write. He made no later attempt at scholarship, but relied upon the powers of a most retentive memory, and upon a shrewdness hard to be deceived. He might be careless of his people's welfare for their sake, but he anxiously sought it for his own; he knew that to make them prosperous would, beyond all other causes, make him powerful; and thus through the wide extent of the kingdom that he founded, he never failed to guard them from all vague depredation or inferior tyranny.

By such means did he who had first set forth as a freebooter, with one or two score of followers, leave behind him at his peaceful end a well-appointed army of a hundred thousand soldiers, and a treasure of three million sterling. Yet, prosperous as he seemed, Hyder was not happy. It is recorded of one of his attendants, that after watching for some time his short and uneasy slumbers he ventured at his waking to inquire of his dreams. "Believe me, my friend," said Hyder, "my dominion, envied though it may be, is in truth far less desirable than the state of the yogis (the religious mendicants); awake, they see no conspirators; asleep, they dream of no assassins!"

#### EVIL DAYS FOR THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

In this war with Hyder, the English had lost no great amount of reputation, and of territory they had lost none at all. But as regards their wealth and their resources, they had suffered severely. Supplies, both of men and of money had been required from Bengal to assist the government at Madras; and both had been freely given. In consequence of such a drain, there could not be made the usual investments in goods, nor yet the usual remittances to England. Thus at the very time when the proprietors of the East India Company had begun to wish each other joy on the great reforms effected by Lord Clive, and looked forward to a further increase of their half-yearly dividend, they were told to prepare for its reduction. A panic ensued. Within a few days, in the spring of 1769, India stock fell more than sixty per cent.

At that period, indeed, as for some years before it, nothing could be more

[1770 A.D.]

unsteady than the wishes, or more precarious than the prospects, of the great company. Party spirit continued to rage at their elections; the contests between the followers of Sullivan and the followers of Clive being renewed every year with varying success. Each party, when defeated, heaped the grossest imputations on the other, as on the lowest and basest of mankind; and in that respect the public were inclined to give an equal belief to both. In such a state of things the very existence of the company seemed to hang upon the breath of any great man in parliament.

When, in July, 1766, Pitt became prime minister, with the title of Chatham, he entered office with the determination to transfer the government of Great Britain's eastern empire into the hands of the central authorities; but his purpose was baffled, not through any efforts of the East India Company, but through his own mysterious illness; and the men succeeding him in power, though unable to pursue his policy, were reduced merely to stave off the main question or to patch up temporary terms. But they, for their own part, were well satisfied, since the company undertook, meanwhile, to pay to the revenue 400,000*l.* each year. As a further concession, arising from the financial embarrassments of 1769, it was agreed by the directors that commissioners of inquiry, under the name of supervisors, should be sent to India with full powers over the other servants of the company. Three gentlemen of old standing and long service — Vansittart, Scrafton, and Colonel Forde — were selected for this important trust. Accordingly they embarked on their mission towards the close of the same year. But after leaving the Cape of Good Hope the ship in which they sailed, the *Aurora* frigate, was never heard of again: it is supposed to have foundered at sea.

#### THE GREAT FAMINE OF 1770

It is not improbable that this system of makeshifts might have still continued, and the necessity of any more decisive measures been longer postponed. But in the ensuing year, 1770, a new and more grievous calamity overspread Bengal. The usual rains having failed, there was no water in the tanks, and the rivers shrank into shallows. The rice-fields continued parched and dry, and could not yield their expected produce, while the conflagration of several large granaries completed the work of misery. A terrible famine ensued; a famine such as Europe, during the last few ages, has never known even in its rudest districts, or behind beleaguered walls. Throughout the wide valley of the Ganges, the country places were deserted, and the cities, where alone there might be hope of food, became thronged with starving multitudes, from whom piteous cries were heard.

The common misery united, for the first and only time, the men of the most opposite castes — from the Brahman of lofty lineage down to the humblest of the Niaidees. Even the zenana now gave forth its guarded inmates, who no longer veiled with jealous care, but prostrate and wailing on the ground, implored from the passers-by, if not for themselves, at least for their little children, a handful — only a handful — of rice. Thousands and tens of thousands of human beings died daily in the streets, where the vultures swooped down and the dogs and jackals flocked in quest of their ghastly prey.

In Calcutta alone there were daily employed one hundred men, on the company's account, to pile the dead bodies upon sledges and cars, and throw them into the Ganges. The broad river was itself so far tainted that its fish ceased to be wholesome food. Hogs, ducks and geese, which had likewise

taken part in devouring the carcases, could no longer themselves be safely eaten; and thus, as the famine grew greater, the means of subsistence, even to the Europeans, grew less. It was computed, not in any rhetorical flight, not amidst the horror of the sufferings described, but in a grave despatch written two years afterwards, though even then perhaps with some exaggeration, that through Bengal this dreadful famine had destroyed in many places one-half, and, on the whole, above one-third, of the inhabitants.

These evil tidings from India did not come alone. Conjoined with them were rumours and charges that the distress had been greatly aggravated by the conduct of the company's servants; that at the very outset of the famine they had engrossed all the rice of the country, and that afterwards they slowly doled it out at tenfold the price they had paid. If in truth there were any such cases, there can have been but few. They were in direct contravention of the directors' orders, and of Lord Clive's rules.

Such charges, however, could not fail to make some impression on both the ministry and parliament of England. Even allowing them to be unfounded, there was yet an ample growth of abuses, rank and stubborn, to hew down in the company's affairs. It was felt on all sides that there was more need than ever of investigation — more need and now more leisure also. The government of Lord North had by this time attained some degree of stability, and the nation some degree of repose.

#### PARLIAMENT INVESTIGATES THE COMPANY; THE REGULATING ACT (1772 A.D.)

Accordingly, in April, 1772, and on the motion of General Burgoyne, there was appointed, by means of ballot, a committee of inquiry, bearing the title of "select," though consisting of no less than thirty-one members. Within six weeks that committee prepared and presented two reports; but the approaching close of the session precluded any further step at that time.

In the spring of 1773 Lord North proposed and carried through against all gainsayers his own measure of reform. This, after it had passed, was commonly called the Regulating Act. In the first place, he granted to the company a loan of 1,500,000*l.* for four years, and relieved them from the annual payment to the state of 400,000*l.* On the other hand, the company was restrained from making any greater dividend than 6 per cent. until the loan should be repaid, or any greater dividend than 8 per cent. until the public should have some participation in the profits. It was then enacted, that instead of annual elections of the whole number of directors at the India House, six should go out of office each year, and none keep their seats longer than four years. At the same time, the qualification for a vote in each proprietor was raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*, with more votes in proportion, up to four, to each proprietor of a larger sum.

In India, the act provided that the mayor's court of Calcutta should be restricted in its jurisdiction to petty cases of trade, and that in its place should be constituted a supreme court, to consist of a chief justice, and three puisne judges, appointed by the crown. The governor of Bengal was henceforth to have authority over the other presidencies, as governor-general of India, but was himself to be controlled by his council. In that council, as previously, he was entitled only to a single or, in case of equality, a casting vote. It was proposed that these nominations should be made by parliament, and continue for five years; after which they should revert to the directors, but subject to the approbation of the crown. In the progress

[1773 A.D.]

therefore of the bill through the commons, the members of the new council were expressly named, so as to become a part of the enactment.

Warren Hastings, who a year before had assumed the administration of Bengal, was appointed the first governor-general. Another of the new council, Richard Barwell, was already at his post; the new members to be sent from England were General Clavering, the Hon. Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis.

Another clause of Lord North's bill remitted the drawback on the East India Company's teas — a step little regarded at its outset, but momentous in its consequences. The directors at the time were but little gratified with this boon or any other when compared with the curtailment of their previous powers. They declared in a petition to the house that they would rather forego the loan which they had solicited than endure the conditions which the minister imposed. But their late misgovernment had been such as to render, in parliament at least, their adherents few and their lamentations disregarded.

#### CENSURE AND SUICIDE OF CLIVE

In the course of these proceedings, both before the committees and within the house, many a shaft was let fly at Lord Clive. Besides the public wrongs of which he stood accused there was also, it may be feared, a feeling of personal envy at work against him. His vast wealth became a more striking mark for calumny when contrasted with the financial embarrassments of the directors in whose service he had gained it. And his profusion, as ever happens, offended far more persons than it pleased.

Under such circumstances the select committee, over which Burgoyne presided, made Clive their more especial object of attack. They drew forth into the light of day several transactions certainly not well formed to bear it, as the forgery of Admiral Watson's signature, and the fraud practised on Omichund. But at the same time they could not shut out the lustre of the great deeds he had performed. Clive himself was unsparingly questioned, and treated with slight regard. As he complains in one of his speeches: "I, their humble servant, the baron of Plassey, have been examined by the Select Committee more like a sheep-stealer than a member of this house!" And he adds, with perfect truth: "I am sure, Sir, if I had any sore places about me they would have been found: they have probed me to the bottom; no lenient plasters have been applied to heal; no, Sir, they were all of the blister kind, prepared with Spanish flies, and other provocatives!"

On this and some other occasions Clive spoke in his own defence in a frank and fearless spirit with great energy of language, and it would seem with great effect upon the house. It was in May, 1773, that the charges against him, till then vague and undefined, were brought forward as a vote of censure by Burgoyne. In the result, the first resolutions of Burgoyne, alleging certain matters of fact that could scarcely be denied, were carried. But the next, which charged Lord Clive by name with having abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of the public, did not pass. At length, as the dawn was slowly breaking on the last of these long and stormy, and in many parts confused, debates, the house agreed almost unanimously to some words which Wedderburn moved: "That Robert Lord Clive did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country."

Such a vote might perhaps be deemed almost a verdict of acquittal. Certainly, at least, it showed a wise reluctance to condemn. It closed the whole

case, and Clive had no further parliamentary attack to fear. But the previous taunts and injuries appear to have sunk deep into his haughty mind. Nor was a life of ease, however splendid, congenial to his active temper. In his sumptuous halls of Claremont, or beneath the stately cedars of his park, he was far less really happy than amidst his former toils and cares, on the tented plains of the Carnatic or in the council-chambers of Bengal. Moreover, through the climate of the tropics, his health was most grievously impaired. He had to undergo sharp and oft-recurring spasms of pain, for which opium only could afford him its treacherous and transitory aid. At length, on November 22nd, 1774, at his house in Berkeley Square, this great man, for such he surely was, fell by his own hand. He was not yet fifty years of age; and the contest in North America was just then beginning to hold forth to him a new career of active exertion — a new chaplet of honourable fame.

To the last, however, he appears to have retained his serene demeanour, and the stern dominion of his will. It so chanced, that a young lady, an attached friend of his family, was then upon a visit at his house in Berkeley Square, and sat, writing a letter, in one of its apartments. Seeing Lord Clive walk through, she called to him to come and mend her pen. Lord Clive obeyed her summons, and taking out his penknife fulfilled her request; after which, passing on to another chamber, he turned the same knife against himself.<sup>b</sup>

#### LORD MACAULAY'S ESTIMATE OF CLIVE

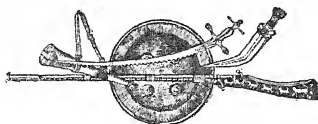
In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices; and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies.

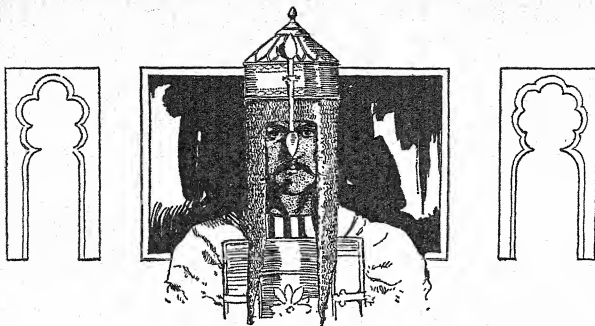
Clive committed great faults; but his faults, when weighed against his merits, and viewed in connection with his temptations, do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity. From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the east. Till he appeared his countrymen were despised as mere pedlars, while the French were revered as a people formed for victory and command. His courage and capacity dissolved the charm. With the defence of Arcot commences the long series of oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghazni. Nor must we forget that he was only twenty-five years old when he proved himself ripe for military command. This is a rare if not a singular distinction.

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country. His dexterity and resolution realised, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had floated before the imagination of Dupleix. Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way, and through the crowded Forum, to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one-half of a Roman legion.

[1774 A.D.]

From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the administration of our eastern empire. When he landed in Calcutta in 1765, Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame, and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired. If the reproach of the company and of its servants has been taken away; if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere the heaviest of all yokes, has been found lighter than that of any native dynasty; if to that gang of public robbers, which formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal has succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, and public spirit; if we have seen such men as Munro, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and deposing kings, return, proud of their honourable poverty, from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior, history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindus will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.<sup>h</sup>





### CHAPTER III

#### WARREN HASTINGS, CORNWALLIS, AND THE WELLESLEYS

[1772-1806 A.D.]

WARREN HASTINGS, the first governor-general of India, was born in 1732. He was sprung from a branch, or rather, as they alleged, the main stem, of the great old house of Hastings, from which in another line the earls of Huntingdon descend. But at the time of Warren's birth his branch was fast decaying; and Daylesford, its ancient seat in Worcestershire, was already sold. It was only through the kindness of a kinsman that he obtained his education at Westminster school; and when that relative died, he was shipped off at seventeen as a writer to Bengal. He was noticed by Lord Clive as a man of promise. Under Mr. Vansittart<sup>1</sup> he had much more opportunity to shine. Thus, through the various gradations of the civil service at that time, he sped with credit and success. Having married, but become a widower, he returned to England in 1765. But four years afterwards he was again sent forth as second in the council of Madras; and early in 1772 he proceeded to a far higher, and, as it proved, more lasting post, as first in the council of Bengal.

Spare in form and shrunk in features, with a mild voice and with gentle manners, Warren Hastings might seem to a casual observer as wanting in manly firmness. It is remarkable that, on his appointment as governor of Bengal, Lord Clive deemed it right to warn him against this, as he imagined, the weak point of his character. Never was an error more complete.

It may be said of Hastings, that tenacity of purpose was not merely the principal feature of his character, but the key and mainspring of the rest. It made him, on the one hand, consistent and courageous. On the other hand, it gave him a certain hardness and insensibility of heart; it made him,

[<sup>1</sup> The period of Vansittart's government has been truly described as the most revolting page in our Indian history.]

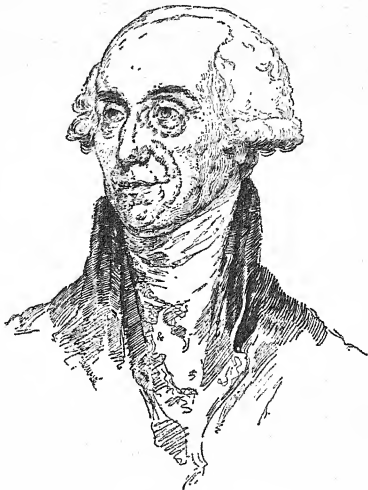
[1772 A.D.]

on several great occasions in his long career, callous to the sufferings which his policy inflicted, and careless of the means by which his policy might be pursued. He was firm, it may be added, in all his friendships and attachments, but few men have ever been more rancorous and unforgiving.

It was one among the merits of Hastings, that he had made himself thoroughly acquainted, not only with the literature, but also with the temper and feelings of the nations which he came to rule. Their languages he spoke with ease and fluency; their prejudices, whether of religion or of race, he was ever, unless impelled by some state necessity, studious not to wound. By such means he was at all times, whether in his triumphs or in his hours of danger and distress, a favourite with the native tribes of Hindustan — a favourite, moreover, at a period when in most cases they had little or no sympathy for the island-strangers.

When in the year 1772 Hastings first assumed the administration of Bengal, he found the whole country weighed down by the effects of the recent famine and depopulation. The greatest praise perhaps of his able rule is the simple fact that scarce any trace of these effects appears in the succeeding years. He enforced a new system in the land revenue founded on leases for five years; a system indeed far from faultless, yet the best, probably, which at that period could be framed.

Under that system nearly the same amount of income was collected from the far diminished numbers with less, it would seem, of pressure than before. For the accumulating debt and financial embarrassment of the company more than the common resources seemed to be required. These Hastings strove hard to supply, not always, as will presently be shown, by the most creditable means. At the same time, to the great and manifest advantage of the natives, he put an end to the oppressive tax or duty levied upon marriages. As one of the results of his system of revenue-collection, he established, with signal good effect, district courts for the administration of justice, and district officers to maintain the public peace. Within a few months the provinces were in a great measure cleared of the *dacoits* or gangs of thieves, and other prowling marauders. These and such like measures of reform, or of public policy, were carried through by Hastings amidst numerous objections in his council and incessant calls upon his time.



WARREN HASTINGS

(1732-1818)

Among the earliest acts of Hastings in Bengal was one for which, right or wrong, he was in no degree responsible. It arose from the peremptory and positive commands of the directors at home to arrest and try Muhammed Reza Khan, who had now for seven years held his great office at Murshidabad, as naib diwan, or chief minister of the finances. The reports against him of embezzlement and fraud in his high functions appear to have arisen mainly through the intrigues of Nandkumar or Nuncomar his disappointed rival. Muhammed Reza Khan was seized in his bed at midnight by a battalion of sepoys. The same measure was extended to his confederate, Shitab Roy, at that time governor of Behar; a chief who, in the recent wars, had fought with signal bravery upon the English side.

The two prisoners were carried to Calcutta, where after many months of postponement and delay they were brought to trial before a committee over which Hastings himself presided. Nandkumar, with a vengeful rancour, such as no time could soften, no calamities subdue, appeared as the accuser of his ancient rival. But no guilt could be proved to call for any further punishment, nor even to justify the harshness already shown. Both prisoners, therefore, were acquitted and set free; Shitab Roy, moreover, being sent back to hold office in Behar, clothed in a robe of state and mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant, as marks of honour and respect.

Nandkumar threw as little in his hopes of ambition as in his projects of revenge. Hastings had meanwhile been effecting a complete change in the former system. It was not merely that he arrested the minister; he abolished the office. He put an end to the scheme of double government at Murshidabad and at Calcutta, transferring to the latter city and to the servants of the company the entire machinery of state affairs. An empty pageant only was left at the former capital, still decked with the name and honours of nawab. That nawab, the heir of Mir Jafar, was now an infant. On that plea, Hastings took occasion to reduce the yearly allowance granted by the company from 320,000*l.* to half that sum. To alleviate in some degree the disappointment that was gnawing at the heart of Nandkumar, his son Rajah Goordas was appointed treasurer of the young prince's household. The guardianship of the young prince himself was bestowed, not on his own mother, but on another lady of his father's harem—the Munny Begum, by title and name.

External affairs also claimed the early care of Hastings. Shah Alam the emperor, in name at least, of Hindustan, had more than once endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon the English to assist him in expelling the Mah-rattas. Finding that alone he could not attack these invaders of his patrimony with the smallest prospect of success, he took the opposite part, and threw himself into their arms. He was received at first with every token of respect and homage, and led back in triumph to his ancestral seat of Delhi. Soon, however, a quarrel ensued between them, when he found himself no more than a prisoner and a puppet in the hands of his new allies. They compelled him to sign an edict, transferring to them the districts of Allahabad and Korah, which had been bestowed upon him by Lord Clive. But here Hastings interposed. He determined not merely on resuming the districts of Allahabad and Korah, but on discontinuing all further yearly payments to Shah Alam. Breach of faith on this account became, at a later period, one of the charges brought against him.

The districts of Korah and Allahabad were promptly occupied by English troops. But it was computed that the expenses of maintaining them at so great a distance would exceed the utmost revenue they could bring. It was

[1773-1774 A.D.]

therefore the wish of Hastings to yield them for a stipulated sum to the adjacent state of Oudh. He repaired to the city of Benares to confer in person with the nawab vizir. There, in September 1773, a treaty was agreed upon between them; the nawab vizir undertaking to pay for the two districts the sum of fifty lacs of rupees.

#### ENGLISH TROOPS LENT FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ROHILLAS

But—alas for the fair fame not only of Hastings, but of England!—another and a weightier question was then decided at Benares. The Rohillas, a tribe of Afghan blood, had earlier in that century, and as allies of the Mughal, descended into the plains of Hindustan. They had obtained for their reward that fertile country which lies between the Ganges and the mountains on the western boundary of Oudh. That country bore from them the name of Rohilkhand. It had been earned by their services, and it was flourishing under their dominion. Of late there had sprung up a difference between them and their neighbours of Oudh, with respect to some pecuniary stipulations which the Rohillas contracted and were backward to discharge. On that ground, Sujah-ud-Daula had a plea for war against them.

He applied to the English governor for the aid of English bayonets; and this request came before Hastings at a time when the Bengal treasury was weighed down with heavy debts, and when nevertheless the letters from the court of directors were calling on him in the most earnest terms for large remittances. The Indian prince wanted soldiers, and the English chief wanted money, and on this foundation was the bargain struck between them. In April, 1774, an English brigade under Colonel Champion invaded the Rohilla districts; and in a hard-fought battle gained a decisive victory over the Rohilla troops. Exactly half a century afterwards an English bishop, on his first visitation progress, found the whole scene still fresh in the traditions of the country.

Throughout this conflict, nothing could be more dastardly than the demeanour of the troops of Oudh. They had slunk to the rear of the armies; they had kept aloof from the fight; and it was only after the battle was decided that they came forward to plunder the camp and despoil the dead and dying. Many an indignant murmur was heard from the British ranks: "We have the honour of the day, and these banditti are to have the profit!" Nor was this all. The vizir and his soldiery next applied themselves to wreak their fury on the vanquished, and to lay waste with sword and fire the rich plains of Rohilkhand. No terms whatever had been made by Hastings for the more humane and merciful conduct of the war; and Colonel Champion, in his private letters to the governor, might well avow his fear that, although his countrymen stood free from all participation in these cruel deeds, the mere fact of their having been silent spectators of them would tend, in the minds of the whole Indian people, to the dishonour of the English name.

The case of Hastings as to the Rohillas—a case at the best a bad one—was farther injured by the indiscretion of his friends. Some of them afterwards pleaded for him in the house of commons, that the Rohillas were not among the native possessors of the soil in India, but only an invading tribe of foreign lineage and of recent conquest. With just indignation, Mr. Wilberforce exclaimed, "Why, what are we but the Rohillas of Bengal?" But Hastings himself took better ground. Besides the pecuniary advantages, on which no question could exist, he had political arguments to urge in vindication of his treaty. It was of paramount importance to the British to form

[1774 A.D.]

a close alliance with Oudh; and, on forming an alliance with that state, they had a full right to espouse its quarrels. But Lord North, the prime minister at the time of the transaction, said in the house of commons—"as soon as I was apprised of the facts of the Rohilla war, I thought the conduct of Mr. Hastings highly censurable; and I sent to the court of directors, urging them to combine with me for his recall.

#### HASTINGS UNDER CHARGES; NANDKUMAR PUT OUT OF THE WAY

It was at the close of the Rohilla war, in October, 1774, that there anchored in the Ganges the ship which brought from England the expected members of the council and the judges of the supreme court. Of the three new councillors, Francis was by far the youngest; but his more shining and ardent spirit gave him a great ascendancy over Clavering's and Monson's. He came—there is little risk in affirming—determined to find fault; ready, whatever might befall, to cavil and oppose.

Of the five who met in council, the old servants of the company, Hastings and Barwell, stood together; on the other side were arrayed, as though in military order, the general, the colonel, and the late war-office clerk. Thus they formed a majority upon every question that arose; thus, from the very first they wrested the whole power of the government and all substantial patronage from the hands of Hastings. They ordered the English brigade to march back from Rohilkhand, whatever might be then the condition of that province. They recalled, with every token of disgrace, Mr. Middleton, the confidential friend of Hastings, and by him appointed the resident in Oudh. They insisted that even the most private of Mr. Middleton's letters should be laid before them.

Confident in their absolute majority the three new councillors pursued their course of rashness, or, as Hastings terms it, frenzy. On the decease of Sujah-ud-Daula, and the succession of his son, Asa-ud-Daula, as nawab vizir they passed a preposterous vote that the treaties which had been signed with the former should be considered as personal and as having ended with his life. They unsettled for a time the whole administration, both financial and judicial, of Bengal. Still more mischievous was their meddling in the case of Bombay, then first under the recent act reduced to a subordinate presidency. They rebuked its council, and they reversed its policy; and, in utter ignorance of its affairs, took new measures for entangling it in the differences of the several Mahratta chiefs. Meanwhile their power seemed so unquestionable, and their hostility to Hastings so clear, that many of his personal enemies began to brood over projects of revenge as certain of attainment. Two Englishmen of the name of Fowke came forward to charge him with corruption. The rani, or princess, of Bardwan, with her adopted son, sent in a similar complaint. But foremost of all in rancour as in rank was Nandkumar. He put into the hands of Francis a paper containing several heavy accusations against Hastings; above all, that he had taken a bribe for dismissing without punishment Muhammed Reza Khan; and this paper was produced by Francis at the council-board.

Long and fierce were the discussions that ensued. The governor-general did not shrink from the investigation of his conduct, but he insisted, and surely with perfect right, that the members of the council should form themselves into a committee for that purpose, and after receiving whatever evidence they pleased, transmit it for adjudication either to the supreme court of justice at Calcutta, or to the directors at home. On the other hand the

[1775 A.D.]

majority maintained, that even while sitting as a council they might proceed to the trial of their chief. The governor-general rose, declared the meeting dissolved, and left the room with Barwell in his train. The remaining members voted that the meeting was not dissolved, named Clavering as chairman, and called in Nandkumar.

In this state of the transactions, Hastings thought himself entitled to allege that Nandkumar, Mr. Fowke, and some others were guilty of a conspiracy against him. On this ground he began legal proceedings against them in the supreme court. The judges after a long examination of the case directed Nandkumar and Fowke to give bail, and bound over the governor-general to prosecute them.

Of a sudden, however, and only a few weeks afterwards, a more serious blow was aimed at Nandkumar by another hand. He was arrested at the suit of a native merchant named Mohun Persaud, and, like any other man accused of felony, was thrown into the common gaol. The charge against him was that he had forged a bond five years before. On that charge, the supreme court not then existing, he had been brought to trial before the mayor's court of Calcutta, but was released through the authority which at that time Hastings exerted in his favour. The suit had, therefore, been suspended, but not concluded. It was now revived before a higher and more independent tribunal, established expressly with a view to such cases; and it was revived at the very earliest lawful time after the necessary documents had been transferred to the new court. So opportune was this prosecution for the interests of the governor-general, and so suspicious the coincidence of time, that Hastings has ever since been suspected and arraigned as the real mover in the business.<sup>1</sup> Yet, besides the presumption on his side to be drawn from the regular conduct of the suit, there is surely some weight in a fact which many writers have passed over—that in the proceedings before the supreme court, Hastings solemnly deposed, upon his oath, that he had never directly or indirectly countenanced or forwarded the prosecution for forgery against Nandkumar.

The new members of the council showed the utmost resentment at the prosecution, but found themselves wholly powerless to stem it. Their fierce representations to the judges proved in vain. They could only send complimentary messages to Nandkumar in his prison, and grant additional favours to his son. The trial came on, in due time, before a jury composed of Englishmen, when the charge of forgery was established to their entire satisfaction, and a verdict of guilty was returned. One of the judges, Sir Robert Chambers, the friend of Dr. Johnson, had proposed to try the prisoner on an earlier and a milder statute, inflicting no capital penalty; but Chambers is stated to have been convinced by, and most certainly acquiesced in, the arguments against it. The sentence of death on Nandkumar was pronounced by Sir Elijah Impey as the chief, and apparently with the full concurrence of his colleagues. On the 5th of August, 1775, the rajah Nandkumar, at that time seventy years of age and the head of the Brahmans of Bengal, was led forth to the gallows, and hanged; while Clavering and his two friends, with impotent rage, shut themselves up within their houses, and while an immense concourse of Hindus looked on in wonder and affright.

For his share in these proceedings the chief justice has been arraigned even more severely than the governor-general. It was Hastings—thus cries Burke in his ardent and sometimes overflowing zeal—it was Hastings who

[<sup>1</sup> That Hastings set this prosecution in motion, no reasonable person can doubt; and it is equally clear that Chief Justice Impey is free from all personal blame.—J. S. COTTON.]

[1776 A.D.]

murdered Nandkumar by the hand of Sir Elijah Impey! The personal friendship which had subsisted between them since their schoolboy days was urged as strong presumption of a guilty compact. For this argument, as levelled at one of the judges, it became convenient to overlook entirely the existence of the other three. Thus Impey, who had but acted jointly, was arraigned alone. At length the surmises and suspicions against him assumed a more definite form. At the close of 1787 a member of the house of commons, Sir Gilbert Elliot, moved for his impeachment mainly on this ground. Then Sir Elijah was permitted to appear at the bar, and to speak in his own defence. He showed, to the perfect satisfaction of by far the greater part of those who heard him, that his behaviour through the trial had been wholly free from blame.

The execution of Nandkumar, although it may not have been connected with any step of Hastings, was certainly auspicious to his interests. The Hindus could make no nice distinctions, such as the case required, between political and judicial authority. They looked only to the one broad fact that one of their chief men had stood forth to accuse the governor-general, and that within a few weeks of his accusation that chief man had died upon the gallows. From that moment all the other natives shrank from any further charges against Hastings. From that moment, in their eyes, he recovered a large portion of his power. But it should be added, in justice to his memory, that throughout his long administration he attracted, in a high degree, their love as well as fear. The English in India also were nearly all upon his side. Hastings, they saw, was familiar with their wants and wishes, and profoundly versed in their affairs. On the other hand they had slight confidence in either Clavering or Monson; and they had quickly taken fire against the war-office clerk [Francis], who, in all respects, ignorant of India, was yet seeking to impose upon it, with peremptory violence, every crotchet of his brain. He had not been many weeks at Calcutta ere he obtained the common surname of "King Francis," or "Francis the First."

The news of the divisions in the council at Calcutta appears to have greatly perplexed the directors at home. For some time they endeavoured, but with little good effect, to hold a middle course. Lord North himself, however, was deeply impressed with the iniquity of the Rohilla war. He regretted, that under the Regulating Act there was no power during the first five years to recall the governor-general without an address to that effect from the company to the crown. At a meeting of the court of proprietors the motion for Hastings' recall was negatived by a majority of upwards of one hundred.

But the vague threats wrought too far upon Hastings' agent in London, Colonel Maclean. He believed his patron in risk of a parliamentary dismissal, or perhaps, a parliamentary censure. He had in his possession a private letter, written by Hastings a year and a half before, in which Hastings announced his resolution of resigning if he should not find his measures supported and approved. In another letter, two months afterwards, Hastings had most clearly revoked that resolution. Nevertheless, Colonel Maclean in October, 1776, thought himself sufficiently empowered to tender to the court of directors the resignation of the governor-general. The directors, eager to be relieved from their embarrassment, made little difficulty. They accepted the resignation, and, with the connivance of the crown, named one of their own body, Mr. Edward Wheler, to the vacant place in the council of Bengal.

But meanwhile the state of that council had wholly changed. In Sep-

[1776-1777 A.D.]

tember, 1776, Colonel Monson had died. By his decease, and by the means of his own casting vote, the full powers of government fell back into the hands of the governor-general. With his usual fixedness of purpose he now resumed his former policy and reappointed his old friends. At the same time his mind was brooding over a vast scheme for the complete ascendancy in India of the English name—a system of subsidiary alliance with native princes, and, above all, with the nawab of Oudh and the nizam—a system which it was left to his successors to unfold and to pursue.

Such were the schemes that Hastings was maturing, when, in June, 1777, a packet-ship from England anchored in the Hooghly, and all Calcutta was startled with the news that the governor-general had resigned; that his resignation was accepted; and that the government was transferred to other hands. No man was more astonished at these tidings than the governor-general himself. He declared that Colonel Maclean had far, very far, exceeded his instructions. But he afterwards said, that nevertheless he should have felt himself bound by the acts of his agent, had not General Clavering attempted to seize the government by force.

Clavering sent his Persian interpreter to Hastings with a letter, requiring him to deliver the keys of the fort and treasury. Meanwhile, in another chamber, Hastings took the chair with Barwell by his side, and declared himself determined to maintain his just authority until further orders should arrive. Seeing this, the opposite party agreed, though unwillingly, to his proposal—that they should ask, and should abide by, the opinion of the judges of the supreme court. This was no season for delay; the case being thus referred to the judges, they met the same evening, and continued all night in anxious deliberation. At four the next morning Sir Elijah reported their unanimous judgment, that the resignation of Hastings was invalid, and the assumption of power by Clavering illegal. Thus was the governor-general enabled to maintain his ground. On this occasion he justly felt that his all had been at stake.

But Hastings was not content with his success on this occasion. He endeavoured to pursue it with a degree of violence and indiscretion scarcely less than his rival had displayed. He prevailed on Barwell to concur in a resolution that General Clavering, by attempting to usurp the functions of governor-general, had surrendered and resigned both his place in council and his office as commander-in-chief of the Indian forces. Against this flagrant abuse of victory Clavering and Francis remonstrated in vain. Now, in their turn, they appealed to the judges of the supreme court. Sir Elijah Impey, in the name of his brethren, pronounced it as their unanimous decision, that the council had no legal power to remove one of its members or declare his seat vacant.

In this struggle the temper of Clavering—a frank, plain soldier—had been grievously chafed. Only a few weeks afterwards, in August, 1777, he sickened and died. It is said that the last appearance in public of the dying man was, after much solicitation, as a guest at his rival's wedding-feast. Not many days before General Clavering expired, Warren Hastings married Marian Imhoff, ex-wife of a German by birth, a baron by title, a miniature painter by profession.

In the council-chamber of Bengal the decease of General Clavering was nearly balanced by the arrival of Mr. Wheler. The new member took part, in most cases, against the governor-general with Francis. But, besides that he showed himself a far less acrimonious opponent; the power of the casting-vote still left on every question the practical ascendancy in the hands of Hastings.

## LORD PIGOT AT MADRAS

From the supreme government of India let us pass to the subordinate-council of Madras. There, though on a smaller scale, dissension had grown to a still more formidable height. Some years since a war had been waged against the petty kingdom of Tanjore. The rajah, one of the Mahratta princes, had been taken prisoner and deposed. The territory had been seized and transferred to the nawab of Arcot. At home the directors, after no small amount of wavering, had disapproved these measures. They despatched peremptory orders to restore, without loss of time, the rajah to his throne. Moreover, they sent out to the chief place at Madras a personal friend of the rajah, the former governor Pigot, who had recently been raised to an Irish peerage. Thus from the first moment of his landing again on Indian ground, Lord Pigot found himself in direct opposition to the leading members of his council. He did, however, proceed to Tanjore and reinstate the rajah. But on his return he saw a formidable combination leagued against him; at its head Muhammed Ali, the nawab of Arcot.

Muhammed Ali, the old ally of the English, and maintained in his dominion by their means, was ever intriguing and caballing with several of the company's servants. They would supply him with money at any sudden call, and well knew how to make such loans most highly advantageous to themselves. Foremost among these usurers stood Mr. Paul Benfield, a man to whom Burke's eloquence has given immortal fame—if fame indeed it should be called! For, as the misdeeds of Verres will live forever in the glowing denunciations of Cicero, so has the genius of Burke poured its imperishable lustre over the whole tortuous track of the Madras money-lenders, and rescued from oblivion the "Debts of the nawab of Arcot."

Paul Benfield was of humble birth and of no patrimony. He had filled a small place in the company's service at a salary of a few hundred pounds a year, and was chiefly conspicuous for keeping the finest carriages and horses at Madras. His ostentatious habits of expense did not seem consistent with any large accumulation of wealth. To the public surprise he now brought forward a claim on the nawab, for money lent to the amount of 162,000*l.* besides another claim on individuals in Tanjore to the amount of 72,000*l.* For the whole of this enormous sum he held assignments on the revenues and standing crops in Tanjore; and he pleaded that his interest ought not to be affected by the reinstatement of the rajah. The nawab, when consulted on the matter, at once admitted and confirmed the claim. In this case Lord Pigot might well suspect collusion. He might also reasonably question the right of the nawab to make any such assignments in Tanjore. The majority of his council, however, were inclined to favour these demands, and there ensued a long train of angry altercations. At length the issue was taken on a side-point of small importance—the desire of Lord Pigot to appoint Mr. Russel, one of his own friends, as resident at Tanjore.

Finding himself out-voted, Lord Pigot first set the dangerous example—so soon to recoil upon himself—of overstepping the bounds of law. He assumed that the governor was an integral part of the council; that he was not bound by the majority against him, and might refuse to carry out any decision in which he had not concurred. The opposite doctrine was maintained, no less vehemently, by the other members. Upon this an arbitrary order from Lord Pigot declared them suspended from their functions; and they, in return, concerted measures for his arrest. The commander of the forces, Sir Robert Fletcher (the same who, in Bengal, had been cashiered),

[1778 A.D.]

was at that time ill; but the second in command, Colonel Stuart, was upon their side. On the 24th of August, 1776, the colonel passed the greater part of the day in company or in business with Lord Pigot; he both breakfasted and dined with him as his familiar friend, and was driving in the carriage with him when, according to the colonel's previous orders, the carriage was surrounded and stopped by troops. His lordship was then informed that he was their prisoner. As such he was forthwith conveyed to St. Thomas' Mount. There he was left in an officer's house, with a battalion of artillery to guard him, while all the powers of government were assumed and administered by his opponents in the council.

In the courts of directors and proprietors there appeared upon this subject the usual fluctuation. There was, however, a better reason for it, in a case where beyond all doubt neither party had been free from blame. At length it was agreed that the members of the council who had concurred in this arrest should be recalled; and on their return they became liable, under resolutions of the house of commons, to a trial and a fine. At the same time a commission was prepared under the company's seal, by which Lord Pigot was restored to his office; but he was directed within one week to give up the government to his successor, and embark for England. By these means it was intended to avoid a triumph, or the appearance of a triumph, to either side. But long before these orders could be received in India, Lord Pigot was beyond the reach of any human sentence. After eight months of confinement he died at St. Thomas' Mount.

Early in 1778 the government of Madras was assumed by Sir Thomas Rumbold. He might avoid dissensions with his council, but on other grounds he incurred, and not unjustly, the censure of the court of directors. In less than three years we find him utterly dismissed from their service.

#### WAR WITH THE MAHRATTAS (1778-79 A.D.)

For some years the progress of England's eastern empire had not been assailed, or even threatened, by any European enemy. The scene is now about to change. That war which, commencing in North America, troubled not England only but also France and Spain, cast its baleful shadows to the Mexican seas on the one side, and to the shores of Coromandel on the other. Then it was that the experience, the energy, the high statesmanship of Hastings were signally displayed. Then it was, that the value of his services was felt even by his adversaries in Downing Street or Leadenhall. Thus, when the period of five years fixed by the Regulating Act had expired, the governor-general was quietly and without a struggle re-appointed.

At the beginning of 1778 the tidings were already rife among the native races, that yenghi dunia, or New World, as they called America, had broken loose from the country of the Company Sahib. Already might they hear the rising sounds of exultation from the rival settlements of Chandanagar and Pondicherry. But the first sign or symptom that reached Hastings of French cabals in India came from the Mahratta states. These had grown to greatness in the decline of the Mughal Empire and risen on its ruins, but had since been weakened by dissensions of their own. Among themselves, as in the venerable monarchy from the ruins of which they had sprung, there was a wide line between the real and the rightful exercise of power.

The lineal heir of Sivaji, the true sovereign in name, had become a mere state-prisoner in the palace of Sattara. The actual authority was vested in a great magistrate, or chief of the council, who was called the peshwa, and

who held court with regal state at Poona. Through a strange anomaly that ministerial office descended by hereditary right, and sometimes therefore devolved upon a minor. The peshwa, besides his own or the rajah of Satara's dominions, always claimed, and occasionally exercised a kind of feudal supremacy over the other Mahratta principalities that lay scattered in the wide expanse between the hill forts of Mysore and the waters of the Ganges. First among them were the houses of Sindhia and of Holkar; the Gaikwar, who ruled in Guzerat; and the Bhonsla, or rajah of Berar, a scion of the line of Sivaji. All these Mahratta chiefs, in common with their subjects, held the Brahman faith; in that respect, as in some others, forming a remarkable contrast to the race of the Mohammedan conquerors beside them, as the nizam and the vizir.

The mean origin of the first Mahratta freebooters is denoted even in the hereditary titles of their princes; the Gaikwar, for example, signifies only the cow-herd. It is denoted also by the simple and abstemious habits which they long preserved. A Mussulman historian, Gholam Hossein,<sup>d</sup> the contemporary of Warren Hastings, describes the most powerful Mahratta ruler of his time, as living only on food of the poorest peasant—on black bread made of badjah, unripe mangoes, and raw red pepper. "Let the reader," says the more refined Mohammedan, "guess the taste of the whole nation by this sample of its chiefs. And although," he adds, "they have come to command kingdoms and to rule over empires, they are still the beggars they have been. Go to any of them, from the lowest clerk to the minister of state, and the first words which you shall hear from them are always these—'What have you brought for me?—Have you brought anything for me?' and should any man go empty-handed to them, they would strip him of his turban and coat, and then recommend him devoutly to Almighty God!"

Between the chiefs at Poona and the presidency of Bombay there had been in former years some intricate negotiations and some desultory wars. The English had obtained possession of the island of Salsette, which, so lately as 1750, the Mahrattas had wrested from the Portuguese. They had also given shelter to a deposed and exiled peshwa named Ragoba or Raghunath Rao, who still carried on a cabal and kept up a party at home. Such was the posture of affairs when the governor-general was startled by the tidings that a French ship had anchored in one of the Mahratta ports, and that a French agent had set out for Poona. This Frenchman proved to be the chevalier de St. Lubin, an adventurer who had formerly taken some part in the intrigues of the presidency of Madras, and who had now obtained from his own government a clandestine commission to treat with the Mahrattas.

It was reported to Hastings, that already they had agreed to his terms, and consented to yield to the French the port of Choul, on the coast of Malabar. "War is now inevitable," said Hastings to his council; "let us then be the first to strike a blow!" It was resolved, that a division of the Bengal army should be sent across the Jumna, and march through Bundelkhand upon the peshwa's country. Orders were sent to the council of Bombay to enter into a concert of measures with Raghunath Rao, and strive by all means to forward his pretensions. At the same time the governor-general commenced an active negotiation, and sought to form a close alliance with another claimant to a principal place among the Mahratta chiefs—with Bhonsla, the ruler of Berar.

It has been questioned, how far, in these dealings with the Mahrattas, Hastings acted strictly in good faith. Certainly, at least, he is entitled to the praise, at a most difficult crisis, of energy and skill. The news of the

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disaster at Saratoga, far from dampening his spirit, only animated his endeavours. "If it be really true" — thus he spoke to his council — "that the British arms and influence have suffered so severe a check in the western world, it is the more incumbent on those who are charged with the interests of Great Britain in the east to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national loss." On the 7th of July a letter from Mr. Baldwin, the consul of England at Cairo, brought the news to Calcutta that in the month of March preceding war had been proclaimed both in London and in Paris. Not an hour did Hastings lose. "On the same day," he says, "we wrote to the governor of Fort St. George, to prepare for the immediate attack of Pondicherry; and we set them an example on the 10th, by the capture of Chandarnagar."

Pondicherry was invested by Sir Hector Munro, at the head of the Madras army. It yielded, after a brave resistance and an engagement off the coast, between the French and English squadrons. Then the French retained nothing in India but Mahe, a small fort and settlement on the coast of Malabar; and this also was reduced by the English from Madras, in the course of the ensuing spring. Meanwhile, in Bengal, the zeal of Hastings had directed the most active measures of defence. The governor-general thus wrote to a private friend — "The French, if they ever attempt the invasion of Bengal, must make their way to it by an alliance with one of the powers of the country; and the only power with which that can be at present effected is the Mahratta." To this Mahratta expedition, therefore, the eyes of Hastings were anxiously turned. At first it was far from prospering.

On climbing the Ghats or passes and entering the Mahrattas' territory, Colonel Egerton was not joined, as Raghunath Rao had encouraged him to hope, by any chief of importance, nor by any considerable number of adherents. On the contrary, he saw around him irregular troops of hostile cavalry, retiring as he advanced, but active and successful in cutting off his supplies. His own movements at this juncture were sufficiently deliberate; only eight miles in eleven days. In January, 1779, he had reached a point within sixteen miles of Poona. There he found an army assembled to oppose him, and the committee-men, losing courage, made up their minds to a retreat. A retreat was begun accordingly that night, and continued until the next afternoon, when, at a place called Wargaum, the English found themselves surrounded and hemmed in. One brave subaltern, Captain Hartley, offered to cut his way through, and to carry back the little army to Bombay, declaring that he could rely upon his men. His superior officers, on the other hand, deemed any such attempt chimerical, and determined to seek their safety in negotiation. The terms required for their unmolested passage were hard indeed, yet hard though they were, could not be disputed unless by arms. It was agreed that all the acquisitions gained by the English from the Mahrattas, since the peace of 1756, should be restored. It was further agreed, that the person of Raghunath Rao should be given up, not indeed to the Poona chiefs, but to Sindhia.

In mitigation of this last ignominious clause we may observe that, even previously, Raghunath Rao, seeing the ill-plight of the English army, and despairing of its safe return by force of arms, had declared his own intention of surrendering himself to Sindhia, as to a mediator and umpire rather than an enemy. Already for some days had he been in correspondence with that chief. The committee felt, therefore, the less scruple in consenting to his surrender when required as a stipulation of their treaty.

Yet, in spite of some such extenuating circumstances, the convention of Wargaum may justly be regarded as the most discreditable to the arms of

England ever framed since they had first appeared on Indian soil. To the English, in all three presidencies, it seemed like a Saratoga in miniature. To the French partisans throughout India it gave a bolder spirit and a louder tone. It combined, if not the whole Mahratta empire, yet several more of the Mahratta chiefs against the English. It revived the hopes, and disclosed the animosity, both of the nizam and Hyder Ali; but on the mind of the governor-general it had no effect. He refused to alter his plans: he refused to recall his troops. On the contrary, he at once directed Goddard to advance.

General Goddard (for to that higher rank was he speedily promoted) justified the confidence of Hastings by his energy and skill. In his campaign of that year and of the following, he, in great measure, retrieved and worthily maintained the honour of the British arms. At one time we see him reduce by storm the fort of Ahmadabad; at another time, by a siege, the city of Bassein. On another occasion he appears gaining a victory over the entire force, forty thousand strong, of Sindhia and Holkar combined. Meanwhile Raghunath Rao had found early means to escape from the hands of Sindhia, and took shelter in Surat. Thus the advantages to the Mahrattas from the day of Wargaum proved fleeting and short-lived.

In a hilly district lying to the south of Agra, and bearing, at that time, the name of Gohud, Hastings waged war upon a smaller scale. With the Hindu prince, or rana, of that district he had concluded an alliance. The rana being, in consequence, attacked by the Mahrattas, applied to his confederates in Bengal; and a small body of troops, under Captain Popham, was sent to his support. Not merely did Captain Popham, with little assistance from the rana, clear Gohud from its invaders, but he carried the war into some of the Mahratta country; he besieged and reduced the city of Lahar; and gained renown throughout the east when he took, by escalade, a rock-fortress which was deemed impregnable — the "castled crag" of Gwalior.

In these and his other military measures Hastings was not left to rely upon his own unassisted judgment. Sir Eyre Coote, invested with a two-fold rank as commander of the forces and as member of the council, arrived at Calcutta in March, 1779. He had no disposition to ally himself with Francis, or intrigue against Hastings; yet he gave nearly as much trouble to the latter as ever had Francis himself. The lapse of almost twenty years since his last successes had not been without effect, either on his body or his mind. He had become less active in his movements, and more fretful in his temper. A love of gain had grown up side by side with his love of glory; and strongly impressed with his own great merits, he was ever prone to deem himself slighted or neglected. It required constant care in Hastings to avoid or to explain away any causes of offence between them.

#### HASTINGS FIGHTS A DUEL WITH FRANCIS (1780 A.D.)

Early in the year 1780 an engagement was concluded, according to which Francis proposed to desist from systematic opposition, and to acquiesce in all the measures for the prosecution of the Mahratta war, while Hastings undertook to appoint Mr. Fowke, and some other adherents of Francis, to certain lucrative posts. On the faith of this agreement, and with the full consent of Hastings, Barwell embarked for Europe. But only a few weeks afterwards the old dissension at the council-board burst forth anew. The immediate cause was the expedition in Gohud. Hastings alleged that this was only a branch of his Mahratta war; Francis, on the contrary, maintained

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that this was a separate object, to which he was not pledged, and which he might freely oppose. The governor-general, on this occasion, lost or laid aside his customary calmness, and in reply to a minute of his rival, placed on record, in council, the following words: "I do not trust to Mr. Francis' promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." When the council broke up, Francis drew the governor-general into another chamber, and read to him a challenge; it was accepted by Hastings, and they met on the day but one after — on the morning of the 17th of August.

Hastings and Francis fired at nearly the same instant; Hastings was unharmed, but Francis was shot through the side. He was conveyed to an adjacent house, where the surgeons found that although his wound was severe his life was not in danger. He recovered, but early in the next December gave up his office and returned to England. In taking that step, Francis did no more than fulfil an intention which, finding his influence wholly declined, he had formed even in the preceding year.

#### HASTINGS AT ODDS WITH THE SUPREME COURT

Dissension with Francis, however fierce, was no novelty to Hastings. But during the same period he had to wage a painful warfare with a former friend — Sir Elijah Impey. In the Regulating Act of 1773 the limits between the judicial and political powers which it instituted had not been duly defined. Thus it happened, that on several points in practice the supreme court came to clash with the supreme council.

In the beginning of 1780 a suit had been brought against a wealthy landholder, the rajah of Cossijurah, by Cossinaut Baboo his agent at Calcutta, when the judge issued a writ to sequester his lands and goods. For this object an armed band, consisting of sixty men and commanded by a sergeant of the court, was despatched to Cossijurah. The rajah had already fled from his house. Nevertheless it was forcibly entered by the gang of bailiffs; nor did they even shrink from breaking open the zenana, or the women's chambers, ever held sacred in the East amidst the worst barbarities of war. The servants of the rajah stood at the threshold ready to resist, so far as they could resist, what they deemed the dishonour of their master, but some of them were wounded and the rest beaten back and overborne.

When these tidings reached Calcutta the governor-general, supported on this one occasion by his council's unanimous assent, took, as was his duty, effectual measures of redress. A circular was issued to the landholders of Bengal explaining that, unless in certain specified cases, they owed no obedience to the mandates of the supreme court. Upon this, all patience and all prudence departed from Sir Elijah Impey and his brother judges. Even the most violent steps did not seem to them too strong. They cast into prison Mr. North Naylor, the company's attorney, merely because as he was bound to do, he had obeyed the orders of the council. They caused a summons to be served on each member of the council requiring him to appear at their bar, and to answer for his public acts. Hastings and the other members refused to obey the call. The judges pronounced the refusal to be a clear contempt of his majesty's law and of his courts." It is difficult to say to what extremities — scarcely short of civil war — this collision might have grown, had not Cossinaut, no doubt on some secret inducements held out to him by the governor-general, suddenly dropped his actions at law; thus

depriving the judges of all present materials upon which their wrath could build.

The immediate case might thus be dealt with, but a more permanent remedy was needed. With this view, the fertile brain of Hastings devised another scheme. Under the act of 1773 there were certain judicial powers which belonged to the supreme council as a tribunal of appeal from some of the provincial courts, but which the supreme council had neither sufficient time, nor yet sufficient knowledge, to exert. Hastings proposed that these powers should be henceforth vested in a judge appointed by the governor and council, and removable at their pleasure, and that this newly appointed judge should be no other than the chief justice of the supreme court. Such was the scheme which, in September, 1780, Hastings laid before his colleagues in the government, and which, in spite of strenuous opposition from Francis and from Wheler, was carried through. To Francis, who almost immediately afterwards returned to England, there only remained the spiteful satisfaction of spreading far and wide among his friends and the public at home the charge that the chief justice had been bribed from a course of opposition by a new salary of 8,000*l.* a year.

It is true that the council did determine that a salary—not, as was said, of eight thousand, but of five thousand pounds a year—should be attached to the new office. Sir Elijah stated, however, that he should refuse to accept any part of this money until the opinion of the lord chancellor had been asked and obtained from England. There are still extant the regular vouchers of the sums paid to the chief justice in pursuance of the council's order, and paid back by him to the company's account. And in point of fact, neither then nor at any time afterwards was a single rupee of this new salary received for his own use by Sir Elijah Impey.

#### THE OUTBREAK OF HYDER ALI (1780 A.D.)

The Mahratta campaign, and the altercations with Francis and with Impey, however burthensome to Hastings, were not at this time his only nor yet his greatest care. Another and more pressing danger rose in view. Hyder Ali, the mighty sovereign of Mysore, had observed with much displeasure, the British expedition to Mahe. He saw that the English were now entangled in a difficult war with the Mahrattas, and that a French armament was soon expected on the coast of Coromandel. He drew together an army which amounted, or at least which popular terror magnified, to ninety thousand men. These forces were not wholly wanting in European discipline; they had been trained, in part, by good officers from France, and they drew into the field, with competent artillerymen, one hundred pieces of artillery.

The government of Madras was, almost to the last, unconscious of its danger. The English chiefs were nearly taken by surprise, when, in the height of summer, the horsemen of Mysore, the vanguard of Hyder's army, came dashing down the passes that lead from their wild hills. This was the invasion which some years afterwards was described with so much glowing eloquence by Burke in his speech on the nawab of Arcot's debts, February 28th, 1783. This was the "black cloud that hung for awhile on the declivities of the mountains." This was the "menacing meteor which blackened all the horizon until it suddenly burst and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Carnatic."

At the approach of Hyder's army, the frontier posts, held by sepoys, sur-

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rendered with but slight resistance; and his onward progress was marked by fire and the sword. From the summit of St. Thomas' Mount the people of Madras could see, on the horizon, columns of dark smoke ascend from the burning villages. In the field there were already some not wholly inconsiderable forces. Sir Hector Munro had above five thousand men, and Colonel Baillie above three.

Had Baillie and Munro at once combined their forces, as they might and should, it seems probable, from the much larger number of Europeans in their ranks, that they might have stood firm against all the armies of Mysore. But their torpor, or perhaps their jealousy, delayed them, and thus enabled Hyder to assail them singly, while yet only a few miles asunder. On the 10th of September the troops of Baillie were overwhelmed and cut to pieces. A similar fate might have befallen Munro had he not saved himself by a precipitate retreat towards Mount St. Thomas, first casting his artillery into the tanks, and relinquishing his baggage and stores. Thus only the walled towns remained to the English: all the open country was, or would be, Hyder's.

#### THE ACTIVITY OF HASTINGS; THE VICTORIES OF EYRE COOTE

A swift-sailing ship, despatched for the express purpose, brought these ill-tidings to Calcutta on the 23rd of the same month. On no occasion, either before or since, were the genius, the energy, the master-spirit of Hastings more signally displayed. In a single day he framed a new system of policy, renouncing his late favourite schemes, and contemplating only the altered state of public affairs. In his own words—"All my hopes of aggrandising the British name and enlarging the interests of the company, gave instant place to the more urgent call to support the existence of both in the Carnatic; nor did I hesitate a moment to abandon my own views for such an object. The Mahratta war has been, and is yet, called mine. Gods knows why. I was forced into it. It began with the acts of others unknown to me. I never professed any other design but to support the presidency of Bombay, if it had succeeded in the plans which it had formed, or to protect and save them if they failed. Perhaps the war with Hyder may be, in like manner, called my war."

On the 25th of September the council met. The governor-general proposed that a treaty not merely of peace but of alliance should be tendered to the Mahrattas, yielding the main points at issue in the war; that every soldier available in Bengal should at once be shipped off to Madras; that fifteen lacs of rupees should without delay be despatched to the same quarter; that Sir Eyre Coote, as alone sufficient, should be requested to assume the chief command against Mysore; and that the powers allowed to the supreme presidency by the act of 1773 should be strained to the utmost, by superseding Mr. Whitehill, the new and incapable governor of Fort St. George.

Hyder Ali, since his great successes over Baillie and Munro, had reduced the fort of Arcot, and was besieging Wandewash and Vellore. But the arrival of the new commander and of the reinforcements from Bengal struck his mind with awe. He raised the siege of both places when, in January, 1781, he saw Coote take the field, though still with most scanty forces and inadequate supplies. Sir Eyre, apprehensive of a rising among the French so lately subdued, next marched south and encamped on the Red Hills of Pondicherry. Later in the season he advanced to Porto Novo, a haven some forty miles further to the southward. There, on the 1st of July, he succeeded in bringing Hyder to a battle. He had only between eight and nine thousand men

opposed to the myriads of Mysore. Yet such was the ascendancy of European valour and European skill, that after six hours of conflict Hyder's forces fled in utter disarray, leaving on the field several thousand dead and wounded, while upon the side of the English the loss scarcely exceeded four hundred men.

The victory at Porto Novo was not left unimproved by Coote. He turned, and with good effect, towards Wandewash, which was again besieged. "Wandewash is safe" — thus he wrote to the government of Madras — "it being the third time in my life I have had the honour to relieve it." Hyder then fell back to what he deemed a lucky spot, as it certainly was a strong position; the very ground on which, in the preceding year, he had defeated Baillie. There, on the 27th of August, he engaged in another battle with Sir Eyre.

In this action, to which a neighbouring village gave its name of Pollilore, the ground was so unfavourable to the English, that Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the first line, could not forbear a remonstrance to his chief. "You talk to me, sir, when you should be doing your duty!" — such was the stern reply; a reply which, rankling in the mind of Munro, caused him to retire from active service to Madras, and from thence next year to England. The results of Pollilore were far less decisive, and purchased by much heavier sacrifice than those of Porto Novo; yet still, at the close, the flight of Hyder from his chosen ground left to Coote, undoubtedly, both the honour and the advantage of the day. The open country was recovered; and the Carnatic was saved.

From Calcutta the governor-general had lost no time in commencing a negotiation for peace with the Mahrattas. But this was long protracted by the number of their chiefs, and the intricacy of the relations between them; and it was not till the spring of 1782 that the treaties were finally concluded at Salbye. Meanwhile, the entire strain of the war, both with Poona and Mysore, fell upon the presidency of Bengal, from which, nevertheless, large remittances were still expected by the directors and proprietors at home. Under these pressing circumstances, Hastings was compelled to seek new sources of supply.<sup>c</sup>

#### HASTINGS' EXACTIONS IN BENARES AND OUDH

A considerable economy was effected by a reform in the establishment for collecting the land tax. The government monopolies of opium and salt were then for the first time placed upon a remunerative basis. But these reforms were of necessity slow in their beneficial operation. The pressing demands of the military chest had to be satisfied by loans, and in at least one case from the private purse of the governor-general. Ready cash could alone fill up the void; and it was to the hordes of native princes that Hastings' fertile mind at once turned. Cheyte Sing, rajah of Benares, the greatest of the vassal chiefs who had grown rich under the protection of the British rule, lay under the suspicion of disloyalty. The wazir of Oudh had fallen into arrears in the payment due for the maintenance of the company's garrison posted in his dominions, and his administration was in great disorder. In his case the ancestral hordes were under the control of his mother, the begum of Oudh, into whose hands they had been allowed to pass at the time when Hastings was powerless in council.

Hastings resolved to make a progress up country in order to arrange the affairs of both provinces, and bring back all the treasure that could be squeezed

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out of its holders by his personal intervention. When he reached Benares and presented his demands, the rajah rose in insurrection, and the governor-general barely escaped with his life.<sup>1</sup> But the faithful Popham rapidly rallied a force for his defence. The native soldiery were defeated again and again; Cheyte Sing took to flight, and an augmented permanent tribute was imposed upon his successor.<sup>2</sup>

The Oudh business was managed with less risk. The wazir consented to everything demanded of him.<sup>3</sup>

The city and palace of Faizabad, in which the two princesses dwelt, were surrounded and reduced by a body of British troops. Still, however, the begums would not part with any portion of their hidden treasure. The difficulty was how to discover or lay hands upon it without profaning, as the races of the East conceive, the sacred bounds of the zenana. It was

resolved to arrest and confine two aged eunuchs, the heads of the household, and the principal ministers of the princesses. These men were cast into prison, and loaded with irons; and on finding them obdurate, an order was issued in January, 1782, that until they yielded they should be debarred from all food. This order, to the shame and opprobrium not only of himself and his employer, but even of the English name in India, bore the signature of Nathaniel Middleton.

[<sup>1</sup> He set forth from the city by night, yet not unobserved, the rabble hooting him as he rode along, with a jingling rhyme yet forgotten in Benares:

"Hat' hee pur howdah, ghore pur jeen,  
Juldee bah'r jata Sahib Warren Husteen!"

"Horse, elephant, howdah, set off at full speed,  
Ride away my Lord Warren Hastings!"

"It is a nursery rhyme which is often sung to children (at Benares)," says Bishop Heber.<sup>4</sup>

[<sup>2</sup> Pitt, during the trial of Hastings in 1786, said that Hastings had a right to impose a fine on Cheyte Sing. "<sup>3</sup> But, in fining the rajah £500,000, for a mere delay to pay £50,000, which £50,000 he had actually paid, Mr. Hastings proceeded in an arbitrary, tyrannical manner, and was not guided by any principle of reason and justice. The punishment was utterly disproportionate, and shamefully exorbitant."]



BUDDHIST TOPE IN BENARES

To the pangs of hunger the aged ministers gave way, and within two days agreed to disburse the sum which was then required. But that sum was only a part of the whole demand. To extort the rest other most rigorous measures were employed. The two prisoners were removed from Faizabad to Lucknow. The weight of their irons was increased; torture was threatened, and perhaps inflicted; certain it is, at least, that every facility was granted by the British assistant resident to the officers of the vizir, who were sent for that purpose to the prison-house. Meanwhile at Faizabad the palace-gates of the princesses continued to be strictly guarded. Food was allowed to enter, but not always in sufficient quantities for the number of the inmates, so that the begums might be wrought upon by the distress of their attendants. "The melancholy cries of famine," says a British officer upon the spot, "are more easily imagined than described." Thus, through the greater part of 1782, severity followed severity, and sum was exacted after sum. The ministers were not set free, nor the princesses relieved from duress until after there had been obtained from them treasure exceeding in amount one million sterling. Notwithstanding all their pleas of poverty — pleas perfectly justifiable in the face of such oppression — there was still remaining in their hands property to the value of at least one million more.

Certainly, in one respect at least, Hastings may deserve to be far distinguished above the long line of robbers — magistrates of story — from Verres the praetor down to Monaïen Rapinat. He plundered for the benefit of the state, and not his own. His main thought was that he had a great empire to save — and he did save it. Yet with all due appreciation of his object, and with all due allowance for his difficulties, his conduct to the princesses of Oudh appears incapable of any valid vindication, and alike repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity.<sup>c</sup> Hastings appears to have been not altogether satisfied with the incidents of this expedition, and to have anticipated the censure which it received in England. As a measure of precaution he procured documentary evidence of the rebellious intentions of the rajah and the begums to the validity of which Impey obligingly lent his extra-judicial sanction.

The remainder of Hastings' term in office in India was passed in comparative tranquillity, both from internal opposition and foreign war. The centre of interest now shifts to the India House and to the British parliament. The long struggle between the company and the ministers of the crown for the supreme control of Indian affairs and the attendant patronage had reached its climax. The decisive success of Hastings' administration alone postponed the inevitable solution. His original term of five years would have expired in 1778; but it was annually prolonged by special act of parliament until his voluntary resignation. Though Hastings was thus irremovable, his policy did not escape censure. Ministers were naturally anxious to obtain the reversion to his vacant post, and Indian affairs formed at this time the hinge on which party politics turned. On one occasion Dundas carried a motion in the house of commons censuring Hastings, and demanding his recall. The directors of the company were disposed to act upon this resolution; but in the court of proprietors, with whom the decision ultimately lay, Hastings always possessed a sufficient majority.<sup>b</sup>

#### WAR WITH THE DUTCH AND FRENCH (1781-1783 A.D.)

Thus was Hastings upheld at his post; thus might his energies still maintain the varying fortunes of the war in the Carnatic. To that war he con-

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tinued to apply most strenuously all the men and all the money he could raise. His public-spirited endeavours were well seconded by those of the new governor of Fort St. George, Lord Macartney, who had gained some reputation by negotiating a treaty of commerce with Russia, and who mainly on that ground had been appointed to Madras. Lord Macartney brought out from England the news of the declaration of war against the Dutch; and it became one of his first objects to reduce the settlements which they possessed on the coasts of Coromandel and Ceylon. He was successful with regard to the Dutch factories at Sadras and Pulicat. Next he fitted out a more considerable expedition against the more important settlement of Negapatam.

In November, 1781, Negapatam was accordingly besieged and taken, several thousand Dutch troops, after a resolute resistance, being made prisoners on this occasion. Inspired by that exploit, a body of five hundred men was put on board the fleet, and sent to the attack of Fort Osterburg and Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon. This service, also, was no less successfully performed, but was much more than counterbalanced by the disaster which, in February, 1782, befell another British detachment in the district of Tanjore. There Colonel Braithwaite, at the head of one hundred Europeans and eighteen hundred sepoys, found himself surrounded and surprised by an army of Mysore, under Hyder's son Tipu and M. Lally. He and his men fought most bravely, but at last were overpowered by superior numbers; and all either cut to pieces or taken captive and consigned to the dungeons of Seringapatam.

In the same month of February, 1782, the armament from France, so long expected, appeared off the coast of Coromandel. Its command had devolved on Suffren, one of the best seamen whom his country can boast. Already, on his outward voyage, he had fought a pitched battle with an English squadron at Porto Praya, in one of the Cape Verd islands. By his prompt arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, he had secured that colony against the same squadron for his new allies the Dutch. In India it was one of his first cares to land at Porto Novo two thousand French soldiers whom he had on board, to form, with their countrymen already serving, an auxiliary force to the armies of Mysore. These troops being joined by Tipu, flushed as he was then with his triumph over Colonel Braithwaite, they proceeded in conjunction to invest Cuddalore, a seaport town between Porto Novo and Pondicherry. Having to encounter only a feeble garrison of four hundred men, they easily prevailed in their attack; and Cuddalore, thus wrested from the English, became of great importance to the French, both as a place of arms and as a harbour, during the whole remainder of the war.

It so chanced that at the very time when the armament from France appeared in the Indian seas, the British fleet in that quarter was seasonably reinforced by several new ships from England. De Suffren and Sir Edward Hughes, the two admirals here opposed to each other, were antagonists well matched both for skill and intrepidity. In the period between February, 1782, and June, 1783, no less than five pitched battles were fought between them. In these their force was very nearly equal, with only a slight superiority on most occasions on the side of the French. But in none of these was any decisive advantage gained by either party. No ship of war was captured; no overwhelming loss of men was achieved; and, in turning to the best account the results of every action, Suffren showed a far superior skill, especially in retaking Trincomalee and relieving Cuddalore.

The arrival of the French auxiliaries to the forces of Mysore was, in a great measure, counterbalanced by the peace which at this time Hastings con-

cluded with the Mahratta estates. Thus, the English could continue to wage, on no unequal terms, the war in the Carnatic until, in December, 1782, it received a new turn from the illness and death of Hyder Ali. This event was concealed as long as possible, to afford time for Tipu, who was then upon the coast of Malabar, to return and claim in person the allegiance of the people and the troops. But when the intelligence did at last reach Calcutta, it fired anew the energies of Sir Eyre Coote. Weak health had compelled the failing veteran, after one more battle with Hyder at Arnee, to withdraw from the field in the Carnatic, and sail back to his council-chambers of Bengal. Now, however, he felt, or he fancied, his strength in some degree restored; and he was eager to measure swords against the new sultan. For this purpose he embarked in an armed vessel which carried out supplies of money to Madras. This, towards the close of its voyage, was chased for two days and two nights by some French ships of the line. During all this time the general's anxiety kept him constantly on deck. The excessive heat by day, the unwholesome dews at night, wrought sad havoc on his already wasted frame; and thus, although the ship escaped from its pursuers, Sir Eyre Coote expired in April, 1783, only two days after he had landed at Madras.

Tipu during this time had returned to the coast of Malabar. There he had to wage war against General Mathews and a body of troops from Bombay set free by the peace with the Mahrattas. The English general at first had great successes, reducing both Bednur and Mangalore. But the appearance of the sultan at the head of fifty thousand men changed the scene. Mathews was besieged in Bednur and taken prisoner with all his Europeans. Being accused, though unjustly, of a breach of faith, he was put in irons, and sent in the strictest duress with many of his comrades to Seringapatam, there to perish in the dungeons of the tyrant.

At Madras the command of the forces, in the absence of Sir Eyre, had devolved, though far less adequately, on General Stuart. That officer, in the spring of 1783, commenced operations against the French in Cuddalore, who had lately received from Europe some considerable reinforcements under De Bussy. The lines in front of the town, which Bussy had well fortified, were assailed by Stuart with more of intrepidity than skill. The fleets on both sides hastened to the scene of action; but suddenly at the close of June the tidings came that the preliminaries of peace between France and England had been signed at Versailles. By that compact, Pondicherry and the other settlements of France in India, as they stood before the war, were to be restored. The French took possession accordingly, but, on the other hand, they recalled their detachment serving under Tipu in Malabar, and prepared to sail back with their armament to France.

Tipu then remained alone. He had set his heart on adding lustre to his arms by reducing in person the stronghold of Mangalore, but, having achieved that object in the autumn of 1783, he was no longer disinclined to treat with the English upon the footing of a mutual restitution of all conquests made since the commencement of the war. Thus was peace restored through all the wide extent of India, and thus did the administration of Hastings, which endured until the spring of 1785, close, after all its storms, with scarce a cloud upon its sky.<sup>c</sup>

#### THE IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS

Francis had returned to Europe, with the wound inflicted by Hastings' pistol fresh on his body, and with the bitterest feelings of animosity rankling

[1785-1788 A.D.]

in his heart. He had made the acquaintance of Burke before he went to the east; he corresponded with him during his residence at Calcutta; and on his return he had full possession of his ear, and filled Burke's generous and excitable mind with false and horrible tales against Hastings, and against all who had supported that governor-general in his struggle with Francis, Clavering, and Monson. From the moment of Francis' arrival in England, by means of pamphlets, books of travels, harangues at public meetings, private discussions, and parliamentary orations, a merciless war was commenced against the great man who was saving, and who in the end did both save and enlarge the Indian Empire of Great Britain. It was soon resolved to impeach Hastings for the means he had employed to effect the great object.

Hastings, however, was not recalled; he resigned. The last two years of his administration in India formed by far the happiest period of his public life. The peace with France, which paralyzed the most powerful of the native princes, enabled him to get the whole country into a state of tranquillity and prosperity which had not been known for many ages. It also enabled him to extend the British influence in several new directions, and to confirm it in others. Having completed his preparations, he embarked on the 8th of February, 1785, attended by demonstrations that certainly did not mark him out as a tyrant and a monster. As soon as it was publicly known that he was really about to quit the government, which he had held for thirteen years, numerous addresses were got up and presented by all classes; by military officers, by the civil servants of the company, by factors and traders, by natives as well as Europeans.

He was most favourably received at court; but his enemies did not leave him long tranquil. Francis had obtained a seat in parliament, ranging himself on the side of the most active and the most eloquent opposition party that the country had yet seen, and through Francis and his too credulous ally, Burke, the prosecution of Hastings was made a party question. It took some time and trouble to convert Charles Fox, but at last that statesman entered into the crusade against the governor-general with his constitutional heat and impetuosity. Sheridan, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir John Anstruther, Mr. Windham, Mr., afterwards Earl Grey, and all the great whig orators either preceded or followed Fox; and for many years their efforts were united to effect the ruin and disgrace of Warren Hastings, who was no orator, who had no seat in parliament, and who had to contend with nearly every possible disadvantage. The mere outlines of the proceedings would fill a volume — they lasted altogether more than ten years; and without details still more voluminous, an adequate notion could not be conveyed of this unprecedented persecution. We can here do no more than describe the scene and give the results.

On the 4th of April, Burke charged Warren Hastings, Esquire, late governor-general of Bengal, etc., with sundry high crimes and misdemeanours, and delivered at the table nine of his articles of charge. In the course of the following week he presented twelve more articles; and on the 6th of May another charge, being the twenty-second, was added to the long and bewildering list. But the several accusations were finally confined to four heads: The oppression and final expulsion of the rajah of Benares; the maltreatment and robbery of the begums of the house of Oudh; and the charges of receiving presents and conniving at unfair contracts and extravagant expenditure. The sessions of 1786-1787 having been consumed in preliminary proceedings, the house of lords assembled in Westminster Hall, February 13th, 1788, to try the impeachment. *g*

## MACAULAY'S PICTURE OF THE TRIAL

There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster; but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilisation were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of the British constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The high court of parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oudh.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles had confronted the high court of justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under garter-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three-fourths of the upper house as the upper house then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron present led the way, George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the duke of Norfolk, earl marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the king. Last of all came the prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing.

The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the ambassadors of great kings and commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful

[1788 A.D.]

foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There too was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia, whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.

The sergeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country; had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect; a high and intellectual forehead; a brow pensive, but not gloomy; a mouth of inflexible decision; a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqua in arduis*; such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up with green benches and tables for the commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of a public prosecutor; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the lower house, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham.

On the third day Burke rose; four sittings were occupied by his opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendour of diction which more than

satisfied the highly raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of the company and of the English presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of eastern society, as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such displays of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard: and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded:

"Therefore," said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered, by the commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the commons' house of parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was that the court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was that the managers should open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defence began. The lords retired to their own house to consider the question. The chancellor took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, who was now in opposition, supported the demand of the managers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favour of the course for which Hastings contended.

When the court sat again, Mr. Fox, assisted by Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheynte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the princesses of Oudh. The conduct of this part of the case was entrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days; but the hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket. Sheridan when he concluded contrived, with a knowledge of stage effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration.

June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer; and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been heard; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when the court

[1788-1795 A.D.]

began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the begums: From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men of letters from their books in the morning, or to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations. There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers, filled with words unintelligible to English ears, with *lacs* and *crores*, *zemindars* and *aumils*, *sunnuds* and *perwannahs*, *jaghires* and *nuzzurs*. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best taste or with the best temper, between the managers of the impeachment and the counsel for the defence, particularly between Mr. Burke and Mr. Law. There remained the endless marches and countermarches of the peers between their house and the hall; for as often as a point of law was to be discussed, their lordships retired to discuss it apart; and the consequence was, as a peer wittily said, that the judges walked and the trial stood still.

## THE FINAL ACQUITTAL OF HASTINGS (1795 A.D.)

The sessions of 1788, 1789, and 1790 were consumed in going through the case for the prosecution. In 1791 the commons expressed their willingness to abandon some part of the charges, with the view of bringing this extraordinary trial sooner to an end; and on the 2nd of June, the seventy-third day, Mr. Hastings began his defence. This was protracted until April 17th, 1795, on which (the one hundred and forty-eighth) day he was acquitted by a large majority on every separate article charged against him.

The opposition party, who at that time almost monopolised the public press, had deeply blackened the character of the benefactor of his country and the people of India; yet public opinion changed greatly during the long trial, and Hastings came to be regarded as an oppressed, instead of an offending man. The malice of Francis was so far defeated; but the law charges of the defence had exhausted the fortune of the late governor-general; and but for an annuity of £4,000, and a loan of ready money granted to him by the East India Company, in 1796, the illustrious and (in private life) amiable Hastings might have been left to end his days in a prison or a poorhouse.

Strenuous efforts had also been made by the parliamentary opposition to couple Sir Elijah Impey, the first chief-justice of Bengal, with the first governor-general. Prompted by Francis, and acting in concert with Burke, Fox, and the rest of the opposition leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the 12th of December, 1787, denounced Sir Elijah, in the house of commons, as the single sole murderer of Nandkumar, and moved his impeachment upon that and upon five other charges. But on the 9th of May, Sir Elijah was acquitted of the Nandkumar charge by a parliament majority, and this put an end to all proceedings against him.

*Macaulay's Estimate of Hastings*

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. Of about one hundred and sixty nobles who walked in the procession on the first day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. It had been scattered by calamities more

bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living. But their friendship was at an end.

Hastings was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his defence had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the house of commons that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed. Logan defended the accused governor with great ability in prose. For the lovers of verse the speeches of the managers were burlesqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are afraid, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the aid of that malignant and filthy baboon John Williams, who called himself Anthony Pasquin. It was necessary to subsidise such allies largely. The private hoards of Mrs. Hastings had disappeared. It is said that the banker to whom they had been entrusted had failed. Still if Hastings had practised strict economy, he would after all his losses have had a moderate competence; but in the management of his private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accomplished; and the domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendants of its old lords. But the manor house was a ruin; and the grounds round it had during many years been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto; and, before he was dismissed from the bar of the house of lords, he had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

On a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, and to conciliate the Irish by giving up the right of legislating for them; but, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits of her victories in former wars. Spain regained Minorca and Florida; France regained Senegal, Goree, and several West Indian islands. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected; the nawab vizir reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus extended, nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occupied by hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy, he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organisation by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Louis XVI or of the emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, which existed when he left Bengal, without exception, was his creation.<sup>r</sup>

[1784 A.D.]

*Sir A. Lyall on Warren Hastings*

Hastings carried the government of India safely through one of the sharpest crises in our national history, when our transmarine possessions were in great peril all over the world, because all the naval powers of Europe were banded against us. In America, the insurgents after an arduous struggle tore down the British flag; in India the end of a long and exhausting contest found our flag not only flying but still more firmly planted than ever; nor had either the vindictive hostility of Mysore, or the indefatigable activity of the Mahrattas, succeeded in wresting an acre of British territory from the grasp of Warren Hastings.\*

## PITT REFORMS THE ADMINISTRATION (1784 A.D.)

When Mr. Fox succeeded to the head of affairs in 1783, all parties were already prepared for a great and important change in the government of Great Britain's eastern empire. But the scheme of that able and ambitious statesman far outstripped either the reason or necessity of the case. He proposed — in his famous India Bill, which convulsed the nation from end to end, and in its ultimate results occasioned the downfall of his administration — to vest the exclusive right of governing India in seven directors, "to be named in the act," that is, appointed by the legislature under the direction of the ministry for the time. The vacancies in these commissioners were to be filled up by the house of commons under the same direction. But this important innovation was defeated, after it had passed the lower house, by a small majority of nineteen in the house of peers, and this defeat was immediately followed by the dismissal of Mr. Fox and his whole administration.

Although, however, Mr. Fox's India Bill was rejected, yet the numerous abuses of Great Britain's Indian dominions, as well as the imminent hazard which they had run during the war with Hyder Ali, from the want of a firmly constituted central government, were too fresh in the public recollection to permit the existing state of matters to continue. Mr. Pitt, accordingly, was no sooner installed in power, than he brought forward an India Bill of his own, which, it was hoped, would prove exempt from the objections to which its predecessor had been liable, and, at the same time, remedy the serious evils to which the administration of affairs in India had hitherto been exposed. This bill passed both houses (1784) and formed the basis of the system under which, with some subsequent but inconsiderable amendments, the affairs of India were for many years administered. By it the court of directors appointed by the East India Company remained as before, and to them the general administration of Indian affairs was still entrusted.

The great change introduced was the institution of the Board of Control, a body composed of six members of the privy council, chosen by the king — the chancellor of the exchequer and one of the secretaries of state being two — in whom the power of directing and controlling the proceedings of the Indian Empire was vested. The duties of this board were very loosely defined, and were all ultimately centred in the president, an officer who became a fourth secretary of state for the Indian Empire. They were described as being "from time to time to check, superintend, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in anywise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the territories and possessions of the East India Company." These powers were ample enough; but in practice they led to little more than a control of the company in the more important political or military concerns

of the East, leaving the directors in possession of the practical direction of affairs in ordinary cases. All vacancies in official situations, with the exception of the offices of governor-general of India, governors of Madras and Bombay, and commanders-in-chief, which were to be filled up by the British government, were left at the disposal of the East India directors. A most important provision was made in the institution of a secret committee, who were to send to India in duplicate such despatches as they might receive from the board of control, and in the establishment of the supreme government of Calcutta, with a controlling power over the other presidencies — a change which at once introduced unity of action into all parts of the peninsula.

It cannot be affirmed that this anomalous constitution will stand the test of theoretical examination, or is confirmed by history as regards other states. Still less could it be presumed that a distribution of supreme power between a governor-general and two subordinate governors in the East, and a board of control and body of directors in the British Islands, gave any fair prospect either of unity of purpose or efficiency of action. Nevertheless, if experience, the great test of truth, be consulted, and the splendid progress of the Indian Empire of Great Britain since it was directed in this manner be alone considered, there is reason to hold this system of government one of the most perfect that ever was devised by human wisdom for the advancement and confirmation of political greatness. The secret of this apparent anomaly is to be found in the fact, that this division of power existed in theory only; that from the great distance of India from the home government, and the pressing interests which so frequently called for immediate decision, the supreme direction of affairs practically came to be vested in the governors-general; and that in them were found a succession of great men, second to none who ever appeared in the world for vigour and capacity, and who vindicated the truth of the saying of Sallust, that it is in the strenuous virtue of a few that the real cause of national greatness is in general to be found.

It soon appeared how much the vigour and efficiency of the Indian administration had been increased by the important changes made in its central government. By Mr. Pitt's India Bill, all ideas of foreign conquest in the East had been studiously repressed — it having been declared, that "to pursue schemes of conquest or extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation." But this declaration, in appearance so just and practicable, was widely at variance with the conduct which extraneous events shortly after forced upon the British government.

#### LORD CORNWALLIS AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL; THE WAR WITH TIPU (1786-1792 A.D.)

In order, however, to carry into execution the pacific views of ministers at home, a nobleman of high rank and character, Lord Cornwallis, was sent out by Mr. Pitt, who united in his person the two offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief, so as to give the greatest possible unity to the action of government [1786]. No sooner, however, had he arrived there, than he discovered that Tipu was intriguing with the other native powers for the subversion of Great Britain's Indian dominion; and, as a rupture with France was apprehended at that juncture, four strong regiments were despatched to India. As the company complained of the expense which this additional force entailed upon their finances, a bill was brought into parliament by Mr. Pitt, which fixed the number of king's troops who might be ordered to India by

[1791 A.D.]

the board of control, at the expense of the company, at eight thousand, besides twelve thousand European forces in the company's service.

The wisdom of this great addition to the native European force in India, as well as the increased vigour and efficiency of the supreme government, speedily appeared in the next war that broke out. Tipu, whose hostility to the English was well known to be inveterate, and who had long been watched with jealous eyes by the Madras presidency, at length [1789] commenced an attack upon the rajah of Travancore — a prince in alliance with the British, and actually supported by a subsidiary force of their troops. At first, from the total want of preparation which had arisen from the pacific policy so strongly inculcated upon the Indian authorities by the government at home, he obtained very great success, and totally subdued the chief against whom he had commenced hostilities.

Perceiving that the British character was now at stake in the peninsula, and being well aware that a power founded on opinion must instantly sink into insignificance, if the idea gets abroad that its allies may be insulted with impunity, Lord Cornwallis immediately took the most energetic measures to re-assert the honour of the British name. Fifteen thousand men were collected in the Carnatic under General Meadows, while eight thousand more were to ascend the Ghats from the side of Bombay, under General Abercromby. Treaties of alliance were at the same time entered into with the peshwa and the nizam, and hostilities commenced, which were at first attended with checkered success — General Meadows having taken Karur and other towns, and Tipu having surprised Colonel Floyd, and burst into the Carnatic, where he committed the most dreadful ravages.

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF SERINGAPATAM (1791-1792 A.D.)

The energies of government, however, were now thoroughly aroused. In December, 1791, Lord Cornwallis embarked in person for Madras: the Bengal sepoy wars were with extreme difficulty reconciled to a sea voyage; and great reinforcements, with the commander-in-chief, were safely landed in the southern presidency. It was resolved to commence operations with the siege of Bangalore, one of the strongest fortresses in Mysore, and commanding the most eligible pass from the coast to the centre of Tipu's dominions. In the end of January the grand army<sup>1</sup> moved forward; the important pass of Coorg leading up the Ghats, was occupied within a month after; Bangalore was invested in the beginning of March and carried by assault on the 21st of that month.

Encouraged by this great success, Lord Cornwallis pushed on direct to Seringapatam, although the advanced period of the season, and scanty supplies of the army, rendered it a service of considerable peril, which was increased rather than diminished by the junction, shortly after, of ten thousand of the nizam's horse, who, without rendering any service to the army, consumed every particle of grass and forage within its reach.

Still the English general continued to press forward, and at length reached the fortified position of the enemy, on strong ground, about six miles in front of Seringapatam. An attack was immediately resolved on; but Tipu, who conducted his defence with great skill, did not await the formidable onset of the assaulting columns, and after inflicting a severe loss on the assailants by the fire of his artillery, withdrew all his forces within the works of the fortress.

[<sup>1</sup> Lord Cornwallis led the British army in person with a pomp and lavishness of supplies that recalled the campaigns of Aurangzeb.—HUNTER.\*]

The English were now within sight of the capital of Mysore, and decisive success seemed almost within their reach. They were in no condition, however, to undertake the siege. Orders were therefore given to retreat, and the army retired with heavy hearts and considerable loss of stores and men. But the opportune arrival of the advanced guard of the Mahratta contingent, on the second day of the march, which at first caused great alarm, suspended the retrograde movement, and the army encamped for the rainy season in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam.<sup>h</sup>

The next move to Seringapatam was effectual. Reinforcements had been sent out from England; and during the autumn all the lines of communication for another march upon the capital of Tipu had been opened. Some of the strong hill forts had been stormed and taken by the troops under General Meadows. On the 25th of January, 1792, Cornwallis, with twenty-two thousand men, had united his force to the troops of the nizam and the Mahrattas, and commenced his march. On the 5th of February he encamped about six miles northward of Seringapatam. The Mysorean army was encamped under its walls. It amounted to five thousand horse and forty thousand foot. The city was defended by three strong lines of works and redoubts, in which three hundred pieces of artillery were planted. Cornwallis reconnoitred these lines on the morning of the 6th, and determined to storm them that night, with his own army, without communicating his plan to his allies.

At eight o'clock the British moved in three columns to the attack, one column being led by Cornwallis himself. The moon was shining brilliantly; but the sun of the next day was declining before the firing ceased, and the whole line of forts to the north of the Kaveri were in possession of the British forces. Tipu retired within the walls of his capital. Preparations for the siege went vigorously on; but negotiations for peace were at the same time proceeding. The British commander, assured of his triumph, demanded that Tipu should cede the half of his dominions; should pay a sum amounting to £3,000,000; should release all his prisoners; and should deliver his two sons as hostages. The sultan assembled his officers in the great mosque, and adjured them, by the sacred contents of the Koran, to tell him whether he should accept these hard terms. They all held that no reliance could be placed upon the troops, and that submission was inevitable.

On the 23rd of February the preliminaries of peace were signed; and on the 25th the two sons of Tipu were surrendered to Lord Cornwallis. The definitive treaty of peace was signed on the 19th of March. The ceded territories were divided in equal portions between the company, the nizam, and the Mahrattas. On the 4th of May Cornwallis wrote to his brother, "Our peace will no doubt be very popular in England. No termination of the war could have been attended with more solid advantages to our interest; and the deference which was paid to us on the occasion, both by friends and enemies, has placed the British name and consequence in a light never before known in India."

The subjection of Tipu was most opportune. In all probability Cornwallis, who was blamed by some for not insisting upon harder terms, anticipated the probability that the French Revolution would involve England in war, and therefore he made peace whilst it was in his power. When the war broke out he hurried to Madras. But his presence was unnecessary. Pondicherry had already been taken by Sir John Braithwaite; and the French had no longer a footing in India. The agents of the republic were nevertheless active; but they were unable, for several years, to move "Citizen Tipu" into a course of open hostility.<sup>i</sup>

THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT (1793 A.D.)

If the foundations of the system of civil administration were laid by Hastings, the superstructure was erected by Cornwallis. It was he who first entrusted criminal jurisdiction to Europeans, and established the Nizamut Sadr Adalat, or supreme court of criminal judicature, at Calcutta, and it was he who separated the functions of collector and judge. The system thus organised in Bengal was afterwards transferred to Madras and Bombay, when those presidencies also acquired territorial sovereignty.

But the achievement most familiarly associated with the name of Cornwallis is the permanent settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. Up to his time the revenue had been collected pretty much according to the old Mughal system. *Zamindars*, or government farmers, whose office always tended to become hereditary, were recognised as having a right of some sort to collect the revenue from the actual cultivators. But no principle of assessment existed, and the amount actually realised varied greatly from year to year. Hastings had the reputation of bearing hard upon the *zamindars*, and was absorbed in other critical affairs of state or of war. On the whole he seems to have looked to experience, as acquired from a succession of quinquennial settlements, to furnish the standard rate to the future.

Francis, on the other hand, Hastings' great rival, deserves the credit of being among the first to advocate a limitation of the state demand in perpetuity. The same view recommended itself to the authorities at home, partly because it would place their finances on a more stable basis, partly because it seemed to identify the *zamindar* with the more familiar landlord. Accordingly, Cornwallis took out with him in 1787 instructions to introduce a permanent settlement. The process of assessment began in 1789 and terminated in 1791. No attempt was made to measure the fields or calculate the out-turn as had been done by Akbar, and is now done when occasion requires in the British provinces; but the amount payable was fixed by reference to what has been paid in the past. At first the settlement was called decennial, but in 1793 it was declared permanent forever. The total assessment amounted to *sikka* Rs. 2,68,00,989, or about 2½ millions sterling. Though Lord Cornwallis carried the scheme into execution, all praise or blame, so far as details are concerned, must belong to Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, whose knowledge of the country was unsurpassed by that of any civilian of his time. Shore would have proceeded more cautiously than Cornwallis' preconceived idea of a proprietary body and the court of directors' haste after fixity permitted.



TIPU SAHIB  
(1749-1799)

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Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, succeeded Earl Cornwallis in the government of India. During his administration, 1793-1796, the two sons of Tipu, who had been taken as hostages for the due performance of their father's engagements, were given up, however doubtful might have been the continued amity of the sultan. In 1798 Lord Teignmouth was succeeded by Lord Mornington, afterwards created Marquis Wellesley. At the head of the Indian government was now a man of splendid abilities, and of vigour of character well fitted for action in any great crisis. He had a sound adviser, not only in military affairs, but in political, in his younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, then in his thirtieth year, who held the rank of colonel. From his arrival in India as the colonel of an infantry regiment in 1797, to his acceptance of a responsible command in 1799, we may trace the same qualities which, more than any other man, fitted him for an encounter with the genius of Bonaparte.

Arthur Wellesley's regiment, the 33rd, formed part of an army assembled at Vellore, in November, 1798, under the command of General Harris. Lord Mornington had endeavoured, without effect, to detach Tipu from the dangerous influence of the agents of the French government. The language of the governor-general was conciliatory, but it was firm. His proposal to negotiate was met by evasions. Tipu continued to rely upon the assistance of the French. He rejected every pacific overture. General Harris accordingly entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March, 1799. The ally of the English, the nizam of the Deccan, sent a large contingent to join the army; and this force, to which the 33rd regiment was attached, was placed under the command of Colonel Wellesley.

The novelty, no less than the magnitude, of these operations, appears to have impressed the young commander of the nizam's army with a feeling of wonder which inexperience is not ashamed to display. The British grand army and the nizam's army marched in two columns parallel to each other. "The march of these two armies," says Wellesley in his despatches, "was almost in the form of a square or oblong, of which the front and rear were formed of cavalry, and about two or three miles in extent; the right and left (owing to the immense space taken up in the column by field-pieces, drawn by bullocks), about six or seven miles. In this square went everything belonging to the army. You will have some idea of what there was in that space when I state to you the number of bullocks that I know were in the public service." These he computes at sixty thousand. The nizam's army had twenty-five thousand bullocks loaded with grain; besides elephants, camels, bullocks, carts, belonging to individuals, beyond all calculation. "You may have some idea of the thing when I tell you that, when all were together, there was a multitude in motion which covered eighteen square miles." The Bombay army joined these two moving multitudes; and after several encounters with the forces of Tipu, the united armies had taken up a position before Seringapatam.

#### CAPTURE OF SERINGAPATAM AND DEATH OF TIPU (1799 A.D.)

A series of successful attacks upon the enemy's posts enabled the breaching batteries to be erected at a short distance from the walls; and the breach was sufficiently complete for the city to be stormed on the 4th of May.<sup>i</sup> Early on the morning of the 4th, the troops destined for the assault were placed in the trenches; and the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon was chosen for the attack, when the sultry heat usually disposed the Asiatics to repose.

[1799 A.D.]

Two thousand five hundred Europeans and two thousand natives formed the storming party under the command of General Baird. "Either," said he to Colonel Agnew, "we succeed to-morrow, or you never see me more." The assailants had a fearful prospect before them, for two-and-twenty thousand veteran troops composed the garrison, and the bastions, of uncommon strength, were armed with two hundred and forty pieces of cannon.

But before the British reached the breach, the enemy were at their post, and equally resolute with the assailants. When Tipu saw the British cross the Kaveri, he said, without changing colour, to those around him, "We have arrived at the last stage: what is your determination?" "To die along with you," was the unanimous reply. All was ready for the defence, every battery was manned, and from every bastion and gun which bore on the assailants a close and deadly fire was directed, which speedily thinned their ranks. On, however, the British rushed, followed by their brave allies, through the deadly storm. In five minutes the river was crossed, in five more the breach was mounted; a sally on the flank of the assaulting column by a chosen body of Tipu's guards was repulsed; and as Baird was leading his men up the entangled steep, a loud shout and the waving of the British colours on its summit announced that the fortress was won, and that the capital of Mysore had fallen.

But here an unexpected obstacle intervened — the summit of the breach was separated from the interior of the works by a wide ditch, filled with water, and at first no means of crossing it appeared. At length, however, Baird discovered some planks which had been used by the workmen in getting over it to repair the rampart, and, himself leading the way, this formidable obstacle was surmounted. Straightway dividing his men into two columns, under colonels Sherbrooke and Dunlop, this heroic leader soon swept the ramparts both to the right and left. The brave Asiatics were by degrees forced back — Tipu being the last man who quitted the traverses, though not without desperate resistance, to the mosque, where a dreadful slaughter took place. The remains of the garrison were there crowded together in a very narrow space, having been driven from the ramparts by Sherbrooke's and Dunlop's columns, and jammed together in the neighbourhood of the mosque, where they long maintained their ground under a dreadful cross-fire of musketry, till almost the whole had fallen. The remnant at length surrendered, with two of Tipu's sons, when the firing had ceased at other points.

The sultan himself, who had endeavoured to escape at one of the gates of the town which was assaulted by the sepoys, was some time afterwards found dead under a heap of several hundred slain, composed in part of the principal officers of his palace, who had been driven into the confined space round the mosque. He was shot by a private soldier when stretched on his palanquin, after having been wounded and having had his horse killed under him; while Baird, who for three years had been detained a captive in chains in his dungeons, had the triumph of taking vengeance for his wrongs, by generously protecting and soothing the fears of the youthful sons of his redoubted antagonist.

Tipu could never be brought to believe that the English would venture to storm Seringapatam, and he looked forward with confidence to the setting in of the heavy rains, which were soon approaching, to compel them to raise the siege. He was brave, liberal, and popular during his father's life; but his reign, after he himself ascended the throne, was felt as tyrannical and oppressive by his subjects. This, however, as is often the case in the East, they ascribed rather to the cupidity of his ministers than to his own disposition. The Brahmans had predicted that the 4th of May would prove an inauspicious

day to him; he made them large presents on that very morning, and asked them for their prayers.

He was sitting at dinner under a covered shed to avoid the rays of the sun when the alarm was given that the British were moving; he instantly washed his hands, called for his arms, and mounting his horse rode towards the breach, which he reached as they were crossing the Kaveri. On the way he received intelligence that Syed Goffer, his best officer, was killed. "Syed Goffer was never afraid of death," he exclaimed; "let Muhammed Kasim take charge of his division;" while he himself calmly continued to advance towards the tumult, and was actively engaged sustaining the rearguard, as it retired from the breach.

His corpse was found under a mountain of slain, stripped of all its ornaments and part of its clothing, but with the trusty amulet which he always wore still bound round his right arm. He had received three wounds in the body, and one in the temple; but the countenance was not distorted, the eyes were open, and the expression was that of stern composure. The body was still warm; and for a minute Colonel Wellesley, who was present, thought he was still alive: but the pulse which had so long throbbed for the independence of India had ceased to beat.

The storming of Seringapatam was one of the greatest blows ever struck by any nation, and demonstrated at once of what vast efforts the British Empire was capable, when directed by capacity and led by resolution. The immediate fruits of victory were immense. A formidable fortress, the centre of Tipu's power, garrisoned by twenty-two thousand regular troops, with all his treasures and military resources, had fallen; the whole arsenal and founderies of the kingdom of Mysore were taken, and the artillery they contained amounted to the enormous number of four hundred and fifty-one brass, and four hundred and seventy-one iron guns, besides two hundred and eighty-seven mounted on the works. Above five hundred and twenty thousand pounds of powder, and four hundred and twenty-four thousand round-shot, also fell into the hands of the victors. The military resources, on the whole, resembled rather those of an old-established European monarchy, than of an Indian potentate recently elevated to greatness. But these trophies, great as they were, constituted the least considerable fruits of this memorable conquest: its moral consequences were far more lasting and important.

In one day a race of usurpers had been extinguished, and a powerful empire overthrown; a rival to the British power struck down, and a tyrant of the native princes slain; a military monarchy subverted, and a stroke paralysing all India delivered. The loss in the assault was very trifling, amounting only to three hundred and eighty-seven killed and wounded, though fourteen hundred had fallen since the commencement of the siege. But the portion in which it was divided indicated upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and how superior in the deadly breach European energy was to Asiatic valour; for of that number three hundred and forty were British, and only forty-seven native soldiers. Colonel Wellesley was not engaged in the storm; but he commanded the reserve, which did not require to be called into action, and merely viewed with impatient regret the heart-stirring scene. He was next day, however, named Governor of the town by General Harris, which appointment was not disturbed by Lord Wellesley, and constitutes one of the few blots on the otherwise unexceptionable administration of that eminent man. Lord Wellesley was fully aware of the signal conduct and valour displayed by Baird in the siege and storm of Seringapatam; but he selected his brother in preference to him for the

[1799-1801 A.D.]

command of that important fortress, from his knowledge of the rare combination of civil and military qualities which he possessed. Had the appointment not been made by General Harris, he declared he would have made it himself. History, indeed, apart from biographical discussion, has little cause to lament an appointment which early called into active service the great civil as well as military qualities of the duke of Wellington, which were immediately exerted with such vigour and effect in arresting the plunder and disorders consequent on the storm, that in a few days the shops were all reopened, and the bazars were as crowded as they had been during the most flourishing days of the Mysore dynasty. But individual injustice is not to be always excused by the merits of the preferred functionary; and, unquestionably, the hero of Seringapatam, the gallant officer who led the assault, was entitled to a very different fate from that of being superseded in the command almost before the sweat was wiped from the brow which he had adorned with the laurels of victory.<sup>h</sup> Colonel Wellesley's letter to the governor-general is very characteristic. "It was impossible to expect that, after the labour which the troops had undergone in working up to this place, and the various successes they had had in six different affairs with Tipu's troops, in all of which they had come to the bayonet with them, they should not have looked to the plunder of this place. Nothing therefore can have exceeded what was done on the night of the 4th. I came in to take the command on the morning of the 5th; and, by the greatest exertion, by hanging, flogging, etc., etc., in the course of that day, I restored order among the troops, and I hope I have gained the confidence of the people."

#### THE SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM

After the fall of Tipu, and the partition of the Mysore territory in 1799, Lord Wellesley steadily pursued the policy which is distinguished as the subsidiary system. Its principle was to form treaties with native rulers; in compliance with which, a military force, under British command, was to be maintained at the expense of the native prince; and the control of state affairs was to be vested in the British resident, with the exception of all that related to the domestic arrangements of the sovereign, who preserved the regal pomp without the regal power. The subsidiary system was warmly opposed in the British parliament, as unjust and tyrannical. Its defence is succinctly stated by Lord Brougham,<sup>k</sup> who was a constant enemy of all injustice and tyranny: "We had been compelled to interfere in their affairs, and to regulate the succession to their thrones, upon each successive discovery of designs hostile to us, nay, threatening our very existence, the subversion of all the fabric of useful and humane and enlightened polity which we had erected on the ruins of their own barbarous system, and particularly the restriction of the cruel despotism under which the native millions had formerly groaned." In 1800, a subsidiary treaty was formed with the nizam, who ceded all his Mysorean territories in exchange for aid and protection. In 1801 the nephew of the deceased nawab of Arcot was raised to the nominal throne, renouncing in favor of the British all the powers of government. The subahdar of Oudh, and the peshwa, came also under subordination to the British authority.

#### MAHRATTA WAR OF 1803

After the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, a new danger had arisen, in a confederacy of Mahratta chiefs, assisted by French arms and French influence.

[1802-1803 A.D.]

The war of England against Napoleon was in effect to be carried on in a war with the Mahrattas. In the districts watered by the Godavari and the Purna were the qualities of a great captain to be displayed, which, a few years later, were to drive the legions of Napoleon from the Tagus to the Garonne.

At the beginning of the century, the great Mahratta chief Holkar was at war with the equally valorous chief Sindhia. Holkar, to strengthen his own power and destroy an ally of his rival, attacked the peshwa, who fled from Poona after a signal defeat. It was then that he called the British to his aid, with whom he concluded the Treaty of Bassein, on the last day of December, 1802. General Wellesley marched six hundred miles, from Seringapatam to Poona, in the worst season of the year; drove out the Mahrattas; and reinstated the peshwa in his capital. Holkar now turned to his old rival Sindhia, to coalesce with him against the peshwa, the nizam, and the British.

Directing the military operations of Sindhia was a clever Frenchman, M. Perron, who had under him a large army of infantry disciplined in the European manner, many thousand cavalry, and a well appointed train of artillery. Bhonsla, the rajah of Berar (or rajah of Nagpur), joined the alliance of Sindhia and Holkar. The fifth Mahratta chieftain was the Gaikwar, and his territory was Guzerat, where Sindhia had some possessions and great power and influence. The Gaikwar took no part in the approaching contest. For some time after the peshwa had been restored, negotiations were going on between the British government and Sindhia and the rajah of Berar. They professed friendship, but it soon became clear that they were confederates with Holkar, and were depending for assistance upon Perron. The nizam was known to be dying; and it was one of the objects of these chieftains to arrange the succession so as to aggrandise their own power.

It was thus necessary to make war upon this confederacy, which threatened the security of the British dominion in India as much, if not more, than the hostility of Tipu. There was the same danger, as in his case, of an alliance with France on the part of the Mahrattas. Pondicherry had been given up to France by the Treaty of Amiens. When the Mahratta war broke out, the rupture of that treaty was not known. The vicinity of Pondicherry to the Mahratta country required the greatest vigilance. Whilst negotiations with the Mahratta chiefs were still in progress, the news came of the renewal of the war. A French force attempted to land at Pondicherry, and were made prisoners. Providing against hostilities upon a great scale, the governor-general decided upon the plan of a campaign, in which the rare faculty of organising the co-operating movements of troops acting upon different points ensured the same success as had attended the campaigns of Napoleon. One element of success was the unshackled power of an able commander in the Deccan, the most important portion of the field of war.

On the 26th of June Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of all the British and allied troops in the territories of the peshwa and the nizam, and to the direction of the political affairs of this district, which was surrounded by the dominions of the confederate chiefs. In Hindustan the same complete authority was given to General Lake. General Wellesley was at Poona with seventeen thousand men, when the negotiation with Sindhia was at an end. General Lake was upon the Jumna, watching the movements of Perron, who was in a part of the Doab which had been bestowed upon him by Sindhia. In Guzerat, Colonel Murray commanded the Bombay army, a force of seven thousand men, and he was afterwards reinforced by Colonel Woodington. In the province of Cuttack, Colonel Harcourt was at the head of the Madras army, a small body of troops, who were able to render efficient

[1803 A.D.]

service. All these armies, not great in numerical amount, but most formidable in their discipline, were all in motion, at one and the same time, to close round the enemy from the south and the north, from the east and the west; "from the sea, the mountains, and the forests, over the salt plains of Cuttack, and the high plains of the Deccan, and through the passes of the Ghats, and over the rivers of Hindustan, and out of the rank swamps of the basin of the Ganges." (Martineau.)

It was the 3rd of August when the British resident quitted Sindhia's camp. His departure was the signal for immediate hostilities. On the 6th of August General Wellesley wrote a letter to Sindhia, characterised by his usual decisive language: "I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honourable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences." On the 12th of August, he had advanced through roads rendered almost impassable by violent rains, and had taken the strong fort of Ahmednagar. General Lake was equally prompt in his movements. The French force under Perron fled before him, retreating from Coel, which Lake then occupied.

Perron, in a few days, put himself under British protection, and was received with kindness. He complained of the treachery of his officers, and is supposed not to have been insensible to the attractions of drafts upon the treasury of Calcutta. On the 4th of September, the strong fortress of Aligarh was taken by a storming party of the army of Lake. The Bombay and the Madras armies were equally successful in their advances. On the 6th of August, General Wellesley had sent orders to the officer in command of the Bombay army to attack Broach. In a little more than three weeks Broach had surrendered. On the 12th of September, Lake obtained a great victory over the troops of Sindhia, and over the French army which Perron had formed. They were commanded by another Frenchman, Bourquien. On the following day the British were in possession of Delhi. Lake restored the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam, who had been deposed, and thus propitiated the Mohammedan population of Hindustan.

The triumphant career of Lake was followed up in the battles of Muttra and Agra, and was completed in the great victory of Laswari on the 1st of November. He was worthy of all honour. The thanks of parliament and a peerage were never more properly bestowed than upon the senior general in this astonishing campaign.

Colonel Stevenson was to the east of General Wellesley, after the capture of Ahmednagar. It was necessary to effect a junction of their two armies. Wellesley directed Stevenson to take a bold course: "Move forward yourself with the company's cavalry, and all the nizam's, and a battalion, and dash at the first party that comes into your neighbourhood. A long defensive war will ruin us. By any other plan we shall lose our supplies." On the 21st of August Wellesley's cavalry was passing the wide Godavari. They passed in wicker boats covered with bullock skins. During a month, Wellesley and Stevenson were pursuing Sindhia's forces, united with those of the rajah of Berar, each of the British commanders never allowing the enemy to rest, and marching always with the rapidity which could alone keep pace with the Mahratta cavalry. On the 21st of September Wellesley and Stevenson were a little to the east of Aurangabad. They were sufficiently near to each other to concert a plan of joint operations against the Mahratta armies, which had been reinforced with sixteen battalions of infantry, commanded by French officers, and with a train of artillery. This formidable force was concentrated on the banks of the Kaitna.

## BATTLE OF ASSAYE (1803 A.D.)

On the 22nd of September the division under Wellesley, and the division under Stevenson, marched with the intention to attack the enemy. There was a range of hills between the British and the Mahrattas. One division marched by the eastern road round the hills; the other by the western road. They encamped that night at the two extremities of the range of hills. On the morning of the 23rd, General Wellesley received information that Sindhia and Bhonsla had moved off with their cavalry, but that their infantry were still in camp, and were about to follow the cavalry. Their camp might be seen from a rising ground. "It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed," writes Wellesley. It was no longer to be delayed, although Colonel Stevenson had not arrived with his detachment. He was misled by his guides. In his latter years, the duke of Wellington *i* related to "an early and intimate friend" how he formed his plan.

"I was indebted for my success at Assaye to a very ordinary exercise of common sense. The Mahratta chiefs, whom I was marching to overtake, had made a hasty retreat with their infantry and guns, and had got round behind a river on my right, leaving me exposed to an overwhelming force of native cavalry. To get rid of these gentlemen, and to get at the others, I had no chance but getting over the river also. I found a passage, crossed my army over, had no more to fear from the enemy's cloud of cavalry, and my force, small as it was, was just enough to fill the space between that river and another stream that fell into it therabouts, and on which Assaye stood, so that both my flanks were secure. And there I fought and won the battle — the bloodiest for the number that I ever saw; and this was all from the common sense of guessing that men did not build villages on opposite sides of a stream without some means of communication between them."

The battle of Assaye might well be called "the bloodiest for its number" that the hero of so many battles had ever seen. Well might it be so, when the Mahrattas' force was at least seven times as numerous as the British army. It was one o'clock when the enemy's camp was in view, extending from five to seven miles. "We began to advance," writes the brigade-major, "a little after three, and the action was not entirely over till six o'clock." The 74th and 78th regiments, and four battalions of sepoys, moved forward to the attack: the piquets led; and the cavalry brought up the rear to protect the infantry from the enemy's horse. We quote the spirited narrative of an eyewitness, Lieutenant (not Sir) Colin Campbell:

"The line was ordered to advance. The piquets at this period had nearly lost a third of their number, and most of their gun-bullocks were killed. The line moved rapidly and took possession of the first line of guns, where many of the enemy were killed. They then moved on in equally good order and resolution to the second line of guns, from which they very soon drove the enemy; but many of the artillery, who pretended to be dead when we passed on to the second line of guns, turned the guns we had taken upon us, which obliged us to return and again to drive them from them.

At this period the cannonade was truly tremendous. A milk-hedge in their front, which they had to pass to come at the enemy's guns, threw them into a little confusion; but they still pushed forward, and had taken possession of many of their guns, when the second line, which opened on them, obliged them to retire from what they had so dearly purchased. The numbers of the 74th regiment remaining at this period were small; on their returning, some of the enemy's cavalry came forward and cut up many of the wounded officers

[1804-1805 A.D.]

and men. It was at this critical moment that the 19th charged, and saved the remains of the 74th regiment. General Wellesley at the same time threw the 78th regiment forward on their right, to move down on the enemy, who still kept their position at Assaye. This movement, and the charge of the 19th light dragoons, made the enemy retire from all their guns precipitately and they fled across the nullah to our right at the village of Assaye, where numbers of them were cut up by the cavalry. The general was in the thick of the action the whole time, and had a horse killed under him. No man could have shown a better example to the troops than he did. I never saw a man so cool and collected as he was the whole time, though I can assure you, till our troops got orders to advance, the fate of the day seemed doubtful; and if the numerous cavalry of the enemy had done their duty, I hardly think it possible that we could have succeeded. From the European officers who have since surrendered, it appears they had about twelve thousand infantry, and their cavalry is supposed to have been at least twenty thousand, though many make it more. We have now in our possession one hundred and two guns, and all their tumbrils."

In the middle of October Colonel Stevenson obtained possession of the strong fortresses of Asseerghur and Burhanpur. General Wellesley had followed the Mahratta army in their various movements, their stratagems never defeating his vigilance. Sindhia at last desired a truce. This was granted. But it was soon discovered that his cavalry were serving in the army of the rajah of Berar, and that the truce was altogether delusive. On the 29th of November, General Wellesley obtained a victory over the united armies of Sindhia and Bhonsla. The Mahrattas retired in disorder, leaving their cannon, and pursued by moonlight by the British, the Mughal, and the Mysore cavalry. This wonderful campaign, of little more than four months, was finished by the successful termination of the siege of Gawilgarh (December 15th).

The Mahratta war with Sindhia and Bhonsla was at an end. The rajah of Berar, who had sued for a peace, signed a treaty on the 17th. He ceded Cuttack, which was annexed to the British dominions, and he agreed to admit no Europeans but the British within his territories. Sindhia also was completely humbled. A treaty with him was signed on the 30th of December, he agreeing to give up Broach, Ahmednagar, and his forts in the Doab; and to exclude all Europeans except the British. He was to receive the protection which was extended under the subsidiary system to other dependent states.

But there was another great Mahratta chieftain yet unsubdued. His intriguing spirit was exercised in urging the other chiefs to break the treaties which they had entered into. The governor-general tried to convert this enemy into a friend by negotiation. Holkar openly defied him; he would come with his army, and sweep and destroy like the waves of the sea. In April, 1804, war was declared against Holkar. The war went on through 1804 and 1805. Marquis Wellesley had resigned the government of India at the end of July; and Marquis Cornwallis had succeeded him, before Holkar was subdued. Cornwallis died on the 5th of October, and Sir George Barlow assumed the government. On the 24th of December a treaty was signed with Holkar; and he also agreed to exclude from his territories all Europeans except the British.

#### FAMINE IN INDIA

Sir Arthur Wellesley (he had received the order of the Bath for his great services) returned to England in 1805. During his voyage home he employed

his active mind in writing an interesting paper on the subject of *Dearth in India*. There had been a famine in the Deccan in 1803 and 1804, which he had witnessed. The dearth, and its fatal effects, were to be attributed principally to the dry season of 1803. He describes the physical geography of the peninsula; the peculiar cultivation of wet lands or of dry; the dependence of the rice-produce of the wet lands upon the fall of the rain, assisted by the artificial canals, tanks, and wells, many of which were ancient works; and the entire dependence of the dry lands, where what are called dry grains are cultivated, upon the critical arrival and the quantity of the periodical rains. The portions of the Indian Empire to which Sir A. Wellesley directed his attention were far less extensive than at present.

Since 1804 there have been many famines. Awful as the distress has been, it is satisfactory to know that the question which Sir A. Wellesley asked, "in what manner the deficiency produced by the seasons in any particular part could be remedied by the government in that part," has been to some extent answered, by the construction of great canals for irrigation. The eastern and the western Jumna canals, and the Ganges canal, are the grandest of these works, and are capable of irrigating several millions of acres.<sup>i</sup>

In recent years the extension of railways and the improvement of internal communication whereby particular districts suffering from famine can be supplied from more fortunate ones have been the means employed for coping with this scourge and an annual charge has been made on the revenue for funds to be used in time of dearth. Nevertheless the twentieth century opened amidst widespread suffering from this cause which was most marked in the native states. It is said however that the deaths of grown persons were not numerous and when they did occur were attributable to the people's own apathy. On the other hand above five million persons were at one time in receipt of relief.<sup>a</sup>

After his return from India, the marquis Wellesley had to endure the bitter mortification of finding that his great public services had rendered him a mark for the attacks of James Paull, who, having failed in India of advancement at his hands, returned to England and became a member of parliament. It is unnecessary for us to follow the parliamentary discussions on this subject. The accusations were, in a great degree, the result of private malice and party rancour; and, like all such abuses of the privileges of representative government, their interest very quickly passed away.

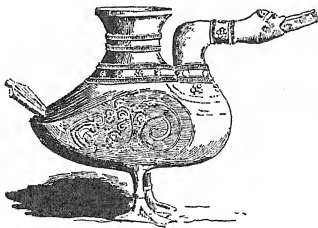
#### MUTINY AT VELLORE (1806 A.D.)

In the affairs of India, an event of far more lasting importance than the assaults upon the marquis Wellesley took place on the 10th of July, 1806. At two o'clock in the morning of that day, the European barracks at Vellore, in which were four companies of the 69th regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of sepoys in the service of the East India Company. Through every door and window these mutineers poured in a destructive fire upon the sleeping soldiers. The sentinels were killed; the sick in the hospital were massacred; the officers' houses were ransacked, and they, with their wives and children, were put to death. Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the 69th fell in the attempt to save his men.

There was a terrible retribution the next day. The 19th regiment of dragoons arrived; took the fort of Vellore from the insurgents; six hundred of the sepoys were cut down; and two hundred were dragged out of their hiding places and shot. The sons of Tipu Sahib, who were residing at Vellore, were

[1800 A.D.]

suspected of being concerned in this mutiny. But there were demonstrations of a spirit of disaffection amongst the native troops in other places. Some extremely foolish regulations had been attempted by the military authorities at Madras with respect to the dress of the sepoys. It was wished to transform the turban into something like a helmet. An opinion had been spread that it was the desire of the British government to convert the native troops to Christianity by forcible means. This notion was disavowed in a subsequent proclamation of the government at Madras. But at that time the zeal of some persons for the conversion of the Hindu population was far from discreet; and in England there was no hesitation in declaring, that "the restless spirit of fanaticism has insinuated itself into our Indian councils;" and that unless checked in time, it will lead to the subversion of our Indian Empire, and the massacre of our countrymen dispersed over that distant land."





## CHAPTER IV

### CONQUESTS AND REFORMS FROM 1807 TO 1835 A.D.

#### LORD MINTO AND THE MUTINY OF BRITISH OFFICERS (1807-1813 A.D.)

At the beginning of 1807 India was at peace. On the death of the marquis Cornwallis, the powers of the governor-general were temporarily exercised by Sir George Barlow, who was subsequently entrusted with the full authority of his post by the court of directors. The Grenville administration had just come into office, and they wished to bestow the appointment upon one of their own supporters, and especially upon some nobleman. The debates in parliament on this subject were continued and violent. The conflict was finally settled by the appointment of Lord Minto. The tranquillity of his government was after a while seriously disturbed by an outbreak against the power of the company at Travancore. There was war against the rajah of this state, which originated in a dispute between his diwan or chief minister, and the British resident. His troops were beaten in the field during 1808, and the lines of Travancore being stormed at the beginning of 1809, and other forts captured, relations of amity between the company and the rajah were restored.

A more serious danger arose out of a circumstance which appears now amongst the almost incredible things of the past. The officers of the Madras army, who had long been stirred up to discontent, had mutinied, and Lord Minto, in August, 1809, sailed for Madras to quell this extraordinary insubordination of British officers. There were various and contradictory regulations existing in the several presidencies. There were inequalities in the rate of allowances. At Madras, what the council termed "a very dangerous spirit of cabal" had been pointed out as early as March, 1807, by the council to the court of directors. There was there an officer high in command, Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, who was described in the despatch of the council as "the champion of the rights of the company's army." Colonel St. Leger, as well as other officers, was suspended by an order of the 1st of May, and then open mutiny burst out at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Seringapatam, and other

[1807-1813 A.D.]

places. On one occasion only was blood shed in this extraordinary revolt. Many of these officers were very young men, who were incited to acts of insubordination by the example of their seniors. Brave as were the British officers in the field, their exclusiveness and assumption of superiority were offensive to civilians and dangerous in their intercourse with the natives. These misguided men gradually returned to habits of obedience. In September Lord Minto published an amnesty, with the exception of eighteen officers, nearly all of whom chose to resign rather than to abide the judgment of a court-martial. It now became the wish of all to obliterate the painful remembrance of the past. During this alarming period, in which the mutiny of the officers might have led to the entire disorganisation of the sepoy army, the king's troops manifested the most entire obedience to the orders of the governor-general.

During the administration of Lord Minto a number of successful operations were undertaken in the Eastern Archipelago, which, in 1810, gave the British possession of Amboyna and the Banda Isles, of the *Île de la Réunion*, and of the Mauritius. The most important of these conquests was the rich island of Java, which, after a severe battle with the Dutch troops near the capital, capitulated in 1810. Sir Stamford Raffles, who was appointed lieutenant-governor of Java, described it as "the other India." It passed out of British hands at the peace — a circumstance attributed by many to the complete ignorance of the British government of the great value of this possession. The policy of the court of directors was to maintain peace as long as possible upon the continent of India, and thus the depredations of the Pindharis and the Nepalese were not met by the governor-general with any vigorous measures of repression. He demanded redress of the rajah of Nepal for the outrages of his people, but he did not make any more effectual demonstration to compel a less injurious conduct. His diplomacy had for its main object to prevent the establishment of the French in the peninsula. He concluded treaties with the amirs of Sind, and with the king of Kabul, of which the terms of friendship were, that they should restrain the French from settling in their territories. With Persia, where France was endeavouring to establish her influence, a treaty was concluded, binding the sovereign to resist the passage of any European force through his country towards India.

The usual term of a governor-general's residence being completed, Lord Minto resigned in 1813, and returned to England. He came at a time when a material alteration in the position of the East India Company was at hand. By the Statute of Queen Anne, and by successive acts of parliament, the company had the exclusive privilege, as regarded English subjects, of trading to all places east of the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the Straits of Magellan. In March, 1813, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee to consider the affairs of the East India Company. The government proposed that the charter of the company should be renewed for twenty years, during which term they should retain the exclusive trade to China, but that the trade to India should be thrown open on certain conditions. The government also proposed to appoint a bishop for India, and three archdeacons. The committee examined various witnesses. The first witness was Warren Hastings, then eighty years of age. He expressed his decided opinion that the settlement of Europeans would be fraught with danger to the peace of the country and the security of the company, and that the trade between India and England, as then regulated, was far more beneficial than if perfectly free. On the subject of the propagation of Christianity in India, and the proposed Episcopal establishment, his evidence is described as having evinced "a most philo-

sophic indifference." The debates in both houses on the resolutions occupied four months of the session. A bill was finally passed by which the trade to India was thrown open as proposed, the territorial and commercial branches of the company's affairs were separated, and the king was empowered to create a bishop of India, and three archdeacons, to be paid by the company.

#### THE GURKHA WAR; THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PINDHARIS (1814-1818 A.D.)

Lord Minto was succeeded as governor-general by the earl of Moira, afterwards marquis of Hastings, who took possession of the government on the 4th of October, 1813. During 1814 and 1815 there was war between the British and the Nepalese. This is sometimes called the Gurkha War [the Gurkhas being the race which conquered Nepal in the middle of the eighteenth century]. The Gurkhas at the period of the government of the marquis of Hastings were subjecting all the smaller states to their dominion, and were able to maintain an army of twelve thousand disciplined men, who were clothed and accoutred like the British sepoys. As they advanced towards the British possessions on the northern frontier, they manifested a desire to try their strength against the company's troops, and exhibited their ill will in 1814 by attacking two police stations in the districts of Gorakhpur and Saran, and by massacring all the troops in the garrisons there. The first operations of the British troops were unsuccessful; but in 1815 Sir David Ochterlony was enabled to dislodge the Gurkhas from their hill-forts, and to compel their commander, Amir Singh, to capitulate. A treaty of peace was concluded at the end of 1815, but its ratification by the rajah being withheld, a large British army advanced to Khatmandu, the present capital of Nepal. The treaty was ratified and the war concluded at the beginning of 1816. Some portions of territory were ceded to the company; but for the most part the chiefs who had been expelled by the conquering Gurkhas were restored to their ancient possessions.

The province of Malwa was the chief seat of a body of freebooters, the Pindharis, who carried on a war of devastation with peaceful neighbours, and were more formidable from their want of that political organisation which constitutes a state. They lived in separate societies of one or two hundred, governed each by its chief, but they were always ready to combine under one supreme chief for the purposes of their marauding expeditions. In 1814 fifteen thousand horsemen were assembled on the north bank of the Nerbudda, under a leader named Chitu. In October, 1815, they seized the opportunity of the British troops being engaged in the Nepalese War to cross the Nerbudda, and having plundered and devastated a territory of Great Britain's ally, the nizam of the Deccan, recrossed the Nerbudda to prepare for another raid with a greater force. Between the 5th of February and the 17th of May, 1816, they had again collected an immense booty, with which they retired, not only having devastated the lands of the allies of Britain, but within the company's frontiers having plundered more than three hundred villages and put to death or tortured more than four thousand individuals. These fierce and successful attacks of the Pindharis were not solely instigated by their own desire for the rich booty of peaceful provinces. They would scarcely have ventured to defy the British power had they not been secretly supported by a confederacy of Mahratta potentates. The governor-general had obtained certain information that the peshwa, the rajah of Nagpur, Sindhia, Holkar the younger, and Amir Khan, were preparing in concert with the Pindharis to invade the com-

[1817 A.D.]

pany's territories whilst the British troops were engaged in the Nepalese War. The governor-general, at the conclusion of the peace with Nepal, applied to the authorities at home for permission to carry on the war with the Pindharis upon a great scale. Till this permission should arrive he had only to keep the Bengal army in advanced cantonments. When his warrant for extended operations did arrive, the marquis of Hastings was ready with an army in each of the three presidencies to take the field against the Pindharis, and against all their open or secret supporters. The immensity of his preparations was determined by the importance of his designs. The issue of the war was another most decided advance in the assertion of Great Britain's supremacy, which manifestly tended to "the absolute conquest of the peninsula."

At the end of September, 1817, orders were issued for a simultaneous movement of the army of Bengal under the command of the governor-general, of the army of the Deccan under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, and of various corps from different stations, each marching to points from which the Pindharis could be surrounded, and at the same time their Mahratta and other supporters prevented from uniting their forces. It is not within our limits to attempt any detail of this very complicated warfare. The war with the Pindharis was terminated in the spring of 1818, with the entire destruction or dispersion of these terrible marauders. The best historian of the events is Sir John Malcolm,<sup>c</sup> who was himself one of the most active and sagacious of the British commanders. Their complete extinction has been graphically described by him: "Within five years after their name had spread terror and dismay over all India, there remained not a spot that a Pindhari could call his home. They had been hunted like wild beasts, numbers had been killed, all ruined, those who espoused their cause had fallen. Early in the contest they were shunned like a contagion; the timid villagers whom they had so recently oppressed were among the foremost to attack them."

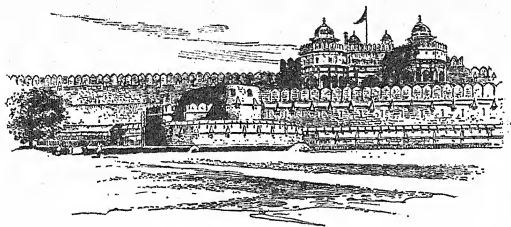
On the 5th of November, the governor-general had extorted by the presence of his powerful army a treaty with Sindhia, in which that Mahratta chief engaged to aid in the destruction of the Pindharis. That army, which was encamped on low ground, on the banks of a tributary of the Jumna, was at this moment attacked by an enemy far more dangerous than any which it would be likely to encounter in the field.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE ARMY DECIMATED BY CHOLERA (1817 A.D.)

The malady known by the name of spasmodic cholera — evacuations of acrid biliary matter, accompanied by spasmodic contractions of the abdominal muscles, and a prostration of strength, terminating frequently in the total exhaustion of the vital functions — had been known in India from the remotest periods, and had, at times, committed fearful ravages. Its effects, however, were in general restricted to particular seasons and localities and were not so extensively diffused as to attract notice or excite alarm. In the middle of 1817, however, the disease assumed a new form, and became a widely spread and fatal epidemic. It made its first appearance in the eastern districts of Bengal, in May and June of that year, and after extending itself gradually along the north bank of the Ganges, through Tirhut to Ghazipur, it crossed the river, and passing through Rewah, fell with peculiar virulence upon the centre division of the grand army, in the first week of November.

Although the casualties were most numerous amongst the followers of the camp and the native soldiery, the ravages of the disease were not confined to

the natives, but extended to Europeans of every rank.<sup>1</sup> The appalling features of the malady were the suddenness of its accession and the rapidity with which death ensued. No one felt himself safe for an hour, and yet, as there was no appearance of infection, the officers generally were active in assisting the medical establishment in administering medicines and relief to the sick. The mortality became so great that hands were insufficient to carry away the bodies, and they were tossed into the neighbouring ravines, or hastily committed to a superficial grave on the spots where the sick had expired. The survivors then took alarm and deserted the encampment in crowds: many bore with them the seeds of the malady, and the fields and roads for many miles round were strewn with the dead. Death and desertion were rapidly depopulating the camp, when, after a few days of unavailing struggle against the epidemic, it was determined to try the effects of a change of situation. The army accordingly retrograded in a south-easterly direction, and after several intermediate halts, crossed the Betwa, and encamping upon its lofty and dry banks at Erich, was relieved from the pestilence. The disease dis-



FORT AT AGRA

appeared. During the week of its greatest malignity it was ascertained that seven hundred and sixty-four fighting men and eight thousand followers perished.<sup>2</sup>

Sindhia had seized the opportunity, not to render aid against the Pindharis but to invite them to come into his territory. The cholera passed away, and the governor-general hurried back to his former position to cut off the possible junction between the marauding bands and Sindhia's troops. In the remaining months of 1817 and the beginning of 1818 the Mahratta confederacy was utterly broken up by the successes of the British. The rajah of Nagpur, after a battle of eighteen hours, was defeated, and his town of Nagpur taken on the 26th of November. Holkar was beaten on the 21st of December at the battle of Mehidpur, and peace was concluded with him on the 6th of January. The peshwa of the Mahrattas surrendered to the English in the following June, agreeing to abdicate his throne, and become a pensioner of the East India Company.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Five officers and 143 men of the European force died in November—official return. According to Surgeon Corbyn<sup>4</sup> who was serving with the centre division, and whose plan of treatment was circulated to the army by the marquis of Hastings, his lordship was himself apprehensive of dying of the disease, and had given secret instructions to be buried in his tent, that his death might not add to the discouragement of the troops, or tempt the enemy to attack the division in its crippled state.

[1800 A.D.]

## TRANSACTIONS IN CEYLON

The island of Ceylon, first colonised by the Portuguese, and subsequently by the Dutch, was finally taken from the latter, as identified with the republic of France, in 1796, by an expedition fitted out from Madras, and was for a short interval subject to the government of Fort St. George. In 1798 it was annexed to the colonial dominions of the British Crown, and the honourable Frederick North was nominated governor on the part of Great Britain. The settlements which were thus transferred extended along the sea-coast, forming a narrow belt round the centre of the island, where native princes continued to rule over the remnants of an ancient kingdom, whose origin was traceable, through credible records, for above two thousand years. Deprived of a valuable portion of their ancestral domains by races which they despised as barbarians while they hated them as conquerors, the kings of Kandy had been almost always at variance with their European neighbours, and had been principally protected against their military superiority by the deadly atmosphere of the forests which interposed an impenetrable rampart between the interior of the island and the coast. The last but one of these princes co-operated with the English in their attack upon the maritime provinces held by the Dutch, in expectation of advantages which were never realised. He died shortly after the establishment of the British power. Leaving no children he was succeeded in 1800 by the son of a sister of one of his queens, who was elected to the throne by the head minister, or *adigar*, with the acquiescence of the other chief officers of the state, the priests of Buddha, and the people.

Shortly after the accession of the new sovereign in the beginning of 1800, the governor of Ceylon deputed the commanding officer of the troops on the island, General Macdowall, on an embassy to the court of Kandy. Advantage was to be taken of the intrigues which agitated the Kandian court. The minister who had raised the sovereign to his present rank, is said thus early to have plotted his deposal, and the usurpation of his crown. For the accomplishment of his treacherous designs, he sought the assistance of the British government, and although his overtures were at first rejected, he was admitted to a conference with the governor's secretary, and the mission to Kandy was the result. The plot was frustrated by the timidity and suspicion apparently of both the minister and the king. General Macdowall proceeded to Kandy, but he returned to Colombo without having made any progress in the purposes of his mission, secret or avowed. On the contrary, the proceedings of the British government seem to have excited the suspicion and ill will of both the king and the *adigar*, and to have united them against a common enemy; while an excuse for an appeal to arms seems to have been solicitously sought for by the British. At length some Sinhalese traders from the British territories, having been despoiled of a parcel of betel nuts, which they had purchased, complained to the governor. Their case was advocated by him with the king; its truth was admitted, and redress was promised but never granted. Mr. North determined to make war upon the king, unless he subscribed to a treaty promising compensation for the expenses of military equipments, and the plunder of the betel nuts; to permit the formation of a military road from Colombo to Trincomalee, and suffer cinnamon peelers and wood cutters to follow their calling in the Kandian districts. It was intimated at the same time, that the aggressions which had been perpetrated, had left the governor at perfect liberty to recognise and support the claims which any other prince of the family of the Sun might form to the diadem worn by his Kandian majesty. The intimation was not likely to conciliate his accession to a

friendly convention, and was replied to by predatory incursions into the British frontier, and the plunder and murder of its subjects. To repress and avenge these injuries, a force under General Macdowall was despatched from Colombo, and another under Colonel Barbut from Trincomalee. The two divisions encountering no serious opposition on their march, met on the Mahaveli-ganga, three miles from Kandy, and on the 21st of February, 1803, entered the capital. The town, which was completely deserted, had been set on fire by the inhabitants, but the flames were speedily extinguished, and Kandy was in the occupation of the British.

#### THE BRITISH TAKE KANDY AND ARE MASSACRED (1803 A.D.)

As the reigning monarch had been so little sensible of the benefits to be derived from the British alliance, a more tractable sovereign was brought forward in the person of Mutu-sami, a brother of the late queen, and a competitor for the throne, who had been obliged to seek refuge in the colony. A treaty was concluded with him, by which he ceded certain districts and immunities, and in requital was acknowledged as monarch of Kandy, and promised, as long as he might require it, the aid of an auxiliary force. Mutu-sami was conducted to the capital, where he arrived on the 4th of March. He brought no accession of strength, as the people were either afraid or disinclined to support his cause; and hence perhaps its sudden abandonment by the governor, who presently afterwards engaged to invest the adigar with regal authority, on condition of his delivering up his master, assigning a pension to Mutu-sami, and making the same cessions which that unfortunate prince had consented to grant.

After a short stay at Kandy, during which several skirmishes took place with the Sinhalese, invariably to their disadvantage, but without any decisive results, the prevalence of jungle-fever, generated by the pestilential vapours of the surrounding forests, to which many of the men and officers fell victims, compelled the retirement of the greater part of the survivors; and, finally, the protection of Kandy, and of Mutu-sami, was consigned to Major Davie, with a body of five hundred Malays and two hundred Europeans of the 19th regiment — the latter almost incapacitated for duty by sickness, and the former speedily thinned by frequent desertions. In this state, they were attacked on the 24th of June by the Sinhalese in immense numbers, headed by the king and the adigar, and encouraged by their knowledge of the enfeebled state of the garrison: a severe conflict ensued, which lasted for seven hours, when Major Davie was under the necessity of proposing a suspension of hostilities. The proposal was acceded to, and a capitulation agreed upon, by which the garrison, accompanied by Mutu-sami, were to be permitted to retire with their arms, on giving up Kandy and all military stores. It was promised that the sick, who were incapable of being removed, should be taken care of until they could be sent to a British settlement. Upon these stipulations Major Davie evacuated Kandy, and marched to the banks of the Mahaveli-ganga, which, being swollen by the rains, was no longer fordable: no boats were at hand, and the enemy showed himself in force in different quarters. On the following day, a mission came from the king, demanding that Mutu-sami should be given up, when boats would be furnished to the English. After some hesitation, the demand was complied with. The unhappy prince, with several of his kinsmen, was immediately put to death.

That this abandonment, and the disgrace which it entailed upon the British faith, might have been avoided by a greater display of resolution than

[1803-1805 A.D.]

was exhibited, is not impossible; but a determination to preserve the prince at all hazards, even if it had been entertained by the officers, was little likely to have been acquiesced in by the men, consisting almost wholly of Malays, who saw in his surrender their only hope of safety. The hope was fallacious, as might have been expected from the treachery of the enemy. The king commanded the destruction of the whole party. The adigar is said to have manifested some reluctance to violate the capitulation; but at last consented to become the instrument of his master's revenge.

He prevailed upon Major Davie and his officers to accompany him out of sight of the men, who were then told that their officers had crossed the river, and that, upon laying down their arms, they would be also ferried across to join them. Conducted in small parties to the edge of the river, at a spot where they could not be seen by their comrades, they were successively stabbed, or butchered in various ways, and their bodies were thrown into a contiguous hollow. At the same time the whole of the sick, a hundred and fifty, of whom a hundred and thirty-two were British soldiers, were barbarously put to death, the dead and the dying having been thrown promiscuously into a pit prepared for the purpose. Most of the officers were also murdered, or died shortly afterwards. Major Davie survived till about 1810, when he died at Kandy, latterly unmolested and almost unnoticed.

#### CRUELTY OF THE KING OF KANDY

The recovery of his capital and the destruction of the garrison, inspired the Kandian monarch with the ambition of expelling the Europeans from the island; and during the remainder of 1803 and the ensuing year, repeated efforts were made to penetrate into the colony. Their attempts were, however, repulsed. Reinforcements were sent to the island, and the British became strong enough to retaliate. In 1805, the first adigar acquired additional authority by the indisposition of the king; and a cessation of hostilities ensued, which was continued by mutual acquiescence, without any express armistice, for several years.

Whatever may have been the designs of the adigar, Pilame Talawe, in his negotiations with the English, he remained apparently faithful to his sovereign, until the king's tyranny and cruelty taught him fears for his own life. He then engaged in open rebellion — was unsuccessful — was taken and beheaded. He was succeeded in his office by Ahailapalla, who in his turn incurred and resented the suspicion and tyranny of the king. He instigated a rebellion in the district of Jaffragam, over which he presided: but his adherents fell from him upon the approach of a rival adigar with the royal forces, and he was obliged to fly. He found refuge in Colombo: but many of his followers were taken and impaled. The king's savage cruelty now surpassed all that can be imagined of barbarian inhumanity. Among a number of persons who were seized and put to death with various aggravations of suffering, the family of the fugitive minister, which had remained in the tyrant's grasp, were sentenced to execution; the children, one of them an infant at the breast, were beheaded, the heads were cast into a rice mortar, and the mother was commanded to pound them with the pestle, under the threat of being disgracefully tortured if she hesitated to obey. To avoid the disgrace, the wretched mother did lift up the pestle, and let it fall upon her children's heads. Her own death was an act of mercy. She, her sister-in-law, and some other females were immediately afterwards drowned. These atrocities struck even the Kandians with horror; and for two days the whole city was filled

with mourning and lamentation, and observed a period of public fasting and humiliation. The king's ferocity was insatiable: executions were incessant, no persons were secure, and even the chief priest of Buddha, a man of great learning and benevolence, fell a victim to the tyrant's thirst for blood. A general sentiment of fear and detestation pervaded both chiefs and people, and the whole country was ripe for revolt.

#### THE FINAL CONQUEST OF CEYLON

The urgent representations of Ahailapalla, and a knowledge of the state of public feeling in the Kandian provinces, induced the governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, to prepare for a war which was certain to occur in consequence of the disorders on the frontier and the insane fury of the king. Occasion soon arose: some merchants, subjects of the British government, trading to Kandy, were seized by the king's orders as spies, and so cruelly mutilated that most of them died; and about the same time a party of Kandians ravaged the villages on the British boundary. The governor immediately declared war against the king, and sent a body of troops into his country. They were joined by the principal chiefs and the people, and advanced without meeting an enemy, to the capital. They arrived there on the 14th of February. On the 18th, the king, who had attempted to fly, was taken and brought in by a party of Ahailapalla's followers. On the 2nd of March he was formally deposed, and the allegiance of the Kandians was transferred to the British crown. Vikrama Raja Singha was sent a captive to Vellore, where he died in January, 1832.

The change of authority, and the substitution of a new and foreign dominion for that of the ancient native rulers, however acceptable under the influence of popular terror and disgust, began to lose their recommendations as soon as apprehension was allayed, and the chiefs and people were able calmly to consider the character of the revolution to which they had contributed. The chiefs found that their power was diminished and their dignity impaired; the priests felt indignant at the want of reverence shown to them and to their religion; and the people, sympathising with both, had also grievances of their own to complain of, in the contempt displayed for their customs and institutions, and the disregard manifested for their prejudices and feelings by the English functionaries and their subordinates. A general rebellion was the consequence.<sup>e</sup>

In 1817 it broke out in the eastern provinces, and was with difficulty suppressed after a costly and sanguinary warfare of two years' duration. [Ceylon in 1843 and 1848 was again the scene of insurrections, but these were unimportant and were quelled without difficulty. Otherwise complete tranquillity has prevailed in the island since the establishment of the British rule.]

#### THE ACCESSION OF SINGAPORE AND MALACCA (1824 A.D.); THE CONQUEST OF BURMA (1824-1826 A.D.)

At Singapore, in 1819, Sir Thomas Raffles established a factory on the south shore of the island, and in 1824, a cession in full sovereignty of this and the neighbouring islands was obtained by purchase from a person who claimed to be king of Johore, and was afterwards raised to that throne. Malacca was ceded to the British in 1824 by treaty with the government of the Netherlands.

Had Mr. Canning become governor-general of India when his appointment

[1804 A.D.]

as successor of the marquis of Hastings was resolved upon, it may be doubted whether he could have carried through the policy which, as president of the board of control, he avowed in parliament in 1819, upon the vote of thanks to the marquis of Hastings and the army in India: "Anxious as I am for the prosperity and grandeur of our Indian Empire, I confess I look at its indefinite extension with awe. I earnestly wish that it may be possible for us to remain stationary where we are; and that what still exists of substantive and independent power in India may stand untouched and unimpaired. But this consummation, however much it may be desired, depends not on ourselves alone. Aggression must be repelled, and perfidy must be visited with its just reward. And while I join with the thinking part of the country in deprecating advance, who shall say that there is safety for such a power as ours in retrogradation?" Of the prudence and wisdom of the theory of policy thus set forth, the nation at large, the East India Company, the great Indian administrators, never appeared to entertain the slightest doubt. But, practically, it was invariably found that without advance there would be retrogradation. It was in vain that those who led the British armies in India must have felt what Mr. Canning expressed — with how much jealousy the house and the country are in the habit of appreciating the triumphs of British arms in India; how British military operations, however successful, have always been considered as questionable in point of justice. Lord Amherst, who in March, 1823, embarked for India as governor-general, had to pass through this almost inevitable process of entering upon a war of conquest with the most sincere desire to remain at peace. Within six or seven months after his arrival in India he had to write to a friend at home: "I have to tell you that I most unexpectedly find myself engaged in war with the king of Ava." This was the war with the Burman Empire, which involved the British in hostilities from March, 1824, to February, 1826. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the name of Burman signified a great warlike race that had founded various kingdoms, amongst which were Siam, Pegu, Ava, and Arakan. The kingdoms of Ava and Pegu were in a continued state of warfare, in which the Peguans were ultimately victorious. Ava had been conquered by them, when, in 1753, a man of humble origin but of great ability, who has been called "the Napoleon of the Hindu-Chinese peninsula," raised a small force, which, constantly increasing, expelled the conquerors and placed Alompra on the Burman throne. It has been remarked as equally curious and instructive, that "the last restoration of the Burman Empire, and the foundation of ours in India, were exactly contemporaneous. Clive and Alompra made their conquests at the same moment." For nearly seventy years the British from the Ganges, and the Burmese from the Irawadi, pushed their conquests, whether by arms or negotiation, till they met. Their inevitable rivalry soon led to hostilities. The Burmese had gradually subjugated the independent states which formerly existed between their frontiers and those of the company. Lord Amherst, in the letter we have already quoted, describes how they seized an island on which the British had established a small military post, and when the governor-general mildly complained to the king of Ava of this outrage, attributing it to the mistake of the local authorities, a force came down from Ava, "threatening to invade our territory from one end of the frontier to the other, and to reannex the province of Bengal to the dominions of its rightful owner, the lord of the White Elephant."

At the beginning of April the Bengal army embarked for Rangoon, the chief seaport of the Burman dominions, situated at the embouchure of the Irawadi — according to Lord Amherst "the Liverpool and Portsmouth of

Ava." This important place was taken possession of almost without striking a blow; but the hope of the governor-general that from thence he should be able to dictate the terms of a moderate and therefore lasting peace, was not very quickly realised. The British had to deal with the most warlike of their neighbours. The king of Ava called his people to arms. During the rainy season they had abundant time for preparation; and Sir Archibald Campbell, who occupied Rangoon, felt the immediate necessity of fortifying it against the probable attack of a bold and persevering enemy. An enormous pagoda, more than three hundred feet high, became a citadel, garrisoned by a battalion of European troops, and the smaller Buddhist temples assumed the character of fortresses. During June and July the Burmese made repeated attacks upon the British positions, but were as constantly repelled. On the night of the 30th of August, when the astrologers had decided that an attack upon this sacred place would free the country from the impious strangers, a body of troops called Invulnerables advanced to the northern gateway. A terrible cannonade was opened upon these dense masses, and they fled at once to the neighbouring jungle.

The Burmese were more successful in their offensive operations in Bengal. Under the command of an officer called Maha Bandoola, the Arakan army advanced to Ramoo, and completely routed a detachment of native infantry. The alarm was so great in Calcutta that the native merchants were with difficulty persuaded to remain with their families, and the peasants almost universally fled from their villages. The Burmese, however, did not advance. The British had taken some important places of the Burman territory, and Maha Bandoola was recalled by the lord of the White Elephant for the defence of his Golden Empire. In December Maha Bandoola brought sixty thousand fighting men to make one overwhelming attack upon Rangoon. For seven days there was severe fighting. The Burmese troops were repeatedly driven from their stockades, and at last, when they advanced on the 7th of December for a grand attack on the great pagoda, they were driven back into their intrenchments, and after severe fighting were chased into the jungle.

In February, 1825, Sir Archibald Campbell began to move up the Irawadi into the interior of the Burman Empire. As part of his force advanced to attack the formidable works of Donabew, they were repulsed, and the retreat was so precipitate that the wounded men were not carried off. The barbarity in warfare of the Burmese was notorious. These unfortunate men were all crucified, and their bodies sent floating down the river upon rafts. On the 25th of March Sir Archibald Campbell undertook the siege of Donabew. For a week there had been an incessant fire from the British mortars and rockets, and the breaching batteries were about to be opened, when two Lascars, who had been taken prisoners, came to the camp, and said that the chiefs and all the Burmese army had fled, since Maha Bandoola had been killed the day before by one of the British shells. By the possession of Donabew the navigation of the Irawadi became wholly under British command.

The army continued to advance, and Prome was occupied at the end of April. The rainy monsoon now set in, and there was a suspension of operations. In the middle of November and beginning of December there were two great battles, in the latter of which the Burmese were thoroughly discomfited. Overtures of peace were now made, but their object was only to gain time. At the beginning of 1826 there was severe fighting as the British advanced towards Ava. Repeated defeats and the approach of a conquering army compelled the king really to sue for peace when the British had reached Yandabu, only forty-five miles from the capital. The vigorous operations of Sir Archi-

[1826 A.D.]

bald Campbell, who had defeated a large army styled "the retrievers of the king's glory," had finally compelled the Treaty of Yandabu, which was signed on the 24th of February. By this treaty the king of Ava agreed to renounce all claims upon the principality of Assam and its dependencies; to cede in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Arakan, of Yea, of Tavoy, of Mergui, and of Tenasserim; and to pay the sum of one crore of rupees towards the expenses of the war. He further agreed that accredited British ministers should be allowed to reside at Ava; that an accredited Burmese minister should reside at Calcutta; and that free trade to British subjects should be allowed in the Burmese dominions.

The fierce conflict of two years on the banks of the Irawadi presented a memorable example of that courage and endurance which eventually overcomes dangers and difficulties apparently insuperable. It has been truly said by Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch, an officer engaged in this war, "Perhaps there are few instances on record in the history of any nation of a mere handful of men, with constitutions broken down by many months of previous disease and privation, forcing their way in the face of such difficulties, and through a wilderness hitherto untrodden by Europeans, to the distance of five hundred miles from the spot where they originally disembarked, and ultimately dictating a peace within three days' march of the enemy's capital." During these land operations, with all this bravery and fortitude of the little army, it would have been impossible to succeed without the active co-operation of a flotilla on the rivers. The naval assistance thus rendered is memorable for "the employment of a power then for the first time introduced into war—steam. The steam-vessel had been very useful, not merely in carrying on communications with despatch but in overcoming formidable resistance."

During the last year of the Burmese War the East India Company became engaged in a new conflict, for the purpose of protecting a native prince, with whom it was in alliance, against an usurper. The rajah of Bhartpur (Bharpore), before his death at the beginning of 1825, had declared his son to be his successor, and had included him in the treaty of alliance with the company. The nephew of the deceased prince raised a revolt against this succession. Many of the native princes looked on anxiously to see if the British, with the Burmese War on their hands would put forth any strength to maintain one of their devoted adherents. In the streets of Delhi the populace had shouted, "The rule of the company is at an end." The prince who had been expelled had been assured by Sir David Ochterlony that he should be supported. Lord Amherst was at first for non-interference. He knew that Bhartpur had been deemed impregnable; and he might fear that, now occupied with an enormous force by the usurping rajah, the same ill fortune might befall an attack upon the place as had befallen Lord Lake in 1805, when he was beaten from the city by the Jats, who had ever since regarded themselves as invincible. The commander-in-chief in India, Lord Combermere, in his Peninsular experience as Sir Stapleton Cotton, had seen what war was in its most difficult operations, and he could not despair of taking an Indian fortress when he recollected the terrible sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. He had just come to India to succeed Sir Edward Paget in the chief command. Lord Combermere, upon his arrival before Bhartpur, addressed a letter to the usurper, requesting him to send out the women and children, who should have safe-conduct. This humane request was not acceded to. On the 23rd of November the bombardment commenced. On the morning of the 18th of January the assault began at the signal given by the explosion of a mine, which utterly destroyed the whole of the salient angle of the fortress. The British troops

rushed in at the breaches. In two hours the whole rampart, though obstinately defended, was in their possession, and early in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The formidable works of Bhartpur were destroyed; the rightful prince was reinstated; and the people returned to their allegiance.<sup>b</sup>

#### REFORMS OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

The next governor-general was Lord William Bentinck, who had been governor of Madras twenty years earlier at the time of the mutiny of Vellore. His seven years' rule (from 1828 to 1835) is not signalised by any of those victories or extensions of territory by which chroniclers delight to measure the growth of empire. But it forms an epoch in administrative reform, and in the slow process by which the hearts of a subject population are won over to venerate as well as dread their alien rulers. The modern history of the British in India, as benevolent administrators ruling the country with a single eye to the good of the natives, may be said to begin with Lord William Bentinck. According to the inscription upon his statue at Calcutta, from the pen of Macaulay, "He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating distinctions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge." His first care on arrival in India was to restore equilibrium to the finances, which were tottering under the burden imposed upon them by the Burmese War. This he effected by reductions in permanent expenditure, amounting in the aggregate to one and a half millions sterling, as well as by augmenting the revenue from land and from the opium of Malwa.

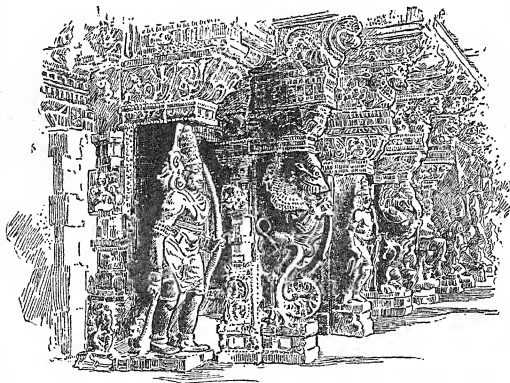
His two most memorable acts are the abolition of *sati* (suttee) and the suppression of the *thags* (thugs). At this distance of time it is difficult to realise the degree to which these two barbarous practices had corrupted the social system of the Hindus. European research has clearly proved that the text in the *Vedas* adduced to authorise the immolation of widows was a wilful mistranslation. But the practice had been ingrained in Hindu opinion by the authority of centuries, and had acquired the sanctity of a religious rite. The emperor Akbar is said to have prohibited it by law, but the early English rulers did not dare so far to violate the traditions of religious toleration. In the year 1817 no less than seven hundred widows are said to have been burned alive in the Bengal presidency alone. To this day the most holy spots of Hindu pilgrimage are thickly dotted with little white pillars, each commemorating a *sati*. In the teeth of strenuous opposition, both from Europeans and natives, Lord William carried the regulation in council on December 4th, 1829, by which all who abetted *sati* were declared guilty of "culpable homicide." The honour of suppressing *thagi* must be shared between Lord William and Captain Sleeman. *Thagi* was an abnormal excrescence upon Hinduism, in so far as the bands of secret assassins were sworn together by an oath based on the rites of the bloody goddess Kali. Between 1826 and 1835 as many as 1562 thags were apprehended in different parts of British India, and by the evidence of approvers the moral plague spot was gradually stamped out.

Two other historical events are connected with the administration of Lord William Bentinck. In 1833 the charter of the East India Company was renewed for twenty years, but only upon the terms that it should abandon its trade and permit Europeans to settle freely in the country. At the same time a legal or fourth member was added to the governor-general's council, who might not be a servant of the company, and a commission was appointed to revise and codify the law. Macaulay was the first legal member of the

[1828-1835 A.D.]

council, and the first president of the law commission. In 1830 it was found necessary to take the state of Mysore under British administration, where it has continued up to the present time, and in 1834 the frantic misrule of the rajah of Coorg brought on a short and sharp war. The rajah was permitted to retire to Benares, and the brave and proud inhabitants of that mountainous little territory decided to place themselves under the rule of the company; so that the only annexation effected by Lord William Bentinck was "in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people."

Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe succeeded Lord William as senior member of council. His short term of office is memorable for the measure which his predecessor had initiated, but which he willingly carried into execution, for giving entire liberty to the press. Public opinion in India, as well as the express wish of the court of directors at home, pointed to Metcalfe as the most fit person to carry out the policy of Bentinck, not provisionally, but as governor-general for a full term. Party exigencies, however, led to the appointment of Lord Auckland. From that date commences a new era of war and conquest, which may be said to have lasted for twenty years. All looked peaceful until Lord Auckland, prompted by his evil genius, attempted to place Shah Shuja upon the throne of Cabul, an attempt which ended in the gross mismanagement and annihilation of the garrison placed in that city. The disaster in Afghanistan was quickly followed by the conquest of Sind, the two wars in the Punjab, the second Burmese War, and last of all the Mutiny. Names like Gough and Napier and Colin Campbell take the places of Malcolm and Metcalfe and Elphinstone.<sup>i</sup>



DETAIL OF TEMPLE, MADURA



## CHAPTER V

### FROM THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR TO THE MUTINY

[1835-1857 A.D.]

In 1835, Lord William Bentinck resigned the government of India, and Lord Auckland was appointed to succeed him, but did not arrive at Calcutta until the following year. In the meantime, the administration was conducted by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who distinguished himself by abolishing the strict censorship to which the press had till then been subjected.

Hindustan had never been in a more tranquil state than at the time when Lord Auckland arrived at Calcutta, in 1836, invested with the high functions of governor-general of the British eastern empire. All then appeared to promise a continuance of peace, and the uninterrupted progress of those improvements so steadily and effectually pursued by his predecessor; but the calm was not of long duration, and the attention of the government was soon engrossed by the affairs of Kabul, which led the British armies for the first time across the Indus.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE AFGHAN WAR OF 1838-1842

On the 10th of September, 1838, Lord Auckland proclaimed in general orders his intention to employ a force beyond the northwest frontier. On the 1st of October he published a declaration of the causes and objects of the war. The ostensible object was to replace Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul, the troubles and revolutions of Afghanistan having placed the capital and a large part of the country under the sway of Dost Muhammed Khan. Shah Shuja, driven from his dominions, had become a pensioner of the East India Company, and resided in the British cantonment of Ludhiana. Dost Muhammed had in May, 1836, addressed a letter to Lord Auckland, which conveyed his desire to secure the friendship of the British government. He was desirous

[1838 A.D.]

of obtaining the aid of the British against Persia, whose troops were besieging Herat, and to recover Peshawar from Ranjit (Runjeet) Singh, the ruler of Punjab. The governor-general in 1837 despatched Captain Alexander Burnes as an envoy to Kabul. Soon after the arrival of Burnes a Russian envoy arrived at Kabul, who was liberal in his promises, but whose authority was afterwards disavowed by his government. Captain Burnes carried back with him a belief that Russia was meditating an attack upon British India, having established her influence in Persia; that Dost Muhammed was treacherous; and that the true way to raise a barrier against the ambition of Russia was to place the dethroned Shah Shuja upon the throne of Kabul, as he had numerous friends in the country.

The alarm of the possible danger of a Russian invasion through Persia and Afghanistan led to the declaration of war against Dost Muhammed in the autumn of 1838, and to the preparation for hostilities under a governor-general whose declared policy, at the commencement of his rule, was to maintain the peace which had been scarcely interrupted since the conclusion of the Burmese War. Unquestionably there was a panic, and under such circumstances the heaviest charge against Lord Auckland would have been that he remained in supine indifference.

On the 14th of February the Bengal division of the army under Sir Willoughby Cotton crossed the Indus at Bukkur. The Indus is here divided into two channels, one of which is nearly five hundred yards in breadth. The passage of eight thousand men with a vast camp-train and sixteen thousand camels was effected without a single casualty. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, in moving the thanks of the house of commons to the Indian army, in February, 1840, read a glowing description of this passage. "It was a gallant sight to see brigade after brigade, with its martial music and its glittering arms, marching over file by file, horse, foot, and artillery, into a region as yet untrodden by British soldiers." He quoted also from a periodical publication an eloquent allusion to the grand historical contrasts of this expedition. "For the first time since the days of Alexander the Great, a civilised army had penetrated the mighty barrier of deserts and mountains which separates Persia from Hindustan; and the prodigy has been exhibited to an astonished world of a remote island in the European seas pushing forward its mighty arms into the heart of Asia, and carrying its victorious standards into the strongholds of Mohammedan faith and the cradle of the Mughal Empire." The Bengal army was preceded by a small body of troops under the orders of Shah Shuja, and it was followed by the Bombay division under the command of Sir John Keane.

Into an almost unknown and untrodden country twenty-one thousand troops had entered through the Bolan pass. Sir Willoughby Cotton, with the Bengal column, entered this pass in the beginning of April. The passage of this formidable pass, nearly sixty miles in length, was accomplished in six days. For the first eleven and a half miles into the pass the only road is the bed of the Bolan river. The mountains on every side are precipitous and sterile; not a blade of vegetation of any kind being found, save in the bed of the stream. There was no sustenance for the camels, unless it were carried for their support during six days, and thus along the whole route their putrefying carcases added to the obstacles to the advance of the army.

The Bombay army sustained considerable loss from Baluchi freebooters in their passage through the Bolan pass, but the two columns were enabled to unite at Kandahar, and to proceed to the siege of Ghazni, under the command of Sir John Keane. On the 22nd of July the British forces were in

camp before this famous city, built upon a rock, towering proudly over the adjacent plain. The intelligent officers of the army could not have viewed without deep interest this stronghold of Mohammedanism, where the tomb of Sultan Mahmud, the conqueror of Hindustan, was still preserved, and where Mohammedan priests still read the Koran over his grave. The sandal-wood gates of this tomb, which in 1025 had been carried off from the Hindu temple of Somnath in Guzerat, were to acquire a new celebrity at the close of this Afghan War by an ostentatious triumph, not quite so politic as that of the Sultan Mahmud. At Ghazni, Mohammedanism maintained its most fanatical aspect. On the day before the final attack, Major Outram attempted with part of the shah's contingent to force the enemy from the heights beyond the walls. He describes that over the crest of the loftiest peak floated the holy banner of green and white, surrounded by a multitude of fanatics, who believed they were safe under the sacred influence of the Moslem ensign. A shot having brought down the standard-bearer, and the banner being seized, the multitude fled panic-stricken at the proof of the fallacy of their belief. On the morning of the 23rd the fortress and citadel were stormed. There were great doubts, almost universal doubts, at home as to the policy of this Afghan War. There could be no doubt as to the brilliancy of this exploit.

On the 29th of July the British army quitted Ghazni. It entered Kabul in triumph on the 7th of August. Shah Shuja, restored to his sovereignty, was once more seated in the Bala Hissar, the ancient palace of his race. Dost Muhammed had fled beyond the Indian Caucasus. The country appeared not only subjected to the new government, but tranquil and satisfied. As the spring and summer advanced insurrections began to break out in the surrounding country. Dost Muhammed had again made his appearance, and had fought a gallant battle with the British cavalry, in which he obtained a partial victory. Despairing, however, of his power effectually to resist the British arms, he wrote to Kabul, and delivered himself up to the envoy, Sir William Macnaghten, claiming the protection of his government. He was sent to India, where a place of residence was assigned to him on the north-west frontier, with three lacs of rupees (about £30,000) as a revenue. But the danger of the occupation of Afghanistan was not yet overpast. The events of November and December, 1841, and of January, 1842, were of so fearful a nature as scarcely to be paralleled in some of their incidents by the disasters of the mutiny of 1857.

#### THE MASSACRE OF KABUL; THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY (1841 A.D.)

The British at Kabul were in a condition of false security. The army was in cantonments, extensive, ill-defended, overawed on every side. Within these indefensible cantonments English ladies, amongst whom were Lady Macnaghten and Lady Sale, were domesticated in comfortable houses. Sir Robert Sale had left Kabul in October, expecting his wife to follow him in a few days. The climate was suited to the English; the officers, true to their national character, had been playing cricket, riding races, fishing, shooting, and, when winter came, astonishing the Afghans with skating on the lakes.

On the night of the 1st of November, there was a meeting of Afghan chiefs, who were banded together, however conflicting might be their interests, to make common cause against the *feringhees* (foreigners). One of these, Abdullah Khan, who had been active in his intrigues to stir up disaffection, had an especial quarrel with Burnes, who had called him a dog, and had said that he would recommend Shah Shuja to deprive the rebel of

[1841 A.D.]

his ears. He proposed that at the contemplated rising on the 2nd of November the first overt act should be an attack on the house of Burnes. Lady Sale,<sup>d</sup> in her journal of that day, says, "This morning early all was in commotion in Kabul; the shops were plundered, and the people were all fighting." Before daylight an Afghan who was friendly to Burnes came to report to him that a plot had been hatched during the night which had for its chief object his murder. The vizir arrived with the same warning. Burnes was incredulous, and refused to seek safety either in the king's fortress-palace, the Bala Hissar, or in the British cantonments. A mob was before his house. Perfect master of the language of the people, he harangued them from a gallery. At his side stood his brother Charles, and Lieutenant Broadfoot, who had arrived to perform the office of military secretary to Burnes when he should be the highest in place and power. The mob clamoured for the lives of the British officers, and Broadfoot was the first to fall by a shot from the infuriated multitude. A Mussulman from Kashmir, who had entered the house, swore by the Koran that if they would cease firing he would convey the brothers in safety to the Kuzzilbash (Persian) fort. The three entered the garden, when the betrayer proclaimed to the insurgents, "This is Secunder Burnes." The brothers were instantly struck down, and were cut to pieces by the Afghan knives. Sir Alexander Burnes, who thus perished in the thirty-sixth year of his age, was of the same family as the great Scottish poet, his grandfather being the brother of the father of Robert Burns.

From the 2nd of November to the 23rd of December, the position of the British at Kabul became more and more perilous. At the beginning of the insurrection some vigorous resolve, some demonstration of the power of the British arms, might have ensured safety, if not ultimate triumph. There were four thousand five hundred good troops in the cantonments, but there was no one effectually to lead them against the rebels in the city. There were about six hundred British troops in the Bala Hissar. General Sale and General Nott were expected with reinforcements, but they were themselves hemmed in by enemies. The alternations of hope and fear amongst the unhappy residents, especially the women, are recorded in the journal of Lady Sale.<sup>d</sup> In the first week of December the troops in cantonments were threatened by the near approach of starvation. The camp followers were living upon the carcasses of dead camels. Negotiations were going on with the Afghan chiefs for the safe retreat of the army, and for a supply of provisions. They were protracted from day to day, the Afghans requiring as a first condition that the forts in the neighbourhood of the cantonments should be given up. They were evacuated; and then the enemy looked down with triumphant derision upon those who, within their defenceless walls, were perishing, whilst the supplies which had been promised them were intercepted by a rabble from the city. Every day added to the expected difficulties of the retreat. The winter was setting in. On the 18th of December snow began to fall. Macnaghten, wearied and almost desperate amidst the bad faith and insulting demands of the chiefs, received on the evening of the 22nd a proposal from Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammed, which even Elphinstone, enfeebled as he was by illness and generally inapt to offer a decided opinion, regarded as treacherous. On the morning of the 23rd, according to the proposal that had been made to him, Macnaghten, with three friends, Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie, went out about six hundred yards from the cantonment for a conference with Akbar Khan, the sirdar (the title which the chief assumed). In an instant they were seized from behind. Lawrence and Mackenzie contrived to escape. Trevor was murdered; Akbar Khan

[1842 A.D.]

rushed upon Macnaghten in the endeavour to seize and detain him. "The look of wondering horror that sat upon his upturned face will not be forgotten by those who saw it to their dying days," says Kaye.<sup>c</sup> "The only words he was heard to utter were, *Az barae Khoda* ('for God's sake!')." Akbar Khan drew a pistol from his girdle—it was one of a pair which Macnaghten had presented to him the previous day—and he shot the unarmed envoy through the body. Wonderful to relate, not a gun was fired from the British cantonments, not a soldier went forth to avenge the murder of the British minister.

Major Pottinger, who now took the place of the unfortunate Macnaghten as political agent, exhorted the military chiefs either to fight their way to Jalalabad or forcibly to occupy the Bala Hissar. They preferred to capitulate. At a council of war on December 26th a treaty was ratified, which contained the humiliating conditions that all the guns should be left behind except six; that all the treasure should be given up, and 40,000 rupees paid in bills, to be negotiated upon the spot; and that four officers as hostages should be detained to ensure the evacuation of Jalalabad by General Sale. On the 6th of January, 1842, on a morning of intense cold, the army, consisting of four thousand five hundred fighting men and twelve thousand followers, began to move out of the cantonments. The order and discipline which could alone save an army retreating in the midst of a hostile population had no place in that confused mass, who were without food or fuel or shelter. Akbar Khan came up with a body of six hundred horsemen to demand other hostages as security for the evacuation of Jalalabad. On the 8th, Pottinger, Lawrence, and Mackenzie were placed in his hands. Akbar Khan declared that he also came to protect the British and Hindus from the attacks of the Ghilzais, one of the most fanatic of the Mussulman tribes of Afghanistan. His authority appears to have been exerted with all sincerity to interfere between these cruel assailants and their victims; but it was manifested in vain. The disorganised force entered the pass of Khurd-Kabul, which for five miles is shut in by precipitous mountains, with a torrent rushing down the centre. On the hill-sides were the unrelenting Ghilzais, who shot down the fugitives without a chance of their being resisted or restrained. In this pass three thousand men are stated to have fallen. "The ladies," says Lady Sale,<sup>d</sup> "were mostly travelling in kujavas (camel-panniers), and were mixed up with the baggage and column in the pass. Here they were heavily fired on." Lady Sale, who rode on horseback, was shot in the arm. Her son-in-law was here mortally wounded. On the 9th, Akbar Khan, who had arrived with his three hostages, says Lady Sale,<sup>d</sup> "turned to Lawrence and said that he had a proposal to make, but that he did not like to do so lest his motives might be misconstrued; but that, as it concerned us more than himself, he would mention it; and that it was that all the married men, with their families, should come over and put themselves under his protection, he guaranteeing them honourable treatment, and safe escort to Peshawar." Lawrence and Pottinger urged the acceptance of this proposal upon General Elphinstone. There were ten women and thirteen or more children; six married men went with them, with two wounded officers. It was better to trust to Akbar Khan for the protection of these helpless women and children than to continue their exposure to the attacks of the cruel tribes whom the sirdar could not restrain, and to the horrors of a continued march in a most inclement season.

On the 10th of January the small remnant of the force that had left Kabul on the 6th continued its march towards Jalalabad. The native regiments were nearly annihilated by cold and hunger and the Afghan knife. The frost-

[1842 A.D.]

bitten Asiatics, who still crawled to a narrow defile, were unable to make any resistance. The dying and the dead soon choked up the narrow gorge between the precipitous spurs of two hills. There was now not a single sepoy left. Not more than a quarter of the men who had left Kabul now survived. The European officers and soldiers scarcely numbered five hundred. They would have fought with the energy of desperation, but they were hemmed in by the crowd of camp-followers, who from the first had rendered their march as dangerous as the assaults of their enemies. The next day Akbar Khan invited General Elphinstone and two English officers, Brigadier Shelton and Captain Johnson, to a conference. The sirdar required that the three should remain as hostages for the evacuation of Jalalabad. Elphinstone implored the Afghan to permit him to return and share the fortune of his troops. The two officers were equally unwilling to leave their doomed comrades.

But resistance was in vain. On the evening of the 12th the march was resumed. They had to struggle with the dangers of the Jagdalak pass, in which the steep road ascends through a dark defile. As they approached the summit they found a barricade of bushes and branches of trees. Here the relentless enemy was in waiting. A general massacre ensued, in which many of the remaining officers perished. Twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers were able to clear the barricade. The next morning they were surrounded by an infuriated multitude. They were as one to a hundred; most of them were wounded; but they were resolute not to lay down their arms.

They all perished except one captain and a few privates, who were taken prisoners. Out of those who had been in advance of the column in the pass, six reached Futtehabad, within sixteen miles of Jalalabad. These last companions in misery were three captains, one lieutenant, and two regimental surgeons. Five were slain before the sixteen miles were traversed. General Sale's brigade had held possession of Jalalabad from the morning of the 13th of November, when they took the place from the Afghans by surprise. From time to time they heard rumours of the perilous position of the British force in Kabul. At last a letter, addressed to Captain MacGregor, the political agent, arrived from Elphinstone and Pottinger, stating that an agreement having taken place for the evacuation of Kabul, they should immediately commence their march to India. In the absence of any security for the safe conduct of the troops to Peshawar, they resolved to disobey these instructions, and not to surrender the fort, whose defences they had been assiduously labouring to improve. On the 13th of January a sentry on the ramparts saw a solitary horseman struggling on towards the fort. He was brought in, wounded and exhausted. The one man who was left to tell the frightful tale of the retreat from Kabul was Doctor Brydon.

#### THE RECONQUEST OF JALALABAD AND KABUL (1842 A.D.)

The refusal of Sale and MacGregor to surrender Jalalabad was that heroic determination to face the danger which in almost every case makes the danger less. Akbar Khan lost no time in besieging Jalalabad. Sale had well employed his enforced leisure in repairing the ruinous ramparts and clearing out the ditch. He had made the place secure against the attack of an army without cannon. But the garrison was not secure against the approach of famine. Akbar Khan with a large body of horse was hovering around to prevent the admission of supplies. On the 19th of February a serious misfor-

tune called forth new energies in these resolute men. An earthquake to a great extent rendered the labour vain which had been so long employed in the repairs of the works. By the end of the month the parapets were restored, the breaches built up, and every battery re-established. At the close of March, being at the last extremity for provisions, the garrison made a sortie, and carried off five hundred sheep and goats. It was known to Sir Robert Sale that General Pollock was advancing to his relief. The time was come when a vigorous attack on the enemy without might have better results than a protracted defence. On the morning of the 7th of April three columns of infantry, with some field artillery and a small cavalry force, issued from the walls of Jalalabad to attack Akbar Khan, who with six thousand men was strongly posted in the adjacent plain.

Every point attacked by the three columns was carried, and the victory was completed by a general assault upon the Afghan camp. In a few hours the battle was over. Two days before this victory General Pollock had forced the Khyber pass. On the 16th of April Pollock's advanced guard was in sight of Jalalabad; and the two little armies were united in the exulting hope that it would be for them to retrieve the disasters which had befallen the British arms. Lord Ellenborough had arrived at Calcutta as governor-general on the 25th of February. The close of Lord Auckland's rule in India was clouded with misfortunes which fell heavily upon a proud and sensitive man. His policy was proved to be a mistake. Nothing in the annals of Great Britain had ever exhibited so disastrous an issue to a war undertaken in the confidence that it would avert the possibility of an impending danger. When, on the 30th of January, the utter destruction of the army of Kabul was known at Calcutta, the governor-general published a proclamation containing brave words. A new governor-general had arrived, who, appointed by a new administration, had been amongst the most vehement denouncers of the Afghan War.

The successes of Sale and Pollock had renewed the confidence of the British in India that the storm would soon be overpast. They had interrupted the hopes of those native powers who believed that the rule of the "Feringhees" was coming to an end. Shah Shuja had been for some time able to maintain himself in the citadel of Kabul after he had been left to his own resources. He finally perished by assassination.

The English ladies, children, and officers, who were treated as prisoners rather than as hostages, were carried from fort to fort. General Elphinstone died at Tezoon on the 23rd of April. At the end of April, General England had forced the principal pass between Juettah and Kandahar; and early in May had joined his forces to those of General Nott at Kandahar. Ghazni, which was in the possession of the Afghans, was recaptured by him on the 6th of September. General Pollock had been detained by sickness and other impediments at Jalalabad to the end of August. He then fought his way through the passes, and was joined by General Nott.

On the 15th of September the British standard was flying on the Bala Hissar of Kabul. The prisoners of Akbar Khan had been hurried towards Turkestan. The khan who had charge of them agreed with the English officers, for the future payment of a sum of rupees and an annuity, that he would assist them to regain their freedom. The advance of the army upon Kabul secured the aid of other chieftains. On the 15th of September, the hostages, the ladies, and the children had quitted the forts of the friendly khan, and were proceeding toward Kabul, when, on the 17th, they were met by a party of six hundred mounted Kuzzilbashs, under the command of Sir Richmond

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Shakespear, who had been sent by General Pollock to rescue them from their perils. On the 19th a horseman met the party alternating between hope and fear, to say that General Sale was close at hand with a brigade. The husband and the father met his wife and widowed daughter. Their happiness produced "a choking sensation, which could not obtain the relief of tears." The soldiers cheered; a royal salute from mountain-train guns welcomed them to the camp; the joy was proportioned to the terrible dangers that were overpast. On the 1st of October a proclamation was issued from Simla by Lord Ellenborough, which stated that the disasters in Afghanistan having been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune, the British army would be withdrawn across the Sutlej. On the 12th of October the army began its march back to India. Dost Muhammed was released, and returned to his sovereignty at Kabul.

Of the proclamation dated from Simla on the 1st of October there was much adverse notice in parliament. Mr. Macaulay maintained that it was antedated; for that on the 1st of October the release of the captives on the 19th of September could not have been known to the governor-general; and that knowing of this joyful event on the 12th he omitted all mention of it, that he might have the childish gratification of insulting his predecessor in the vice-royalty, by dating on the same day on which, in 1838, Lord Auckland had published his unfortunate declaration of the causes and objects of the war. But there was another proclamation by Lord Ellenborough which his ministerial friends could scarcely vindicate, and which brought down upon him the bitterest denunciations of his political enemies. It was as follows:

FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO ALL THE PRINCES, AND CHIEFS, AND PEOPLE OF INDIA

MY BROTHERS AND MY FRIENDS:

Our victorious army bears the gates of the temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Muhammed [Mahmud] looks upon the ruins of Ghazni. The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory; the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I shall commit this glorious trophy of successful war. You will yourselves, with all honour, transmit the gates of sandal-wood through your respective territories to the restored temple of Somnauth. The chiefs of Sirhind shall be informed at what time our victorious army will first deliver the gates of the temple into their guardianship, at the foot of the bridge of the Sutlej.

The Hindu temple of Somnauth was in ruins, and it was maintained by those to whom the pompous words of the proclamation were distasteful, that the governor-general meant to restore it, and thus to manifest a preference for one of the great rival creeds of India—a preference which the policy of England expressly forbade. This might be a wrong inference from the words of the proclamation. But to despoil the tomb of a worshipper of Mohammed, that honour might be done the worshippers of Vishnu, was to offer an outrage to those sensibilities which more than any other cause made and still make the British rule in India so like treading on beds of lava.

THE CONQUEST OF SIND

In Trafalgar Square, under the shadow of the Nelson Column, is a statue of "Charles James Napier, General." The inscription bears that it was "erected by Public Subscription, the most numerous Contributors being Private Soldiers." This renowned warrior is ordinarily termed Conqueror of

Sind. He had also a claim to be recorded as a benefactor of mankind in his successful endeavour to make his conquest a source of good to the conquered people. He was the just and beneficent administrator of Sind.<sup>c</sup>

The country of Sind constitutes the most western limit of India along the southern course of the Indus. It was conquered by the Mohammedans in the commencement of the eighth century, and was retained as a dependency of Persia until its subjugation by Mahmud Ghazni. Upon the downfall of his dynasty, the Sumras, a race of chiefs of Arab extraction, established themselves as independent rulers of the country, until they were dispossessed by the Sumas, who were Hindus, and who professed a nominal fealty to the Pathan sovereigns of Delhi. In the reign of Akbar, Sind became more intimately attached to the Mughal Empire; but the government of the province was usually entrusted to native chiefs, whose degree of subordination was regulated by the ability of the court of Delhi to compel obedience.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Kalhoras, a race of religious teachers who pretended to derive their origin from the Abbassid Caliphs, and who converted their reputation for sanctity into an engine of worldly aggrandisement, had become possessed of extensive territory in Sind, and usurped an ascendancy in its government, which was legalised in the reign of Muhammed Shah of Delhi by the appointment of Nur Muhammed Kalhora as subahdar of Tatta. The vicegerent of Sind was speedily relieved from his dependance upon Delhi, but was compelled to pay tribute to the conqueror, Nādir Shah. The death of that prince dissolved the connection with Persia; but the new sovereign of Afghanistan claimed the like supremacy over the country, and Sind became, nominally at least, subject to Kabul. The Baluchi tribes acquired a leading influence in the affairs of Sind. The Talpur chief Fath Ali finally established the authority of his family in Sind. This power he shared with his three brothers, Ghulam Ali, Karm Ali, and Murad Ali.<sup>d</sup>

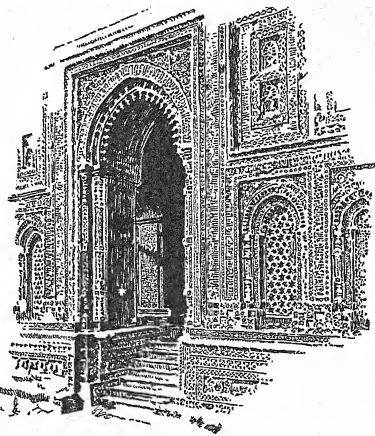
On the death of Fath Ali in 1801 the three continued to rule together; and when Ghulam Ali was killed in 1811 the duumvirate remained supreme; but on the death of Karm Ali in 1828 and Murad Ali a few years later, the old system was revived, and a government of four again instituted. Such was the state of things when British relations with the province [and with these mirs or amirs of Sind] had become necessarily an urgent consideration, owing to the Afghan expedition of 1838. During this crisis of Anglo-Indian history, the political officers in Sind and Baluchistan had a difficult task to perform, and it is infinitely to their credit that more mischief did not ensue in these countries from the many and heavy British disasters in the north.<sup>e</sup>

Whatever were the relations of these rulers to the people whom they misgoverned, the British authorities in India had repeatedly entered into treaties with them, and in the treaty of 1820 these words were used: "The two contracting parties mutually bind themselves from generation to generation never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." But the passage of troops through Sind was necessary for carrying on the war with Afghanistan. The amirs remonstrated, but were compelled to yield. Something more was required by a subsequent treaty. Karachi and Tatta were ceded to the British, with power to station troops there; and the free navigation of the Indus was stipulated as another condition of Great Britain's friendship. At an earlier period some of the amirs had expressed their fears that Sind was gone — the English have seen the river." After the British had withdrawn from Ghuznee, and when the terror of their name was no longer sufficient to command a compliance with enforced engagements, the amirs began to manifest hostile designs. Sir Charles Napier, having learned

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that they had assembled an army of twenty-five thousand men, resolved upon a direct and immediate act of hostility, instead of allowing them to gain time by delays and negotiations. Boldness and promptitude in this short war effected more than unlimited reinforcements. Emaun-Ghur, in the desert of Baluchistan, was a stronghold where the mercenaries of the amirs could gather together, safe from pursuit. Napier resolved to attack this fortress, whither upon his approach a large body of troops were marching.

On the night of the 5th of January, 1843, he commenced a perilous adventure. With three hundred and sixty of the 22nd Queen's regiment on camels, with two hundred of the irregular cavalry, with ten camels laden with provisions and with eighty carrying water, he set forth to traverse the arid waste, defying the armed bands on every side. After a few days the camels which drew the howitzers were unable to drag them over the sand-hills, and the unshrinking Irish soldiers took their place. When the fortress, which no European eye had before seen, was reached, it was found deserted. The governor had fled with his treasure, but he had left immense stores of ammunition behind. Napier resolved to destroy Emaun-Ghur; and having mined it in twenty-four places, by a simultaneous explosion all the mighty walls of the square tower, which stood as it were the monarch of the vast solitude, crumbled into atoms, and the wild bands who went forth to plunder and harass the populous Sind, had to retire still further into the desert. Napier and his hardy companions, after undergoing great privations on their march back by a different route, rejoined the main army on the 23rd near Hyderabad.



ALAROD-DEEN GATEWAY, DELHI

### *Battle of Miani (1843 A.D.)*

The British resident at Hyderabad was Major Outram. On the 12th of February, the amirs with one exception, the amir of Khairpur, signed the treaty which in the previous December had been tendered to them, and which, as was to have been expected from its hard conditions, they had evaded signing. This was Lord Ellenborough's "final treaty," which Napier was to have imposed upon them by an immense force. The day after the signature Major Outram was attacked in the residency by eight thousand Baluchis.

He had only a hundred foot-soldiers with him. In the river, however, there were two war steamers. To these he effected his retreat, by presenting a bold front to his assailants, whilst the guns of the steamers swept the flanks of the pursuers. With the loss only of three men killed and two wounded the gallant officer joined the main army under Napier, which consisted of four hundred British of the 22nd, and two thousand two hundred sepoys and other native troops. The 22nd were under the command of Colonel Pennefather, a name of renown in the Crimean War. The artillery consisted of twelve guns. With this force the battle of Miani was fought on the 17th of February. On this day Napier wrote in his journal, "It is my first battle as a commander: it may be my last. At sixty, that makes little difference; but my feelings are, it shall be do or die." Whatever deeds have been done by heroic Englishmen under the inspiration of duty, never was there a greater deed of warfare than the victory of Miani, which was won by two thousand six hundred men against twenty-two thousand.

The Baluchis were posted on a slope behind the bed of the river Fulailee, which was for the most part dry. The half-mile between the two armies was rapidly passed; the bed of the river was crossed; up the slope ran the intrepid 22nd, and from the ridge looked down upon the Baluchis "thick as standing corn." The Baluchis covering their heads with their large dark shields, and waving their bright swords in the sun, rushed with frantic gestures upon the front of the 22nd. The Irish soldiers, with shouts as loud and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, met them with the bayonet, and says Sir William Napier, "sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood." The native infantry came up; the artillery took a commanding position, and mowed down the Baluchis with round-shot and canister. Upon the slope went on the deadly conflict for three hours, the assailants rushing upwards against an enemy who resolutely held his ground, the gaps in his ranks being closed up as fast as they were made. The result was at one time uncertain. The greater number of the European officers were killed or wounded. Napier was in the thick of the fight, and though surrounded by enemies was unharmed. Like Nelson, his daring was his safety; but then it was under the direction of his genius. He saw, what the eye only of a great commander can see, the opportunity for closing a doubtful struggle by one decisive blow. He ordered a charge of cavalry. Defying the guns on the top of the ridge, the chosen band of horsemen charged right into the enemy's camp. Those who had so long stood firm on the hill fell into confusion. The 22nd and the sepoys gained the ridge, and drove the Baluchis over. The mighty host of the amirs was thus beaten by a handful of troops led on to victory by one who had gained his experience in the great battles of the peninsula; by one who knew that large masses of men, however brave and strong, are comparatively weak unless their movements are directed by some master-mind, bold in the conception of his plans, cool in their execution, and having all the resources of strategy at his command at the instant when all would be lost by ignorance or incertitude.

Sir Charles Napier followed up his victory the next day by a message sent into Hyderabad that he would storm the city unless it surrendered. Six of the amirs came out, and laid their swords at his feet. There was another enemy yet unsubdued — Shere Muhammed of Mirpur. On the 24th of March Napier, who had been reinforced and had now five thousand troops, attacked this chief who had come with twenty thousand Baluchis before the walls of Hyderabad to recover the city. It was a hard earned victory, which was followed up by the British occupation of Mirpur. The spirit of the Baluchis

[1843-1844 A.D.]

was so broken that after two slight actions in June, when Shere Muhammed was routed and fled into the desert, the war was at an end.

Sind was annexed to the British possessions, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed its governor. He ruled the country for four years. He saw the great natural resources of Sind, and he led the way in rendering them available for commercial purposes by costly public works. The great branch of the Indus was opened to restore the fertility of Cutch. A gigantic pier was constructed at Karachi, by which a secure harbour was formed; and now the port is connected with the Indus by a railway. He made the revenue of the province sufficient to support the expenditure for its civil and political administration. But above all, he made the native population prosperous and contented under the British rule.

The state of the people under his wise government is thus described by Sir William Napier, the historian of the Sind War: "The labourer cultivates in security his land; the handicraftsman, no longer dreading mutilation of his nose or ears for demanding remuneration for his work, is returning from the countries to which he had fled, allured back by good wages and employment. Young girls are no longer torn from their families to fill the zenanas of the great, or sold into distant slavery. The Hindu merchant and Parsee trafficker pursue their vocation with safety and confidence; and even the proud Baluchi warrior, not incapable of noble sentiments, though harsh and savage, remains content with a government which has not meddled with his right of subsistence, but only changed his feudal ties into a peaceful and warlike dependence. He has, moreover, become personally attached to a conqueror whose prowess he has felt in battle, and whose justice and generosity he has experienced in peace."

The close of the year 1843 was marked by another great military success in India. The state of Gwalior was in 1804 placed under the protection of the British government. The successor of the rajah who died in 1843 was a minor, and a regent was appointed, with the approbation of the governor-general. The regent was expelled by the Mahrattas, and the British resident was insulted. Lord Ellenborough, to whom war appeared a noble pastime in which an amateur might laudably indulge, immediately sent Sir Hugh Gough from Agra with fourteen thousand troops; and on the 29th of December he fought the battle of Maharajpur, when the Mahrattas were defeated with great loss. On the same day, Major-General Grey also defeated the Mahrattas at Punniar. The usurping government immediately submitted, and the strong fortress of Gwalior was occupied by a British governor. These warlike proceedings, however brilliant and successful, were not acceptable to the majority in the direction of the East India Company.<sup>c</sup> [In the next year they recalled Lord Ellenborough.]

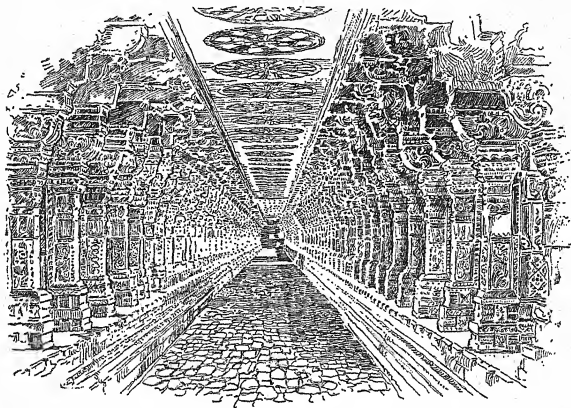
#### SIR HENRY HARDINGE AND THE WAR WITH THE SIKHS

Sir Henry Hardinge, who had served with great distinction in the Peninsular War, and at the famous battle of Waterloo, where he had the misfortune to lose his left arm, arrived at Calcutta in July, 1844, and began his government by such measures as were most likely to maintain peace, and advance the civilisation of the country.

Soon after his arrival he published a document stating that, in all appointments to public offices throughout Bengal, preference would be given to those among the candidates who had been educated in the government schools, especially to such as had distinguished themselves by their attainments; and

this regulation was to apply to the subordinate as well as to the higher situations; so that in appointing a public officer, even of the lowest grade, a man who can read and write is preferred to one who cannot. But Sir Henry's pacific intentions were speedily frustrated, and he was compelled by circumstances to engage in a war, the final result of which not only extended the British dominion in India, but was probably also the means of preserving it.<sup>b</sup>

Although seceders in some respects from the orthodox religion of the Hindus, the Sikhs retain so many essential articles of the Brahmanical faith, that they may be justly classed among the Hindu races. In the original institution, the Sikhs were a religious community, who, in consonance with the benevolent objects of their founder, Nanak Shah, a native of the Punjab, proposed to abolish the distinctions of caste, and to combine Hindus and



INTERIOR OF THE CELEBRATED TEMPLE AT RAMESWARAM

Mohammedans in a form of theistical devotion, derived from the blended abstractions of Sufism and the Vedanta, and adapted to popular currency by the dissemination of the tenets which it inculcated, in hymns and songs composed in the vernacular dialects. These still constitute the scriptural authority, the *Adi Granth*, "the book" of the Sikhs. The doctrines and the influence of the teachers gave a common faith to the hardy and intrepid population of the upper part of the Punjab, and merged whatever distinctive appellations they previously possessed in the new general designation of "Sikhs," or "disciples," which thenceforth became their national denomination.

As their numbers increased, they attracted the notice of the Mohammedan rulers, and were subjected to the ordeal of persecution. They had recourse to arms; under a succession of military leaders, the sword became inseparably associated in their creed with the book; and their ranks were recruited by fugitives from political disorder and fiscal oppression, who

[1844 A.D.]

readily adopted a faith which made but trifling demands upon their belief, and differed in few material points from that which they professed. Community of danger became the bond of both a religious and a social organisation, and a nation grew out of a sect. As the birth-place of their founder Nanak, and of the teacher who in a still greater degree gave to the Sikhs their characteristic peculiarities, Guru Govind Singh was the Punjab, it was there that they congregated and became organised, in spite of the efforts of the viceroys of Lahore for their suppression, until they had become masters of the whole of the country from the Sutlej to the Indus.<sup>f</sup>

Sir A. Lyall<sup>g</sup> calls attention to the fact that "an insurrectionary movement is always particularly dangerous if it takes a religious complexion." The Sikhs regarded their first prophet as having suffered martyrdom, and there had been engendered in their minds an abiding hatred of Islam because of the persecution to which they had been subjected by the later Mughal emperors. Although they were repeatedly and severely punished, they as often rose up again against their oppressors. Ahmed Shah overthrew them with great slaughter in 1761; yet a year later they retaliated by killing his governor at Sirhind; and in 1764 they revolted at Kandahar. Ahmed Shah, however, managed to retain a fairly firm control over the Punjab to the time of his death in 1773; but his successors were less powerful, and the Sikh confederation became stronger and stronger.<sup>h</sup>

#### RANJIT SINGH OF LAHORE

Ranjit Singh was about twelve years old when the death of his father, in 1792, left him in possession of a large territory, of which his mother assumed the government during his minority; and being an ambitious, unprincipled woman, she entirely neglected the education of her son, as a means of retaining her own power; so that the boy was not even taught to read or write. She became, at length, so unpopular that she was assassinated—some say with the connivance of her son, who assumed the government at the age of seventeen, a short time before the fall of Tipu Sahib.

It happened that young Ranjit had improved the opportunity to perform some service for Shah Zaman, king of the Afghans, who in return invested him with the government of Lahore [1798]; and after the dethronement of that monarch, Ranjit asserted his independence, and with the general consent of the Sikhs took the title King of Lahore, and soon established his authority over the whole of the Punjab.

Ranjit Singh, being anxious to keep on friendly terms with the British government, concluded a treaty with an envoy sent to his court for that purpose, by which he agreed not to attempt to extend his territories to the east, beyond the boundary of the Sutlej river; but this treaty did not limit his ambition in other directions; and during the civil wars of the Afghans that followed the dethronement of Shah Shuja, he made great additions to his kingdom, both on the south and the west. The unfortunate Shuja, when he fled from Kabul, had at first sought shelter at Lahore, where he was detained for some time as a prisoner, and compelled to give up all the jewels; so that Ranjit Singh became, in 1813, the possessor of the famous diamond Koh-i-nur, which signifies "the mountain of light." The murder of Fattah Khan, and the consequent breaking up of the Afghan monarchy, opened the way for the further aggrandisement of the king of Lahore, who crossed the Indus, and thus possessed himself of Peshawar; about the same time he became master of the beautiful valley of Kashmir [1819].

## THE SUCCESSORS OF RANJIT SINGH

The death of Ranjit Singh, in June, 1839, deprived the English of a powerful ally, and the eastern nations of one of their greatest rulers. This illustrious prince, the founder of a vast empire, which was destined to fall with him to whom it owed its rise, was succeeded by his son, Kharrak Singh, who survived him but a few months. The funeral obsequies of the latter were celebrated with the sacrifice of one of his wives, and on the same day his son and successor, Nihal, was accidentally killed by the falling of a beam, as he was passing under a gateway on his elephant. This event gave rise to much confusion in the state, as there was no direct heir to the crown; and one party supported Dhian Singh, who had been Ranjit's chief minister; while the opposite faction proclaimed Shir Singh, another prince of the family. Such was the state of affairs in the Punjab during the early part of the Afghan War, and consequently the Sikhs were too much occupied with their own troubles to afford that efficient aid which had been expected from the friendly alliance that had subsisted between the British government and the late monarch, Ranjit Singh.

The British government took no part in the dissensions that followed the death of Kharrak Singh, but maintained a friendly intercourse with Shir Singh in order to secure for the troops in Afghanistan a free passage through the Punjab, from Kabul to British India. The condition of the country was at this time extremely wretched. The great Sikh army—which had been organised by Ranjit Singh on the European system, and which in his time had been a powerful force, commanded by European officers—was now disbanded; the roads were infested with banditti, who plundered the villages with impunity, and in many instances set them on fire; so that the miserable peasants were wandering about everywhere, without the means of procuring food or shelter, while the government was too weak to afford them protection, and the king was regarded in the light of a usurper by many of the greatest nobles of the kingdom.

Shir Singh, however, maintained his seat on the throne until the month of September, 1843, when he was assassinated by some of the chiefs in his gardens, during the celebration of a public festival; his son shared the same fate. The citadel of Lahore was then seized by the conspirators; Dhian Singh, the minister, was shot, and the wives and children of the murdered princes were barbarously massacred. But the success of the insurgents was of short duration, for they were defeated before the close of the same day by the opposite faction, who captured their leader, and placed on the throne Dhuleep (Dhalip) Singh, a boy only seven years of age, said to be a son of the great Ranjit. The government was conducted by the minister Heera Singh, but the country remained in a very unsettled and miserable condition.

The rani, or queen-mother, who acted as regent for her son, disliked the minister, Heera Singh. He was murdered in a rebellion of the soldiers, of which she was believed to be the instigator, in the beginning of 1845; after which her own brother Jewahir, who had headed the insurrection, was made prime minister, and remained in power till the end of the year, when another revolution took place, and he met with a fate similar to that of his predecessor. The confusion and misrule that prevailed at Lahore, and certain indications of a hostile disposition towards the British government, induced the governor-general to send several regiments to the frontiers, to protect the British possessions in case of invasion, but with a full determination not to go to war unless the safety of the empire was endangered. The troops

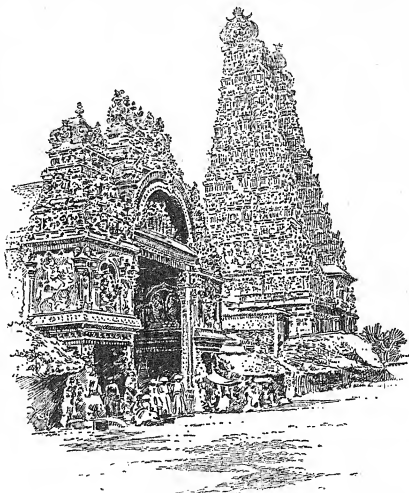
[1845 A.D.]

were stationed on the banks of the Sutlej, which is the largest of the streams that flow into the Indus, and forms the eastern boundary of the Punjab, separating that country from the British territories.

While the governor-general was thus preparing for a war in the north of India, Sir Charles Napier was earning fresh laurels in Sind, where the British authority was still resisted by some of the mountain tribes, whose depredations in the districts around the locality prevented the establishment of good order, and acted as a check upon the industry of the peaceful inhabitants. [In January, 1845, Sir Charles succeeded in reducing them to submission.]

#### FIRST SIKH WAR (1845-1846 A.D.)

In the mean time, the signs of a war with the Sikhs were growing more manifest, till at length little doubt could be entertained that they were contemplating an attack on the British territories. Although the rani and her ministers pretended to the British authorities that the hostile movements of the troops were not sanctioned by them, it is well known they encouraged the invasion as a means of ridding themselves of a turbulent soldiery, of whom they were in perpetual fear. In short, the war was determined upon at Lahore, and the Sikh army, consisting of not less than fifty thousand warlike men furnished with one hundred and eight pieces of artillery, and well trained in the European system of warfare, advanced toward the Sutlej, in hostile array. It appears to have been an unprovoked aggression



TEMPLE AND ROYAL SEPULCHRE AT MADURA

on the part of the Sikhs; and as they sought the war without a reasonable pretext of quarrel or complaint, they are not entitled to that degree of compassion which the result would otherwise have called forth. The greatest cause of regret is that many valuable lives were sacrificed in the contest.

The Sikhs began to cross the river on the 11th of December, and took up a position at Ferozshaw, a village about ten miles from the populous town of Ferozpur, and an equal distance from the village of Mudki, the British headquarters. Orders had been sent to the troops at Ambala to join the

army without delay; and by forced marches, they performed the journey (one hundred and fifty miles), along heavy roads of sand, in six days, suffering greatly from fatigue and thirst, as no water was to be procured on the way.

On their arrival at Mudki, on the 18th of December, they found the enemy was then advancing in order of battle, and though nearly worn out with toil they had scarcely one hour to rest and refresh themselves, before the action commenced. It lasted from three o'clock in the morning till some time after nightfall, for the Sikhs fought with the utmost bravery, and it was not without considerable loss on the part of the British that they were at length driven from the field, leaving behind them seventeen of their guns, which had been captured during the engagement, and some thousands of their fallen comrades. Among the distinguished officers who fell at the battle of Mudki, was Sir Robert Sale, who with his wife had lately returned to India, having been in England since his memorable campaign in Afghanistan.

After this defeat the Sikhs returned to Ferozshaw where, for three days, they occupied themselves in raising strong intrenchments around their camp, which, on the 21st of December, was attacked by Sir Hugh Gough, who had been reinforced by a detachment of troops from Ferozpur. This was a more severe conflict than that at Mudki, for the Sikhs had the advantage of firing from behind their batteries, which could not be destroyed without a frightful sacrifice of life. Ere the close of day, however, this was partially effected; but the issue of the battle was still uncertain, for while it was yet raging, the night set in, and obliged the combatants to cease for awhile their deadly strife. It was very cold and dark. The weary soldiers, without food or extra covering, lay down among their dead and dying companions, exposed to the cannonading of the enemy, which was kept up during the whole night; when daylight appeared, the attack was renewed, the enemy put to flight, and the camp taken.

Seventy-three pieces of cannon were captured in this engagement. But the victors had scarcely congratulated each other on their success, when a fresh army was seen advancing, led by one of the chiefs who had just fled; and the British troops had to begin a fresh battle under all the disadvantages of exhausted strength and spirits. By exertions almost superhuman, this second army was put to flight, some of the chiefs killed, and the British remained masters of the camp, in which were found stores of grain and ammunition, both of which were greatly needed. The whole force of the Sikhs who had taken the field is estimated at about sixty thousand; while that of the British did not amount to more than twenty thousand, or one-third the number of their opponents.

The Sikhs had retired to the other side of the Sutlej, and were assembling again in great force; so that it was evident that another battle would soon take place. They formed a solid bridge of boats across the river, over which they came in parties, on plundering expeditions; and about the middle of January, 1846, established a camp within the bounds of the British territory, where they soon mustered to the amount of about twenty thousand. The position they occupied was opposite the wealthy and populous city of Ludhiana, and Major-General Sir Harry Smith was despatched from the main army with a body of troops to unite with those remaining there for the purpose of repelling any attacks in that quarter. The enemy was posted so as to intercept his march, and the two armies met at the village of Aliwal, which has given its name to one of the most memorable battles recorded in the history of British India.

[1846 A.D.]

The battle of Aliwal was fought on the 28th of January, 1846, and ended in a complete victory over the enemy, whose loss was terrific; for, in addition to the many hundred slain in the combat, great numbers perished in their despairing efforts to make their way across the river. Rich shawls and gold bracelets in abundance fell into the hands of the victors. The immediate consequence of this engagement was that the whole of the territory on the left bank of the Sutlej submitted to the British government, and the Lahore troops evacuated every fort that they had held on that side of the river.

But the main body of the Sikh army was still encamped on the opposite side of their fortified bridge at the village of Sobraon, and yet numbered about thirty thousand men, while it had seventy pieces of cannon remaining; added to which, they occupied a fort that was very strongly fortified; so that the British troops had before them the prospect of another sanguinary engagement.

Sir Harry Smith, with his forces, rejoined the commander-in-chief, and on the 10th of February the battle of Sobraon terminated this eventful campaign. The intrenched camp was attacked and taken by storm, after a most desperate struggle, in which thirteen British officers were killed, and about one hundred wounded, the losses in the ranks being great in proportion. The victory, however, although so dearly purchased, was a decisive one. The Sikh army was almost totally destroyed, every gun captured, and it seemed as if scarcely a vestige was left of that formidable power which had so seriously threatened the perpetuation of the British dominion in India. Immediately after the battle of Sobraon, the victorious generals encamped in the Punjab, at Kusoor, about sixteen miles from the bank of the river and thirty-two from the capital.

In the mean time the utmost confusion prevailed at the court of Lahore, where a very remarkable person was acting in the capacity of prime minister. This was the rajah Gulab Singh, the uncle of Heera, and brother of Dhian Singh. He was a powerful chief, with plenty of men and money at his command; but since the death of his brother, Dhian, he had resided at his fortress of Jamu, among the mountains, watching the course of public events. On the breaking out of the war, he brought his army, with abundance of stores and money, to the capital, but avoided taking any decided part in the contest.

After the battle of Aliwal, the rani, though his personal enemy, was induced to appoint him prime minister, in the hope of obtaining his assistance, which he did not refuse, but still delayed his departure for the camp, under various pretences, and was yet at Lahore when the news of the total defeat of the army at Sobraon changed the whole face of affairs. The rani and her party were now anxious to make peace on the best terms they could, and Gulab Singh was commissioned to proceed at once to the British camp for that purpose. The rajah wisely insisted that they should first sign an agreement to abide by such terms as he should make; and thus invested with full power to negotiate, he arrived at Kusoor on the 15th of February, accompanied by several of the most influential of the sirdars.

The governor-general received him without the usual ceremonies; and after alluding to the unjustifiable conduct of the Sikh government in beginning a war without the slightest pretext, he referred the minister to his agent and secretary, who were in possession of the terms on which he would pardon the late aggression, and renew the friendly alliance between the Sikh and British governments. These conditions were the cession of the whole territory between the Sutlej and Beas rivers; the payment of a million and

a half sterling, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; the surrender of all the rest of the cannon that had been pointed against the British; and the total disbanding of the army, to be newly constituted upon principles approved by the British government.

The rajah signed the treaty, and the governor-general issued a proclamation to the effect that, as he had been forced into this war by an unprovoked attack on the part of the Sikhs, he felt it necessary to adopt such measures as would secure the British dominions from such aggressions in future; and that, as it was not the wish of the British government to take advantage of the success of its arms to enlarge its territories, he should endeavour to re-establish the Sikh government in the Punjab, on such a footing as should enable it to exercise authority over its soldiers and protect its subjects." It was then stipulated that the maharajah and principal chiefs should repair to the British camp to tender their submission. The summons was promptly obeyed, and the young prince, mounted on an elephant, and attended by Gulab Singh and about twelve of the sirdars, had an interview with the governor-general, when his submission was tendered by the minister, and it was then declared that he would in future be treated as a friend and ally.

These arrangements being all completed, Dhuleep Singh, who was only ten years of age, was conducted back in state to his palace in the citadel of Lahore by a large escort of European and native troops, who formed altogether a grand and imposing spectacle; the youthful sovereign, surrounded by his chiefs, in all the pomp of barbaric splendour, riding amid the victorious troops, who might be regarded as both his conquerors and protectors.

The treaty of peace had, however, still to be ratified, and as the Lahore government was not able to pay the sum that had been stated, it became necessary to alter the conditions. It was therefore settled that half a million in money should be paid, instead of one million and a half; and that as an equivalent for the deficient million, all the country should be ceded that lies between the Beas and the Indus, including the beautiful vale of Kashmir. The greater part of this territory was bestowed in full sovereignty on Gulab Singh, in consideration of the neutrality he preserved during the war; and he, in return for so valuable an acquisition of territory, was to pay seventy-five lacs of rupees, equal to £800,000.

A treaty containing sixteen articles was drawn up and signed at Lahore, on the 10th of March, 1846, by the representatives of the late contending powers, and was afterwards confirmed by the seals of the governor-general and the maharajah. A separate treaty was then concluded with Gulab Singh, who thus became a sovereign prince under the supremacy of the British government, which he was to acknowledge by an annual present, or tribute, of a horse, twelve shawl-goats, and three pairs of Kashmir shawls; besides which, like the crown vassals of feudal times, he was bound to assist the superior power, with all his military force, in any wars in the states adjoining his territories.

The queen-mother remained at the head of the government, and a body of British troops was stationed at Lahore for the protection of the maharajah, who, when these arrangements were completed, received a visit of congratulation from the governor-general, accompanied by the commander-in-chief and other distinguished British officers. The dissolute rani, mother of the young maharajah, was not, however, long in the responsible position in which she had been permitted to remain; for, being detected in a conspiracy against the peace of the country, the British government determined to check it in the bud. She was, therefore, seized and conveyed to a fortress about twenty

[1848-1849 A.D.]

miles from Lahore, and there placed in close confinement. The earl of Dalhousie was appointed in November, 1847, to succeed Sir Henry Hardinge as governor-general. He arrived in India and assumed the reins of government early in the following year.<sup>b</sup>

#### DALHOUSIE'S GOVERNORSHIP AND THE SECOND SIKH WAR (1848-1849 A.D.)

Peace was not long preserved. The governor of Multan, Diwan Mulraj, desired to resign. Two English officers sent by the resident to take over charge of the fort were murdered, the 19th of April, 1848, and their escort went over to the diwan. Another of the assistants to the resident, Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, then in the Derajat, west of the Indus, hearing of the attack on the two officers, hastened to their assistance. On hearing of their fate he collected a force with which to attack the Multan army while the insurrection was yet local. This he did with signal success. But Multan could not fall before such means as he possessed. The movement spread, the operations widened, and the Sikh and English forces were in the field again.<sup>i</sup>

#### *The Battles of Chilianwala, Multan, and Gujrat (1849 A.D.)*

On the 13th of January, 1849, the British forces under Lord Gough came in sight of the encampment of the enemy at Chilianwala. It was Lord Gough's intention not to attack the enemy so late in the day, but Shir Singh, the commander of the Sikh troops, knew the ground; he had possession of the jungle, and he knew, also, the reckless bravery of his antagonist. It suited his purpose that the conflict should be immediate. He allowed a few of his advanced posts to be overpowered, that the enemy might be enticed on; and when Lord Gough was close enough, the Sikh batteries opened upon him. The Sikh artillery, well placed and well plied, made fearful havoc. The British guns, pointed against the jungle, could do no such damage as the artillery of the enemy. A loss of about one hundred officers and two thousand five hundred men, on the part of the British, was the result. "Although," says Lord Gough, in his despatches, "the enemy, who defended not only his guns but his position with desperation, was driven, in much confusion and with heavy loss, from every part of it, and the greater part of his field artillery was actually captured, the march of brigades to their flanks to repel parties that had rallied, and the want of numbers and consequent support to our right flank, aided by the cover of the jungle and the close of the day, enabled him, upon our further advance in pursuit, to return and carry off, unobserved, the greater portion of the guns we had thus gallantly carried at the point of the bayonet."

Such was the battle of Chilianwala: the bravery of the British troops and their commander achieved a barren victory over a formidable enemy, who had all the advantages of position in his favor. After a battle so disastrous on both sides, the two armies encamped within four miles of each other to recruit their exhausted energies and to prepare, on the arrival of reinforcements, for another encounter which might prove more decisive, if not less bloody, than that of Chilianwala. There we will for the present leave them, and return to Multan, and give in brief the details of an attack, which resulted in the capture of this almost impregnable fortress and city.

Mulraj had about nine thousand men, and the besieging army under General Whish amounted to about twenty-eight thousand, well provided.

The operations began on the 27th of December, by an attack upon two several points of the suburbs, which were carried at the bayonet's point; and after bombardment, breach, and storm, lasting, with but slight intervals of repose, for six days, the British flag was planted upon the walls of Multan by a sergeant-major of the company's fusiliers. A perfect storm of bullets for a time flew around him; the colour was torn in tatters, and the staff broken. For an instant no one could reach him; but there he stood cheering his comrades to come on. There was no need of exhortation — onward they pressed, the enemy doggedly retiring before them, and fighting as they withdrew. The walls were scaled about three o'clock on the 2nd of January; by sunset the city was fully in possession of the besieging forces. Mulraj took refuge in the citadel. But on the 22nd of January — when it had become evident that he could not hold his position for twenty-four hours longer — Mulraj surrendered himself, his forces, and the citadel, unconditionally into the hands of the British.

For four weeks after the battle of Chilianwala, the British and Sikh armies remained inactive, with a slight change of position. Chuttur Singh, father of Shir Singh, had effected a junction with his son but did not bring so numerous and well-appointed a reinforcement as was expected. The army of Lord Gough, on the contrary, had been considerably increased. After the capture of Multan, General Whish, by a series of rapid marches, arrived with his victorious detachment at the Chenab, and effected a junction with Lord Gough, when battle was given to Shir Singh without further delay. It was an open-field fight by daylight, the Sikhs not having, as at Chilianwala, the advantage of darkness and a thick jungle to protect them from the fatal aim of their enemy's guns.

The British army was about twenty-five thousand men, with one hundred cannon; that of the Sikhs was about forty thousand. Their artillery, however, was comparatively deficient, amounting to but sixty guns. Shir Singh chose his own position around the village of Gujrat, and the British army moved to attack him early in the morning of the 21st. The British line extended nearly three miles right and left. The Sikhs gave way on all points, and fled in the utmost confusion. The victory was obtained at a loss of life comparatively small on the part of the British — namely, of five officers and ninety-two men. The loss on the part of the Sikhs was enormous.

On the day after this decisive battle, General Gilbert, with a force of fifteen thousand men, was despatched in pursuit. On the 14th of March, Shir Singh and his father, Chuttur Singh, with eleven others of the principal sirdars, arrived in the British camp at Rawal Pindi, and delivered up their swords. Forty-one pieces of artillery and sixteen thousand stand of arms were at the same time surrendered.

Lord Dalhousie issued a proclamation declaring the Sikh dynasty at an end, and the Punjab annexed to the British dominions. The maharajah, no longer sovereign, was to receive an allowance of forty thousand pounds, and to reside within the British dominions. The few chiefs not convicted of treason were allowed to retain their estates.

The territory thus annexed to the British possessions in India amounted to one hundred thousand square miles. It had a population of three and a half millions, and a revenue equal to one million pounds.

#### THE KOH-I-NUR

Among the trophies which fell into the hands of the English during the Sikh War was the celebrated gem, the Koh-i-nur diamond. The gem passed

[1849 A.D.]

from Golconda to Delhi, where, in the year 1665, it was seen by the French traveller Tavernier, in the possession of Aurangzeb. Sometimes worn on the person of the Mughal emperors, sometimes adorning the famous peacock throne, this inestimable gem was safely preserved at Delhi until the invasion of Nadir Shah. Among the spoils of conquest which the Persian warrior carried back with him, in triumph, to Khorassan, and which have been variously estimated at from twenty to one hundred million pounds sterling, the Koh-i-nur was the most precious trophy. But it was destined to pass from Persia as quickly as that ephemeral supremacy in virtue of which it had been acquired. When the Persian conqueror was assassinated, in 1747, the Afghan chief, Ahmed Abdullah Shah, who had served under him as treasurer, on his return to Herat carried with him the treasure in his possession, including this diamond. It seemed as if the Koh-i-nur carried with it the sovereignty of Hindustan; for the conquests of Ahmed were as decisive as those of Nadir, and it was by his influence and assistance that the last emperor ascended the throne of the Mughals.

With the overthrow of the Durani monarchy by the consolidated power of the Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh, the jewel passed to a new master. Shah Shuja, of Kabul, was the last chief of the Abdullah dynasty who possessed it. When Shah Shuja was a fugitive from Kabul, under the equivocal protection of the Sikh chief, Ranjit Singh put the shah under strict surveillance, and made a formal demand for the jewel. The Durani prince hesitated, prevaricated, temporised, and employed all the artifices of oriental diplomacy, but in vain.

When first given to Shah Jahan, the Koh-i-nur was still uncut, weighing, it is said, in that rough state, nearly eight hundred carats, which were reduced by the unskilfulness of the artist to two hundred and seventy-nine, its present weight. It was cut by Hortensio Borgis, a Venetian, who, instead of receiving a compensation for his service, was fined ten thousand rupees for his wastefulness, by the enraged Mughal. In form it is "rose-cut," that is to say, it is cut to a point in a series of small faces, or "facets," without any tabular surface. The Koh-i-nur was seized by the British resident at Lahore, when first apprised of the outbreak at Multan. At the conclusion of the war it was taken to England, presented to the queen, and placed among the jewels of the crown.<sup>b</sup>

#### INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS: THE SECOND BURMESE WAR (1849-1852 A.D.)

After these bloody wars, the British Empire in the East enjoyed several years of undisturbed repose. All the outbreaks which had occurred subsequent to the Afghanistan disaster, every effort at independence which had been made, had led to overthrow and subjugation. The Sind amirs had tried it, and failed; the Gwalior people had tried it, and failed. Even the great and colossal power of the Sikhs had been overthrown; and after two desperate and bloody campaigns, their capital had been taken, their army disbanded, their kingdom incorporated with the all-conquering state. Struck with this astonishing series of victories immediately succeeding so dire a calamity, the inhabitants of the vast peninsula of Hindustan, for the time at least, abandoned the contest; and, submitting to the dominion of the British as the decree of providence, sought only to improve the advantages which the general establishment of internal peace afforded, and to improve the means of industry which its vast extent and powerful protection seemed to promise.

The East India Company took advantage of this precious breathing-time

operations began on the 27th of December, by an attack upon two several of the suburbs, which were carried at the bayonet's point; and after a hard-fought battle, breach, and storm, lasting, with but slight intervals of repose, for four days, the British flag was planted upon the walls of Multan by a serjeant-major of the company's fusiliers. A perfect storm of bullets for a time surrounded him; the colour was torn in tatters, and the staff broken. For an instant no one could reach him; but there he stood cheering his comrades to the front. There was no need of exhortation — onward they pressed, the British bravely doggedly retiring before them, and fighting as they withdrew. The British were scaled about three o'clock on the 2nd of January; by sunset the British was fully in possession of the besieging forces. Mulraj took refuge in the citadel. But on the 22nd of January — when it had become evident that he could not hold his position for twenty-four hours longer — Mulraj surrendered himself, his forces, and the citadel, unconditionally into the hands of the British. For four weeks after the battle of Chilianwala, the British and Sikh forces remained inactive, with a slight change of position. Chuttur Singh, brother of Shir Singh, had effected a junction with his son but did not bring so powerful and well-appointed a reinforcement as was expected. The army of Lord Gough, on the contrary, had been considerably increased. After the capture of Multan, General Whish, by a series of rapid marches, arrived with a victorious detachment at the Chenab, and effected a junction with Lord Gough, when battle was given to Shir Singh without further delay. It was a hard-fought field fight by daylight, the Sikhs not having, as at Chilianwala, the advantage of darkness and a thick jungle to protect them from the fatal aim of their enemy's guns.

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Among the trophies which fell into the hands of the English during the First War was the celebrated gem, the Koh-i-nur diamond. The gem passed

[1849 A.D.]

from Golconda to Delhi, where, in the year 1665, it was seen by the French traveller Tavernier, in the possession of Aurangzeb. Sometimes worn on the person of the Mughal emperors, sometimes adorning the famous peacock throne, this inestimable gem was safely preserved at Delhi until the invasion of Nadir Shah. Among the spoils of conquest which the Persian warrior carried back with him, in triumph, to Khorassan, and which have been variously estimated at from twenty to one hundred million pounds sterling, the Koh-i-nur was the most precious trophy. But it was destined to pass from Persia as quickly as that ephemeral supremacy in virtue of which it had been acquired. When the Persian conqueror was assassinated, in 1747, the Afghan chief, Ahmed Abdullah Shah, who had served under him as treasurer, on his return to Herat carried with him the treasure in his possession, including this diamond. It seemed as if the Koh-i-nur carried with it the sovereignty of Hindustan; for the conquests of Ahmed were as decisive as those of Nadir, and it was by his influence and assistance that the last emperor ascended the throne of the Mughals.

With the overthrow of the Durani monarchy by the consolidated power of the Sikhs, under Ranjit Singh, the jewel passed to a new master. Shah Shuja, of Kabul, was the last chief of the Abdullah dynasty who possessed it. When Shah Shuja was a fugitive from Kabul, under the equivocal protection of the Sikh chief, Ranjit Singh put the shah under strict surveillance, and made a formal demand for the jewel. The Durani prince hesitated, prevaricated, temporised, and employed all the artifices of oriental diplomacy, but in vain.

When first given to Shah Jahan, the Koh-i-nur was still uncut, weighing, it is said, in that rough state, nearly eight hundred carats, which were reduced by the unskilfulness of the artist to two hundred and seventy-nine, its present weight. It was cut by Hortensio Borgis, a Venetian, who, instead of receiving a compensation for his service, was fined ten thousand rupees for his wastefulness, by the enraged Mughal. In form it is "rose-cut," that is to say, it is cut to a point in a series of small faces, or "facets," without any tabular surface. The Koh-i-nur was seized by the British resident at Lahore, when first apprised of the outbreak at Multan. At the conclusion of the war it was taken to England, presented to the queen, and placed among the jewels of the crown.<sup>b</sup>

#### INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS: THE SECOND BURMESE WAR (1849-1852 A.D.)

After these bloody wars, the British Empire in the East enjoyed several years of undisturbed repose. All the outbreaks which had occurred subsequent to the Afghanistan disaster, every effort at independence which had been made, had led to overthrow and subjugation. The Sind amirs had tried it, and failed; the Gwalior people had tried it, and failed. Even the great and colossal power of the Sikhs had been overthrown; and after two desperate and bloody campaigns, their capital had been taken, their army disbanded, their kingdom incorporated with the all-conquering state. Struck with this astonishing series of victories immediately succeeding so dire a calamity, the inhabitants of the vast peninsula of Hindustan, for the time at least, abandoned the contest; and, submitting to the dominion of the British as the decree of providence, sought only to improve the advantages which the general establishment of internal peace afforded, and to improve the means of industry which its vast extent and powerful protection seemed to promise.

The East India Company took advantage of this precious breathing-time

from external war to afford every facility in their power to the development of the internal resources of their vast territories. Canals were dug or restored, roads made, railroads surveyed, and in part at least executed. The mind of Lord Dalhousie, essentially administrative, was ardently and successfully directed to these great objects. Then were projected, and in great part executed, those magnificent public works which have so completely effaced the well-known reproach cast by Mr. Burke upon the British administration in India, and which will bear a comparison with any in the world for greatness of conception and perfection of execution.

### *The Taking of Fort Martaban*

This happy state of tranquillity was first broken in upon, in 1852, by a second rupture with the Burmese government, which arose from the pride and

arrogance of a barbaric court, and their inconceivable ignorance of the strength of the power with which they were in close contact. So many cases of injury occurred in the course of the years 1851 and 1852, that the governor-general came to the conclusion that the law of nations had been violated, especially by the governor of Rangoon in his cruel and oppressive conduct to British subjects. The period allowed for accommodation having elapsed, an expedition was despatched under the command of General Godwin, an experienced officer, who had been engaged in the



CARVED PAGODA AT RANGOON, BURMA

former war, to enforce redress. The expedition sailed for the mouth of the Irawadi on the 28th of March, the naval force being under the orders of Rear-Admiral Austen. On the 5th of April the fort of Martaban, commanding one of the entrances of the river, was attacked, and the place carried, though garrisoned by five thousand of the best soldiers in the Burmese Empire.

After this success the expedition proceeded up the Irawadi to Rangoon, which stands on the left bank of the principal branch of the river, about twenty miles from the sea. Hostilities were commenced by a general attack by the war-steamers on the enemy's flotilla and river defences; and in a few hours the former were all burned, and the latter levelled with the ground. The troops were then landed without further resistance, and advanced against the town. The garrison fled in confusion through the southern and western

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gates, where they were met by the fire of the steamers, and obliged to seek safety by dispersing in the jungle.

The immediate surrender of Rangoon was the result of this victory, which was soon followed by the submission of all the adjacent country. The stores, ammunition, and heavy guns were then landed, and placed in Rangoon, which was strengthened and garrisoned by a strong body of troops, it being the design of government to make it not only the base of present operations, but a permanent acquisition to the British Empire in the East. These precautions having been taken, the troops were again moved forward up the Irawadi. On the 19th they were before Bassein, where a strong mud-fort was stormed, after a desperate resistance. Martaban, the first conquest of the British, which was garrisoned only by a small native force, was soon after attacked by a large body of Burmese, but the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter. Encouraged by these successes, an expedition was fitted out early in July, under Captain Tarleton, to reconnoitre the river as far as Prome, which was taken.

Offensive operations were resumed as soon as the return of the cool season rendered them practicable. On the 25th of September the troops were embarked at Rangoon, and they came in sight of Prome on the 9th of October, where they were shortly after landed. They immediately advanced, and made themselves masters of a fortified pagoda situated on an eminence which commanded the enemy's position. Upon this the Burmese evacuated the town in the night. This success was followed by the capture of Pegu, a large town about sixty miles from Rangoon (November 20th). This was followed by a proclamation from the governor-general, which, "in compensation for the past, and for better security for the future, proclaimed that the province of Pegu is now, and shall henceforth be, a portion of the British territories in the East."

No further attempt was now made to disquiet the British in their newly acquired conquest, and unbroken peace reigned through their vast dominions from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Irawadi, and from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya snows.

#### ANNEXATION OF OUDH (1856 A.D.)

This period of tranquillity, during which Lord Dalhousie was incessantly occupied with his great projects of domestic improvement and social amelioration, was not even interrupted by an important event in the east of India. This was the annexation of Oudh, which, without any hostilities, was carried into effect by a simple resolution of the governor-general in council on March 17th, 1856. This powerful state, whose inhabitants were a nation of warriors, lies on the eastern bank of the Ganges, between Cawnpore and Nepal, embraces twenty-five thousand square miles of territory, and contained at the period of annexation five million inhabitants.

It was, however, notorious that, though the kings of Oudh since that time had never failed in their duty to the British government, but, on the contrary, essentially served it on many occasions, yet they had scandalously violated the rights of their own subjects. The government of Lucknow, the capital, was perhaps the most corrupt and oppressive in the world, so far as its own people were concerned. Moved by the petitions of the unhappy sufferers under these exactions, and by the obvious discredit which they brought on the British government and connection, the governor-general in 1856 proposed a treaty to the king of Oudh, by which the sole and exclusive

administration of the country was to be transferred to the East India Company, with the right to the whole state revenue, burdened with a due provision to the reigning family, who were to be allowed to retain their royal titles, and enjoy their palaces and parks at Lucknow. These terms, as might have been expected, having been rejected by the king, a proclamation was forthwith issued, declaring the kingdom incorporated with the dominions of the East India Company, and requiring all the inhabitants to yield obedience to their authority. The British forces immediately entered the country from Agra and Cawnpore, and took possession of the capital and whole territories without resistance. About the same time the territories of the rajah of Satara were incorporated with the British dominions; those of the rajah of Berar had already been absorbed in 1853; but these encroachments, being on considerable native potentates, were made without opposition, and excited very little attention.

Unhappily the ease with which this annexation was accomplished at the time misled the government as to the precautions necessary to secure this acquisition, and the representations of Lord Dalhousie on that subject remained without effect. Not a man of European race was added to the force in the country; Delhi, the great arsenal of northern India, was left exclusively in the hands of the native troops; and a few hundred British, and a few battalions of sepoys, formed the sole garrison of the most warlike and formidable people of eastern India.

#### ALISON ON THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The war in the Punjab throws a bright light on those which preceded it in Gwalior and Sind, and vindicates Lord Ellenborough's administrations from the aspersions thrown upon it for the commencement of hostilities against these powers. Judging by the European standard, there can be no doubt that he was the aggressor on both those occasions; because, although the native powers were the first to engage in hostile acts, this had been rendered necessary by a course of encroachments on the part of the British. But it is now apparent that this was unavoidable. The opposite system was followed by the East India directors and Lord Hardinge, who forswore all hostile preparations against the Sikhs, and brought the Indian Empire to the brink of ruin, in order to avoid giving a pretext even for hostilities; and what was the consequence? Two terrible wars, in which the utmost hazard was incurred, and in which salvation was earned only by heroic efforts, and the shedding of torrents of blood. What would have been the fate of these wars if they had occurred when the British flank was threatened by the insurrection in Sind, and their communications cut off by the forces of Gwalior? In all probability India would have been lost. It was by anticipating the danger, and combating the hostile powers in succession, that the danger was averted and India saved. For this immense service the country was indebted to Lord Ellenborough; and, according to the usual course of human events, it is not the least conclusive proof of the reality of the obligation that the East India Company requited it by his recall. So strong is the desire for economy of their own money, however anxious to get that of others, and so invincible the repugnance to make costly preparations against future danger, in the great majority of men, that whoever attempts or recommends it is certain to incur present obloquy, and, if his opponents have the power to effect it, political downfall.

But the same form of justification can scarcely be applied to the incorpora-

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tion of Oudh. Unlike the warlike powers in the northwest of India, the government of Oudh had engaged in no hostile designs or preparations against that of Great Britain. Through all the changes of fortune for a half century, it had stood faithful by the British. Whatever faults it had committed, and they were many, had been directed against its own subjects, and related to matters of internal administration. Other grounds of justification in the case of Oudh must therefore be sought than that of hostility to Great Britain; and these are found by the defenders of the annexation in the fact that, by the treaty of 1801, there was expressly stipulated to the British government a right of interference, in the event of such internal mal-administration as was charged against the native authorities.

As this encroachment was instrumental in bringing about the rebellion of 1857, and the terrible war which ended in the termination of the East India Company's rule in India, in conformity with the old Hindu prophecy, in the hundredth year after its foundation by the battle of Plassey, it is a fitting opportunity to consider what was the extent and magnitude of the empire which in that period — short in the lifetime of a nation — had been formed by the energy and perseverance of the company, and the courage of the nation which aided them by its resources.

India, then, contained, in 1858, when the direct rule of the East India Company was merged in that of the home government, 180,367,148 inhabitants, extending over 1,465,322 square miles. Of these, 131,990,881 were under the direct dominion of the East India Company, and 48,376,247 the inhabitants of the protected states. The revenue (gross) of this immense territory was £30,817,000, of which £17,109,000 was the land-tax, £5,195,000 drawn from the monopoly of opium, £2,631,000 from that of salt, and £2,106,000 from customs. The cost of collection was about £6,000,000; the charge of the army was £11,000,000 annually; the interest of debt in India £2,000,000; and £3,500,000 were remitted to Great Britain for charges payable at home, or interest on the debt due there. The annual deficit was on an average of the four years between 1854 and 1858, £1,500,000 annually; in the year ending April 30th, 1857, it was £1,981,062.

The army amounted in the same month to 231,276 native troops, of whom 26,129 were cavalry, regular and irregular; 22,047 Europeans in the employment of the East India Company, of whom 6,585 were artillery; and the queen's troops in India before the revolt broke out were 31,800, all paid by the East India Company. The auxiliary troops, which the protected states were bound to furnish, were 32,211 more; in all, nearly 320,000 men.

The public debt of India was £68,000,000, being somewhat more than twice its income. Nor had this empire been acquired by conquest over unwarlike or barbarous nations: for if the inhabitants of Bengal were a timid race, the Gurkhas, the Sikhs, the Afghans, the Malhattas, and the inhabitants of Sind, rivalled the ancient Germans or Parthians in hardihood and valour; and in the great revolt of 1857 the East India Company encountered 120,000 soldiers, armed, instructed, and disciplined by themselves, and inferior to none in the contempt of death when animated by religious zeal.

This empire embraced a greater number of inhabitants than that conquered in five centuries by the Roman legions; double the number subjugated by the Russian arms in two centuries; and more than triple those won for France by the energy of the Revolution and the victories of Napoleon! And this mighty empire, transcending any which has existed since the world began, had been acquired in one century by a pacific company, having its chief place of business fourteen thousand miles distant from the theatre of its conquests —

which has almost always been guided by pacific interests, and rarely engaged in wars, except from necessity and in self-defence — which began its career with five hundred European soldiers, and seldom had so many as fifty thousand collected around its standards! The history of the world may be sought in vain for a parallel to such a prodigy.

The chief cause of this extraordinary and unparalleled phenomenon is to be found in the presence of constitutional energy in Great Britain during the period when the empire in the East was forming, and the absence of parliamentary control in its direction. The mother country furnished an inexhaustible supply of young men, drawn chiefly from the landed gentry of the middle class, to fill every department both in the civil and military service in the East, while the selection of candidates was exempt from the debasing effects of court favour or parliamentary influence. The command of this extraordinary aggregate of military and civil ability was practically vested in the governor-general at Calcutta, distance and the necessity of self-direction on the spot having rendered nearly impotent for evil the division of power between the East India Company and the board of control, which the strange and anomalous constitution of 1784 theoretically established.

It is to the extraordinary combination of circumstances which gave British India the united advantages of democratic vigour in the classes from which its defenders were taken, with aristocratic perseverance in the senate by which its government was directed, and the unity of despotism in the dictator to whom the immediate execution of the mandates of that senate was entrusted, that the extraordinary growth of the British Empire in India during the century between Plassey and the Mutiny is beyond all question to be ascribed. During that period Great Britain had often at home sustained serious reverses, from the ignorance and incapacity of those whom parliamentary influence or court favour had brought to the head of affairs, or the parsimony with which democratic economy had starved down the national establishment, during peace, to a degree which rendered serious reverses inevitable on the first breaking out of hostilities; but in India, though the usual intermixture of good and evil fortune in human affairs was experienced, there were never wanting, after a short period, troops requisite to repair reverses, and generals capable of leading them to victory.<sup>i</sup>





## CHAPTER VI

### THE INDIAN MUTINY

[1857-1858 A.D.]

#### LORD DALHOUSIE AND THE DOCTRINE OF LAPSE

LORD DALHOUSIE's dealings with the feudatory states of India can only be rightly appreciated as part of his general policy. That rulers only exist for the good of the ruled was his supreme axiom of government, of which he gave the most conspicuous example by the practice of his own daily life. That British administration was better for the people than native rule followed from this axiom as a necessary corollary. He was thus led to regard native chiefs from somewhat the same point of view as the Scotch regarded the hereditary jurisdictions after 1745 — as mischievous anomalies, to be abolished by every means practicable. Good faith must be kept with rulers on the throne and with their legitimate heirs, but no false sentiment should preserve dynasties that had forfeited all consideration by years of accumulated misrule, or prolong those that had no natural successor.

The "doctrine of lapse" was merely a special application of these principles, though complicated by the theory of adoption. It has never been doubted that, according to Hindu private law, an adopted son entirely fills the place of a natural son, whether to perform the religious obsequies of his father or to inherit his property. In all respects he continues the *persona* of the deceased. But it was argued that the succession to a throne stood upon a different footing. The paramount power could not recognise such a right which might be used as a fraud to hand over the happiness of millions to a base-born impostor. Here came in the maxim of "the good of the governed." The material benefits to be conferred through British administration surely

weighed heavier in the scale than a superstitious and frequently fraudulent fiction of inheritance.

The first state to escheat to the British government in accordance with these principles was Satara, which had been reconstituted by Lord Hastings on the downfall of the peshwa in 1818. The last direct representative of Sivaji died without a male heir in 1848, and his deathbed adoption was set aside. In the same year the Rajput state of Karauli was saved by the interposition of the court of directors, who drew a fine distinction between a dependent principality and a protected ally. In 1833 Jhansi suffered the same fate as Satara. But the most conspicuous application of the doctrine of lapse was the case of Nagpur. The last of the Bhonslas, a dynasty older than the British government itself, died without a son, natural or adopted, in 1853. That year also saw British administration extended to the Berars, or the assigned districts which the nizam of Hyderabad was induced to cede as a territorial guarantee for the subsidies which he perpetually kept in arrear. Three more distinguished names likewise passed away in 1853, though without any attendant accretion to British territory. In the extreme south the titular nawab of the Carnatic and the titular rajah of Tanjore both died without heirs. Their rank and their pensions died with them, though compassionate allowances were continued to their families. In the north of India, Baji Rao, the ex-peshwa, who had been dethroned in 1818, lived on till 1853 in the enjoyment of his annual pension of £30,000. His adopted son, Nana Sahib, inherited his accumulated savings, but could obtain no further recognition.

The marquis of Dalhousie resigned office in March, 1856, being then only forty-four years of age; but he carried home with him the seeds of a lingering illness which resulted in his death in 1860. Excepting Cornwallis, he was the first, though by no means the last, of English statesmen who have fallen victims to their devotion to India's needs. He was succeeded by his friend, Lord Canning, who, at the farewell banquet in England given to him by the court of directors, uttered these prophetic words: "I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin." In the following year the sepoys of the Bengal army mutinied, and all the valley of the Ganges from Patna to Delhi rose in open rebellion.

#### MOTIVES FOR THE MUTINY

The various motives assigned for the Mutiny appear inadequate to the European mind. The truth seems to be that native opinion throughout India was in a ferment, predisposing men to believe the wildest stories, and to act precipitately upon their fears. The influence of panic in an Oriental population is greater than might be readily believed. In the first place, the policy of Lord Dalhousie, exactly in proportion as it had been dictated by the most honourable considerations, was utterly distasteful to the native mind. Repeated annexations, the spread of education, the appearance of the steam engine and the telegraph wire, all alike revealed a consistent determination to substitute an English for an Indian civilisation.

The Bengal sepoys, especially, thought that they could see into the future farther than the rest of their countrymen. Nearly all men of high caste, and many of them recruited from Oudh, they dreaded tendencies which they deemed to be denationalising, and they knew at first hand what annexation meant. They believed that it was by their prowess that the Punjab had

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been conquered, and all India was held quiet. The numerous dethroned princes, their heirs and their widows, were the first to learn and take advantage of the spirit of disaffection that was abroad. They had heard of the Crimean War, and were told that Russia was the perpetual enemy of England. They had money in abundance with which they could buy the assistance of skilful intriguers. They had everything to gain, and nothing to lose, by a revolution.<sup>b</sup>

Writing on the subject of the causes of the Indian Mutiny, Lord Roberts<sup>c</sup> declares that the "discontent and dissatisfaction were produced by a policy which, in many instances, the rulers of India were powerless to avoid or postpone, forced upon them as it was by the demands of civilisation and the necessity for a more enlightened legislation." He states that intriguers took advantage of this state of affairs to further their own ends; that it was their policy to alienate the native army, engendering feelings of uneasiness and suspicion by calumniating the authorities, whose measures really were intended to promote the welfare of the masses. He vigorously sustains the authorities as to the integrity of their motives, but he admits that their measures were of necessity obnoxious to the Brahman priesthood as well as distasteful to the natives in general. He admits that, in some instances at least, the measures adopted were premature, and that even so they were not always carried out as judiciously as they might have been, or with sufficient regard to native prejudices.<sup>d</sup>

Sir A. Lyall,<sup>e</sup> writing with full knowledge of the psychology of the peoples involved, declares that "in Asia a triumphant army like the Janisaries of the Mamelukes almost always becomes ungovernable so soon as it becomes stationary." He says that the sepoys of the Bengal army had an exaggerated idea of their own importance; and that the annexation of Oudh in 1856 touched their pride and affected their interests. It was this province from which the army secured most of its high-caste recruits. Men in this excitable condition required only some slight stimulus to bring them into open revolt. This stimulus being found in the use of greased cartridges which roused their caste prejudices, they mutinied.<sup>f</sup>

The nature of Great Britain's hold upon India was so anomalous that the reflective had constantly doubted of its permanence. Her conquests had been chiefly effected by native armies, and continued to be ruled by their instrumentality; but it was unreasonable to think that the mere military allegiance of the sepoy would be always superior to those ties of nationality which connected him with the vanquished.

As if also to teach these men their own strength and resources, the native armies in the British service had now increased to an alarming amount as compared with the European soldiers. Each of the three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had its own army; but while they mustered in all 300,000 men, of these there were only about 43,000 who were British. Of all these armies, the most efficient for useful service, as well as the most prompt for revolt, and the most to be feared in such an event, was the army of Bengal, consisting of 118,600 native, and only 22,600 European soldiers. It was from this army accordingly that most danger had for some time been apprehended. A single random spark would be enough to set its whole religious bigotry in a blaze. And even already a deep cause of offence existed in the Bengal army, on account of the annexation of the kingdom of Oudh.

These and other such causes, which had been gathering and growing for years, had already matured into a deep and widely-extended conspiracy for the overthrow of the British dominion in India; but the particulars of the plan and the persons who devised it are still involved in obscurity. It is

supposed, however, that the court of Persia was the principal focus of the conspiracy, and that the Mohammedans of the north of India were its chief agents and disseminators. Those men, who might be termed the Norman aristocracy of Hindustan, owed an especial grudge to the British by whom they had been supplanted; and they endeavoured to work upon the credulity of the Hindu soldiery, by assuring them that the British intended to overthrow their creed and compel them to become Christians. This was enough to remind them of the conversions of Tipu Sahib, who propagated Islam by fire and sword.

It is supposed that these Mohammedan intriguers intended to replace the old king of Delhi upon the throne of his ancestors, and to rule under his name; and it is known that they were endeavouring to incite Dost Muhammed, the king of Kabul, to prepare for the invasion of the Punjab, as soon as the revolt of the Bengal army, upon which they had calculated, should leave that territory defenceless. Even these representations might have been ineffectual with the Hindu soldiers, had they not been apparently confirmed by an act of the British government itself.

#### THE GREASED CARTRIDGES AND THE UNLEAVENED CHUPATTIES

This was the affair of greased cartridges, that served originally as a pretext for the outbreak. The Enfield rifle, an improvement upon the *Mené*, had been introduced at the commencement of 1857 into the Bengal army; and as greased cartridges were necessary for its effective use, these were issued to the troops along with the weapon. A report was immediately circulated that the grease used in the preparation of these cartridges was a mixture of the fat of cows and pigs—the first of these animals being the objects of Hindu adoration, and the last of Mohammedan abhorrence.

The first occasion on which the rumour was heard was the following: at Dumdum, where there was a school of practice for the new Enfield rifle, a sepoy soldier, a Brahman, was asked by a man of low caste to be permitted to drink out of his *lotah*, or vessel of water, to whom he replied, "I have scoured my *lotah*, and you will pollute it by your touch." "You think much of your caste," said the other angrily, "but wait a little, and the European will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat, and then where will your caste be?"

The sepoy reported these words to his comrades, and they quickly reached Barrackpur, at which several native regiments were stationed. It was in vain they were assured by the government that no such grease had been used in the preparation of the paper in question, and that if they had scruples in the matter, they were at liberty to procure their own ingredients at the bazaar. The report still continued to strengthen at Barrackpur among the four native regiments stationed there; and on the 6th of February a sepoy revealed to an officer the plot of his companions, who were alarmed with the fear of being compelled to abandon their caste and become Christians. From his revelation it appeared that these regiments intended to rise against their officers, and after plundering or burning down their bungalows, to march to Calcutta, and there attempt to seize Fort William, or failing in this, to take possession of the treasury.

This state of things was too alarming to be neglected, and measures were taken by the British commanders and their officers to still the apprehensions of the native soldiery. They were publicly addressed on parade with the

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assurance that there was no design to make them Christians; that they could not become such without being able to read, and to understand the rules that were written in the Christian's book; and that nothing but their own free choice and request after they had so learned, could admit them to the privilege of baptism. The issue of the obnoxious ammunition was stopped, and plans were suggested by which the cartridge might be used by tearing off the end, instead of putting it to the mouth and biting it. Native officers were also appointed to learn the process of cartridge-making in which the forbidden articles were to be excluded.

But the alarm had grown too strong to be put down by such assurances or concessions: a rebellion was inevitable even where the original cause had dwindled into a mere pretext or watchword. The first open manifestation was at Berhampur, on the morning of the 26th of February, 1857, when the 19th regiment of native infantry were ordered out on parade. Percussion caps were about to be issued to them, but these the soldiers refused to receive, declaring that it was still doubtful how the cartridges were made; and on the evening of the same day they assembled on parade by their own authority, broke open the *bells* (small oval buildings) in which their arms were piled, and having taken possession of the weapons and ammunition, carried them off to their lines. Their commander, Colonel Mitchell, ordered them to pile arms and disperse, and on their refusal called up the cavalry and artillery; but they still refused to obey until these troops were withdrawn, which was done accordingly. For this concession, the colonel was tried by a court of inquiry, and censured. It was resolved also to disband this dangerous regiment, and accordingly it was marched off to Barrackpur, where the 52nd and 84th Queen's regiments were stationed to disarm them.

But on the 29th of March, two days previous to the disbanding, while the 19th was at Barrackpur, the rebellion commenced in bloodshed. A sepoy of the 34th regiment of native infantry, having intoxicated himself with *bang*, discharged his musket at Lieutenant Baugh, and shot that officer's horse; the lieutenant fired a pistol at his assailant, but missed him, and was wounded in return by the madman, as was also the sergeant-major of the corps, who went to the lieutenant's assistance. The mutineer, whose name was Mungal Pandey,<sup>1</sup> was seized, tried, and sentenced to be hanged; and on the scaffold he expressed his regret for the crime, and tried, but in vain, to persuade his fellow soldiers to return to their duty. As for the 19th regiment, it was drawn up on parade in the square of Barrackpur, surrounded by the two British and several native regiments — and for a moment it was doubted whether the latter might not side with the 19th, and offer battle to the 52nd and 84th. But no such outbreak occurred: the rebels surrendered their arms, and were marched off under an escort of cavalry to Chinsurah, bewailing their infatuation, and petitioning when too late to be readmitted to the service.

It was not, however, by such checks that the spirit of revolt was to be suppressed, or even retarded; it was diffused like a pestilence far and near by mysterious agencies which the authorities could neither detect nor surmise. One of these was the transmission of a kind of little unleavened cakes, called *chapatties*, a symbol which the Europeans did not understand, but which seems to have been as significant to the natives as the fiery cross was to the Highlanders of Scotland, and used for a similar purpose. A *chowkodar*, or village policeman of Cawnpore, gave two of these cakes, the common food of the poor, to another *chowkodar* in Fathigarh (Futtehghur), telling him to

<sup>1</sup> Hence the name of *Pandies*, which was afterwards given to the rebel sepoys by the British soldiers in India.

make ten more, and give them to five of his brethren of the nearest station, with a similar charge to each; and thus at every hour these runners were multiplying among a class of men who were spread over India, and whose mischievous errand was least liable to be suspected.

The circulation of *chupatties* commenced in Oudh and elsewhere in the beginning of 1857, and European conjecture was utterly at a loss to penetrate this Indian mystery, which subsequent events made only too intelligible. Reports also were industriously spread in the bazaars that the missionaries had petitioned the queen of Great Britain to enforce the use of the greased cartridges, in order to compel the Hindus to become Christians. They even pretended to give the very words of this petition, which, they alleged, were the following: "Tipu made thousands of Hindus become of his religion, while your majesty has not made one Christian. Under your orders are sepoy of all castes. We therefore pray you to adopt this plan — namely, to cause to be mixed up together bullocks' fat and pigs' fat, and to have it put upon the cartridges which your sepoy put into their mouths, and after six months to have it made known to the sepoy how they have thereby lost their caste, and by this means a certain road will be opened for making many Christians." They added that the queen was highly satisfied with this petition, and had given her assent to it.

Notwithstanding the absurdity of this report, it was so well suited to the credulity and ignorance of the people, and gained such belief, that the governor-general, Lord Canning, in council, was obliged on the 16th of May to issue a proclamation on the subject, disclaiming any attempt to interfere with the castes or religion of the people, and warning them against the arts of those who attempted to withdraw them from their allegiance.

#### THE OUTBREAK AT MEERUT

But this proclamation was too late, and even had it been earlier it would have been equally useless. The rebellion had already broken out in full violence, and in those districts where it could be least resisted. Of the European regiments in the presidency of Bengal, the greater part were dispersed over the whole extent of Great Britain's Indian Empire, and isolated among a hostile people. One important military station was Meerut (Mirath), thirty-five miles to the northeast of the city of Delhi, between the Ganges and the Jumna. At this place were two regiments of native infantry and one of light cavalry, comprising in all 2,700 men, and a European force numbering 1,717 men, the whole being under the command of Major-General Hewitt. On the 6th of May, when cartridges, which, to avoid offence, had been made for the purpose, were offered to the native cavalry, eighty-five troopers refused to receive them. They were tried by court-martial for their disobedience; eighty were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for ten years, and five for six years; and on the 9th, after their sentences were read to them on parade, they were put in irons and conducted to jail.

But their companions sympathised in their rebellion. On the following morning, which was Sunday, the native regiments rose in mutiny, fired upon their officers, and after making a rush upon the prison, from which they rescued not only their fellows but upwards of one thousand convicts who were confined there, they set the building on fire. The wildest license now prevailed in Meerut. Several British officers with their wives and children, were massacred with circumstances of aggravated atrocity. While bungalows were blazing in every direction, and the streets filled with the hurrying

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rush of the murderers, and shrieks of the dying, the two British regiments marched against the native lines, assailed them with volleys of grape and musketry, drove the mutineers from the encampment, and pursued them in their retreat, cutting down a considerable number on the way. But as the chase was conducted by only a party of carabineers and riflemen, and as the night was very dark, the main body of the mutineers, consisting of the 3rd light cavalry and 20th infantry, were enabled to make good their retreat to Delhi.

## SCENES IN DELHI

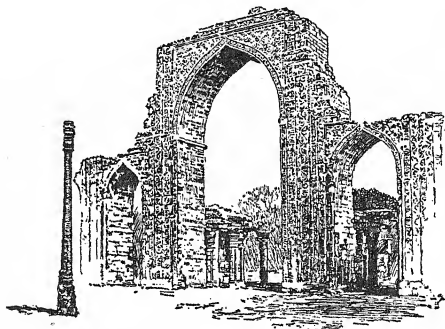
Such was the day of horror which prevailed over Meerut and its neighbourhood on this memorable 10th of May; the scene was now to be shifted to Delhi, where three regiments of native infantry and a battery of native artillery were stationed, but not a single company of British soldiers. At an early hour on the morning of the 11th a handful of horsemen, not above thirty or forty in number, came galloping in headlong speed to the city, though their approach excited no alarm. But they were an advanced party of the light cavalry, who had fled from Meerut; and they were the harbingers of the atrocities that were to follow, and the chief actors in their commission. They rushed in at the Calcutta gate unchallenged, and had no sooner entered the city than, raising the cry of "*Deen, deen*," their shout equally for a battle-charge or a massacre, they attacked and cut down every European they met in their way.

The 54th native regiment with two guns were sent to quell the mutiny. They steadily marched to the city and promptly entered by the Kashmir gate; but here the mask was dropped; for no sooner did the insurgent body of light cavalry approach than the sepoy withdrew from their officers, leaving the latter exposed to the fierce horsemen, who came upon them at full gallop, and shot them down with their pistols.

Delhi was now in possession of the rebels — nothing remained to the British but the powder magazine, with two officers and three or four sub-alterns in charge of it. But, such as it was, it was the only refuge left to the British dominion in Delhi; and while the work of murder was going on within the city, where the shameful atrocities of Meerut were exceeded, not only upon strong men, but helpless women and unoffending children, the rebels assailed the magazine with their whole united force. The place was gallantly held by the handful within, and the first attacks repelled by volleys of grape; but thousands still pressed forward, and scaling ladders were applied, so that the walls were on the point of being won. But, calculating upon this chance, Lieutenant Willoughby, who was in charge of the magazine, had laid a train to that department which contained the gunpowder; it was fired at his signal, and instantly the building, with hundreds of sepoy, was sent flying into the air.

During the smoke and confusion the few defenders managed to escape, with the exception of the gallant Willoughby, who, scorched, blackened, and all but killed by the explosion, succeeded in reaching Meerut, but only to die soon after. While this hasty siege had been going on, such of the British residents, both gentlemen and ladies, as had escaped the first onset of the murderers, endeavoured to find a rallying point, for either shelter or an honourable death, and the greater part repaired to the Flagstaff Tower, in front of the cantonments, where a company of the 38th native infantry and two guns were stationed. But it had to be abandoned by its inmates, who retreated,

some to Kernoul, and others to Meerut. Another attempt was made to hold a small fortified bastion called the Mainguard, within the Kashmir gate, that was soon filled not only with men, but with women and children, and reinforcements were sent for from the cantonments; but at five o'clock the treacherous guards, on whom they had depended, suddenly opened fire upon them, and commenced a massacre from which only a few escaped. Even the palace, to which many of the Europeans fled, was no protection. There sat the old titular sovereign, weighed down but not softened by the load of more



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than fourscore years; there, too, were his sons, to give active spirit to his relentless apathy, and encourage the murders that were perpetrated in his name; and all who fled to its courts in the vain hope of safety, or were allured thither by promises of protection, were there murdered, not only, as was alleged, by the express commands of the princes, but even in their very presence. Within a day or two not a British resident was left alive in Delhi.

#### MUTINY FORESTALLED IN THE PUNJAB

While the conflagration was thus kindled in which the whole Indian Empire was so soon to be enveloped, the electric wires which extended across Hindustan from Calcutta to Lahore, with branch lines to the principal military and civil stations, were in active operation. When the tidings arrived at Lahore, Sir John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of the Punjab, was absent; but the judicial commissioner, Mr. Montgomery, at this crisis fortunately assumed the direction of affairs, and promptly repaired to Mian Mir, the military cantonment of which was six miles distant. It was well that he did so, for at this station, where there were three native regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, with the 81st British regiment and some artillery, the sepoys had matured a plot to seize the fort at Lahore, break open the jail, and massacre all the Europeans. Their design was discovered, and measures were concerted between Mr. Montgomery and Brigadier Corbett, the commander at Mian Mir, to defeat it.

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On that evening a ball was to be given by the residents to the officers of the 81st, and to lull suspicion the ball was allowed to go on. But on the next morning the troops were drawn up on parade, ostensibly to hear a general order read; the five companies of the 81st, with their artillery, were stationed in the rear of the native regiments; and the latter, after a few sentences addressed to them, were commanded to pile arms. The sepoys for a moment hesitated: but they found that twelve guns were pointed at them loaded to the muzzle with grape-shot; that at a single word of command, the lighted matches would be applied; and slowly and moodily they yielded to the necessity, and piled their arms, which were instantly removed in carts by the European soldiers.

The rapid action of the telegraphic wires was equally effectual in other quarters. At Ferozpur, south of the Sutlej, was a very large magazine of military stores; but the 45th native regiment of infantry, which was stationed at this place, had put themselves in communication with the rebels of Mian Mir, and agreed to act with them in the revolt. But on the same day (the 13th), when Brigadier Jones was advertised of the proceedings at Delhi, he quietly moved the native troops out of their entrenchments, and filled their place with a detachment of the 61st British infantry, and twelve pieces of cannon. The Sepoys then endeavoured to effect their purpose by open violence, but their attempt was repelled. On the same eventful day, also, when the report of the disarming of the rebels at Lahore was transmitted to Peshawar, the principal officers of that quarter decided upon the formation of a moveable column, whose headquarters were to be at Jhelum, and which was to "move on every point of the Punjab where open mutiny required to be put down by force." By these decisive proceedings the most important limb of the conspiracy was lopped off, and the best of its strength paralysed. It was from the Punjab that the greatest danger was apprehended, both from the military spirit of the Sikhs and the recency of their subjugation, which still rankled in their memories. Other less important attempts at mutiny, which were on the eve of breaking out in other parts of the country, were either suppressed or abandoned. The next movement on the part of the British government was to be the recovery of Delhi, for which the securing of the Punjab was a necessary step; and, accordingly, Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Montgomery, and the other officers in that quarter bestirred themselves in raising fresh troops, Multanese, Sikhs, and men of the hill tribes, who had not been infected by the mutiny, and were ready to serve against any power on the inducement of good pay and plunder. At the same time Lord Canning, the governor-general of India [who had been but a short time in the country], recalled the troops stationed in Persia, and sent for reinforcements from Bombay and Madras, from Burma and Ceylon, from the Eastern Settlements and the Mauritius, and above all from England, to put down a rebellion in which so many kingdoms were united, and to maintain which so many armies were in the field.<sup>c</sup>

Of the governor-general, Lord Roberts<sup>e</sup> says: "There are few men whose conduct of affairs has been so severely criticised as Lord Canning's, but there are still fewer who, as governors or viceroys, have had to deal with such an overwhelming crisis as the Mutiny.

Lord Roberts<sup>e</sup> excuses Lord Canning because his advisers were not well acquainted with popular feeling in India. He points out that Lord Canning's later success was due to his own ability and sound judgment. In similar vein, Malleson<sup>f</sup> declares that when, on the 15th and 16th of May, Lord Canning received word of the massacre of the Europeans and the rallying

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round the resuscitated flag of the Mughal, "he stood forward as the bold, resolute, strong Englishman he really was." Now indeed, Lord Canning acted with judgment and celerity. He directed Lord Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, to hasten the return of the troops from Persia; he gave the chief commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, full power to act on his own judgment; he countermanded the return of the 84th to Rangoon, and ordered Lord Harris of Madras to send two regiments; and urged Lord Elgin and General Ashburnham to intercept a British expedition then on its way to China, and to despatch the troops with all speed to India instead.<sup>a</sup>

#### BRITISH ADVANCE ON DELHI

The commander-in-chief in India during these proceedings of the terrible outburst was General the Honourable George Anson. But he died at Karmal, from an attack of cholera, on the 27th of May. He was succeeded in the command by Major-General Reed, who was worn out with age and sickness, so that this new commander-in-chief was obliged to devolve his charge upon Major-General Sir Henry Barnard, on the 8th of June, when he was within a single march of Delhi. Such were the effects of succession by the rule of seniority at a season when the prime of strength, activity, and promptitude was loudly and suddenly called for. Having cleared the way [by various skirmishes] the British army advanced to the attack upon Delhi; and for this purpose General Barnard divided his force into two columns, one of which, under the command of General Wilson, advanced upon the city along the main trunk road, while the other, headed by himself, proceeded through the cantonments which the rebels had burned and destroyed, and upon a ridge beyond which he found them posted in a strong position, well defended with artillery. In this, as on other occasions throughout the war, the rebels were turning the lessons they had learned against their instructors; but it was merely as humble imitators, and as schoolboys in rebellion against their teachers; the genius of the master-spirit to strike out new paths, or even to follow up the old to their highest result, was equally wanting among them and hence the disadvantage under which they constantly laboured, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers and vast resources. Their position was taken in flank and rear, and carried by a rapid flank movement to the left on the part of General Barnard, and the rebels, abandoning their guns, were fain to take to flight, while General Wilson's column, pressing forward over high walls and through gardens, drove the fugitives back into the city. The British troops, having then re-united, established themselves before Delhi in a camp about two miles to the north of the city. Here upon ground high and rocky, and admirably suited for the siege, they were obliged to stand on the defensive for months, owing to the smallness of their numbers and the immense force of the rebel sepoys within the city. The entire amount of the European army who thus established themselves upon blockade before Delhi did not exceed three thousand bayonets, with a detachment of Gorkhas, who during these encounters aided the British and served them with admirable courage and fidelity.

#### THE REVOLT IN OTHER PLACES

During the course of these events that led to the siege of Delhi, the instances of revolt in the several portions of the Indian Empire continued to multiply in still closer succession; but to these, important though they were, we can only devote a brief notice. At Fathigarh it was thought advisable, when the

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rebellion had approached the neighbourhood, to send off the ladies and the children for safety to Cawnpore; and they were embarked in boats upon the Ganges, when, on hearing false reports of the safety that was still to be enjoyed at Pathigarh, a considerable part of them were tempted to return. Here, however, the mutiny broke out on the 18th of June; and the fort in which the Europeans had taken refuge was attacked, and after a desperate but fruitless resistance its inmates, to the number of one hundred, including women and children, embarked on the Ganges on the 4th of July, soon after midnight, but were fired upon from the banks by the sepoys; and in consequence of the stranding of one of the two boats, nearly all on board were killed or drowned, while those who escaped landed at Bithur, only to be murdered by Nana Sahib, who had his residence there.

At Allahabad, where the mutiny broke out in the beginning of June, the European officers, to the number of fourteen, were butchered on the parade ground by their own sepoy soldiers, the military station was destroyed by fire, and for several days the city was wholly given up to plunder and havoc, in which one hundred Europeans were killed. This state of outrage continued until troops were sent up from Benares, by whom the place was recovered, and a severe chastisement inflicted on the rebels.

A similar outbreak took place at Jhansi in Bundelkhand on the 4th of June, where such of the British residents as could not make their escape from the town retired into the fort, determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. Although they were only fifty-five, including women and children, they maintained the defence four days under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry, and only surrendered on the promise that all their lives should be spared. But no sooner had the rebels got possession of the fort than they violated their promises, and put all their prisoners to the sword. On the 3rd of June the revolt broke out at Azimgarh, nearly opposite to Benares, but accompanied with such circumstances of forbearance as to make this act, as compared with the other outbreaks, almost seem a virtue; for although the mutineers plundered an escort conveying treasure to Benares, they formed a square with the officers within to protect their lives, and brought carriages for the safe conveyance of the women and children, whom they actually escorted ten miles on the road to Ghazipur! At Benares, a small company of two hundred British soldiers maintained themselves against nearly eight times that number of Sikhs and sepoys who suddenly rose upon them, and held their position in the mint until British reinforcements were sent to their aid, and Benares, the Athens of Brahmanical learning, recovered from the revolters. It is gratifying to add that while this conflict at Benares was at the hottest, seventy Sikh soldiers who had been placed on guard of the government treasury, amounting to six lacs of rupees, defended their trust to the last, and restored it entire to the British troops when the insurrection was quelled.

This rebellion, which had nerved the most timid to deeds of daring and endurance, had also its natural effect in hardening the feelings to the stern modes of suppression and retribution which had to be adopted, and caused deeds to be regarded with toleration which, at other seasons, could not even have been heard of without a shudder. Writing on the 29th of June, a British resident mentions the permanent establishment of the gibbet at Benares, and adds: "Scarcely a day passes without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold; but such is the state of things here that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the rigour with which the miscreants are dealt with."

## THE DEFENCE OF LUCKNOW

When the rebellion commenced it was of the utmost importance to assure the safety of Lucknow, the capital of the lately annexed and still discontented kingdom of Oudh, containing about 700,000 inhabitants. Accordingly, after the 3rd of May, Sir Henry Lawrence, who was acting as chief commissioner there in the absence of Sir James Outram, made active preparations for the defence of the residency; and among other measures, he repaired the Mochi Bhawan, an outlying citadel opposite the stone bridge across the Gumti River, and considered as the key to Lucknow.<sup>a</sup>

Lord Roberts speaks with much enthusiasm of the service rendered by Lawrence, who, he declares, was "apparently the only European in India who, from the very first, formed an accurate estimate of the extent of the danger which threatened our rule in the early part of 1857." Lord Roberts declares that Lawrence, owing to his remarkable knowledge of native character, was enabled to judge rightly, as few other men could do, of the degree of loyalty of the native army. He says that Lawrence had actually predicted the Mutiny fourteen years before it came, and that he outlined the course it would take, and declared that the defection would be general; and that moreover, Lawrence's great influence with the natives enabled him to delay the actual outbreak at Lucknow until the defence of the residency was assured. Lord Roberts believes that but for the aid of the sepoys who gave personal allegiance to Sir Henry Lawrence, it would have been impossible successfully to maintain the defence.<sup>a</sup>

The native force at Lucknow consisted of more than four thousand men, having about sixty European officers: the British troops did not number in all one thousand. Here the mutiny, after seven or eight weeks of indignant threats and murmurings, broke out on the evening of the 30th of May, and the commencement was with the usual deeds of violence; but when part of the 32nd regiment and the artillery were brought up, the rebels, after some loss, forsook the cantonments, and retreated towards Delhi. It was merely the first murmur of the storm that was to gather round Lucknow; and, aware of this, Sir Henry Lawrence redoubled his preparations for the strengthening of the defences, and multiplying the means of resistance. The most active of the rebellious emissaries were hanged; two members of the royal family of Delhi and a brother of the ex-king of Oudh were secured and imprisoned in that fortress; and thousands of coolies were employed with spade and pickaxe in repairing batteries, stockades, and trenches.

Everything available for war was brought within the residency, and among these were two hundred guns without carriages, which were discovered in a garden, and which now bristled upon the walls and ramparts of the British defences. While thus employed, it was learned that a body of the rebels were advancing, and Sir Henry Lawrence, with three hundred troops and a few guns, marched out on the 30th of June to oppose them, at the village of Chinhath, about eight miles from Lucknow. But the mutineers were so numerous that Sir Henry was defeated with serious loss, and in consequence of this disaster it was found necessary to withdraw the British troops from the military cantonments to the residency. On the 1st of July orders were given to evacuate the place. This was done accordingly, and 240 barrels of gunpowder and six million rounds of cartridges were lost, whether for attack or defence. The siege of the residency now commenced in earnest, and the defence made by the British is one of the most heroic episodes in the history of this disastrous rebellion. Hemmed in and all but overpowered, they con-

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tinued their resistance with unabated constancy, notwithstanding their hopeless condition, and the disasters that multiplied upon them from day to day. On the 2nd of July their brave commander, Sir Henry Lawrence, was mortally wounded by the explosion of a shell that alighted in the chamber where he was reclining on his bed, worn out with anxiety and sickness. He died on the 4th, after appointing Major Banks his successor, and Banks was killed by a musket-shot on the 21st. In this critical situation the siege of Lucknow was continued, while the heroic defenders procrastinated their resistance in the hope of relief.

## NANA SAHIB AND THE MASSACRE OF CAWNPORE

In so complex an event as the Indian rebellion, it is difficult, especially within a narrow compass, to follow out the details of the different outbreaks, or even to comprise their names; and hitherto we have been obliged to present only the chief of them, as specimens of the whole. By the end of June the native troops had mutinied at twenty-two stations. Of these stations, one of the most important in the history of this rebellion was Cawnpore. About ten miles higher up the river is Bithur, the residence of Nana Sahib, a miscreant whose name has constituted the foulest blot of this rebellion. This man, a compound of cruelty, craft, and cowardice, was originally named Dandhu Panth, and was the son of a Brahman from the Deccan; but having been adopted in the eastern fashion as a son by Baji Rao, the displaced peshwa of Poona, Nana Sahib, on the death of the latter in 1852, claimed as his lawful inheritance the continuation of the pension of eight lacs of rupees which had been allowed by the British government to the peshwa in consequence of his surrender. But this Hindu form of succession, by which childless princes could have continued successors to their rights at pleasure, had been [as we have seen] repudiated by the company, and the native claims upon it, which had died out with the extinction of these sovereign pensionaries who had no son of their own blood, were disallowed. Thus Nana Sahib, although already possessed of more than £4,000,000 by the death of Baji Rao, was disappointed in his avaricious hopes, and he nursed the spirit of revenge in his fortified palace at Bithur, where he was allowed to retain a bodyguard of two hundred soldiers. These circumstances, with his advantages of an English education, may account for the readiness with which he threw himself into the rebellion, the importance which he acquired in it as a leader, and the fiendish malignity with which he pursued it to the close.

The condition of Cawnpore at the commencement of the general outbreak was such as to cause serious alarm. The native troops in the cantonments consisted of three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, mustering in all 3,860 men, having 115 European officers, while the other British troops scarcely exceeded 170. Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler was in command of the station; and as the cantonments were on a plain, and without any defences, he proceeded to throw up a breastwork of earth round the hospital and several smaller buildings, which served as a shelter for the Europeans when the storm arrived. And its coming was not long delayed. The native regiments rebelled, and went off in a body to Nana Sahib, who now found himself in a condition to take the field. He therefore immediately marched upon Cawnpore, plundered the treasury, and took possession of the magazine, that unfortunately had not been destroyed; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, he commenced on the 7th of June the siege of the slight earthen fortress that had been hastily thrown up. It was a defence better suited to resist a temporary

riot than to withstand an army or hold out against a siege, and the astonishment was that it could have resisted for a single day, more especially when of the nine hundred persons contained within it 590 were women, children, and non-combatants. But this brave garrison continued their resistance till the 24th, although the cannonade of the besiegers was heavy and their attacks frequent, and although the heat, fatigue, and privations endured in the defence were such as might have quelled the bravest.<sup>c</sup>

A vivid account of the suffering of the besieged was afterwards written by Captain Mowbray Thomson, one of the two survivors of that garrison.<sup>a</sup>

#### AN EYE-WITNESS' ACCOUNT OF THE CAWNPORE SIEGE

While in happy England the Sabbath bells were ringing, in the day of peace and rest, we were in suspense peering over our mud-wall at the destructive flames that were consuming all our possessions, and expecting a more dreaded fire that was to be aimed at the persons of hundreds of women and children about us. Very few of our number had secured a single change of raiment; some, like myself, were only partially dressed, and even in the beginning of our defence we were like a band of seafarers who had taken to a raft to escape their burning ship.

All through this first weary day the shrieks of the women and children were terrific; and often as the balls struck the walls of the barracks their wailings were heart-rendering; but after the initiation of that first day they had learned silence, and never uttered a sound, except when groaning from the horrible mutilations they had endured. When night sheltered them, our cowardly assailants closed in upon the intrenchments, and harassed us with incessant volleys of musketry. Waiting the assault that was supposed to be impending, not a man closed his eyes in sleep, and throughout the whole siege snatches of troubled slumber, under the cover of the wall, were all the relief the combatants could obtain. The ping-ping of the rifle bullets would break short dreams of home or approaching relief, pleasant visions made horrible by waking to the state of things around; and if it were so with men of mature years, sustained by the fulness of physical strength, how much more terrific were the nights passed within those barracks by our women and children!

As often as the shout of our sentinels was heard, each half-hour sounding the "All's well," the spot from which the voice proceeded became the centre for hundreds of bullets. At different degrees of distance, from fifty to four hundred yards and more, they hovered about during the hours of darkness, always measuring the range by day light, and then pouring in from under the cover of adjacent buildings, or ruins of buildings, the fire of their artillery, or rather of our artillery turned against us. The execution committed by the twenty-four-pounders they had was terrific, though they were not always a match for the devices we adopted to divert their aim. When we wanted to create a diversion, we used to pile up some of the muskets behind the mud-wall, and mount them with hats and shakos, and then allow the sepoy to expend their powder on these dummies, while we went elsewhere.

The sufferings of the women and children from thirst were intense, and the men could scarcely endure the cries for drink which were almost perpetual from the poor little babes; terribly unconscious they were, most of them, of the great, great cost at which only it could be procured. I have seen the children of my brother officers sucking the pieces of old waterbags, putting

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scraps of canvas and leather strips into the mouth to try and get a single drop of moisture upon their parched lips. Not even a pint of water was to be had for washing from the commencement to the close of the siege; and those only who have lived in India can imagine the calamity of such a privation to delicate women who had been accustomed to the most frequent and copious ablutions as a necessary of existence. Had the relieving force which we all thought to have been on its way from Calcutta ever seen our beleaguered party, strange indeed would the appearance presented by any of us after the first week or ten days have seemed to them. Tattered in clothing, begrimed with dirt, emaciated in countenance were all, without exception; faces that had been beautiful were now chiselled with deep furrows; haggard despair seated itself where there had been a month before only smiles. Some were sinking into the settled vacancy of look which marked insanity — the old, babbling with confirmed imbecility, and the young raving in not a few cases with wild mania; while only the strongest maintained the calmness demanded by the occasion. Looking back upon the horrible straits to which the women were driven, the maintenance of modesty and delicate feeling by them to the last is one of the greatest marvels of the heart-rending memories of those twenty-one days.<sup>2</sup>

At last, when courage had done its utmost and endurance been wasted out, the garrison was induced to surrender, on the promise that they should be allowed to retire in safety to Allahabad. They were escorted by the rebels to the river side, but there the greater part of the boats prepared ostensibly for their embarkation were drawn up too high in the mud to be launched; and during the delay occasioned by this obstacle three guns were fired from the Nana's camp, as the signal for the massacre to begin. Volleys of musketry were immediately opened upon the boats already launched, when they had reached the middle of the river, and out of the whole flotilla of about forty boats which were embarked on the 27th of June, only one escaped.<sup>3</sup> This was the one under the command of Major Vibart. Captain Mowbray Thomson goes on to describe the last scene witnessed by him at Cawnpore.<sup>4</sup>

As soon as Major Vibart had stepped into his boat, "Off" was the word; but at a signal from the shore the native boatmen, who numbered eight and a coxswain to each boat, all jumped over and waded to the shore. We fired into them immediately, but the majority of them escaped. Before they quitted us, these men had contrived to secrete burning charcoal in the thatch of most of the boats. Simultaneously with the departure of the boatmen, the identical troopers who had escorted Major Vibart to the ghaut opened upon us with their carbines. As well as the confusion by the burning of the boats would allow, we returned the fire of these horsemen, who were about fifteen or sixteen in number, but they retired immediately after the volley they had given us.

Those of us who were not disabled by wounds now jumped out of the boats and endeavoured to push them afloat, but, alas! most of them were utterly immovable. Now from their ambush, in which they were concealed all along the banks, it seemed that thousands of men fired upon us; besides four nine-pounders, carefully masked and pointed to the boats, every bush was filled with sepoys. The scene which followed this manifestation of the infernal treachery of our assassins is one that beggars all description. Some of the boats presented a broadside to the guns, others were raked from stem to stern by the shot. Volumes of smoke from the thatch somewhat veiled the full extent of the horrors of that morning. All who could move were speedily expelled from the boats by the heat. Alas! the wounded were burned

to death; one mitigation only there was to their horrible fate — the flames were terrifically fierce, and their intense sufferings were not protracted. Multitudes of women and children crouched behind the boats, or waded out into deeper water, and stood up to their chins in the river to lessen the probability of being shot. Meanwhile Major Vibart's boat, being of lighter draught than some, had got off and was drifting down the stream, her thatched roof unburned. I threw into the Ganges my father's Ghuznee medal, and my mother's portrait, all the property I had left, determined that they should have only my life for a prey; and with one final shudder at the devilry enacting upon that bank, which it was impossible to mitigate by remaining any longer in its reach, I struck out, swimming for the retreating boat.<sup>2</sup>

Major Vibart's boat contrived to get only ten miles down the river, when it was overtaken, and all within it were killed or taken prisoners except four men, who made their escape by swimming. Of those who survived the massacre at the embarkation, and who were carried back to Cawnpore, the men were murdered, while the women and children were reserved for a more lingering death. All this was accomplished by the orders and under the direction of Nana Sahib; and when the foul work was accomplished, he issued proclamations in which he gloried in the deed, and justified his proceedings, by the charges he attempted to fasten upon the British government and its functionaries.<sup>3</sup>

After the men who had not escaped in the two boats had all been shot at the ghaut, the women and children were dragged out of the water into the presence of the Nana, who ordered them to be confined in one of the buildings opposite the assembly rooms; the Nana himself taking up his residence in the hotel which was close at hand. When Major Vibart's boat was brought back from Soorajpore, that party also was taken into the Nana's presence, and he ordered the men and women to be separated; the former to be shot, and the remainder to join the captives in the dwelling or dungeon beside the hotel. Mrs. Boyes, the wife of Doctor Boyes, of the 2nd cavalry, refused to be separated from her husband; other ladies of the party resisted, but were forcibly torn away, a work of not much difficulty when their wounded, famished state is considered. All efforts, however, of the sepoy to sever Mrs. Boyes from her husband were unavailing; they were therefore all drawn up in a line before the assembly rooms. Captain Seppings asked to be allowed to read prayers; this poor indulgence was given, then they shook hands with one another, and the sepoys fired upon them. Those that were not killed with the volley they despatched with their tulwars. The spy who communicated these facts could not tell what became of the corpses, but there is little doubt they were thrown in the river, that being the native mode of disposing of them.

The wretched company of women and children now consisted of 210, viz.: 163 survivors from the Cawnpore garrison, and 47 refugees from Fathigarh. That Bithur butcher had murdered all the males except three officers, whose lives he spared for some purpose, but for what it is impossible to say. The captives were fed with only one meal a day of dhal and chupatties, and these of the meanest sort; they had to eat out of earthen pans, and the food was served by menials of the lowest caste (*mehter*), which in itself was the greatest indignity that easterns could cast upon them. They had no furniture, no beds, not even straw to lie down upon, but only coarse bamboo matting of the roughest make. The house in which they were incarcerated had formerly been occupied as the dwelling of a native clerk; it comprised two principal rooms, each about twenty feet long and ten broad, and besides there was a

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number of dark closets rather than rooms, which had been originally intended for the use of native servants; in addition to these, a courtyard about fifteen yards square presented the only accommodation for these two hundred most wretched victims of a brutality, in comparison with which hereafter the Black Hole of Calcutta and its sharp but short agonies must sink into insignificance.

Closely guarded by armed sepoys, many of them suffering from wounds, all of them emaciated from lack of food, and deprived of all means of cleanliness, the deep dark horrors of the prisoners in that dungeon must remain to their full extent unknown, and even unimagined. The spies, all of them, however, persisted in the statement that no indignities were committed upon their virtue; and as far as the most penetrating investigation into their most horrible fate has proceeded, there is reason to hope that one, and only one exception, to the bitterest of anguish was allotted to them — immunity from the brutal violence of their captors' worst passions. Fidelity requires that I should allege what appears to me the only reason of their being thus spared. When the siege had terminated, such was the loathsome condition into which, from long destitution and exposure, the fairest and youngest of our women had sunk, that not a sepoy would have polluted himself with their touch.

The advance of General Havelock, and his attempt to liberate them, brought the crisis of their fate. The Nana was persuaded that the general was marching upon Cawnpore only in the hope of rescuing the women and children, and that if they were killed the British forces would retire, and leave India.<sup>2</sup>

#### JUSTIN MCCARTHY'S ACCOUNT OF THE CAWNPORE MASSACRE

It was intimated to the prisoners that they were to die. Among them were three or four men. These were called out and shot. Then some sepoys were sent to the house where the women still were, and ordered to fire volleys through the windows. This they did, but apparently without doing much harm. Some persons are of opinion, from such evidence as can be got, that the men purposely fired high above the level of the floor, to avoid killing any of the women and children. In the evening five men, two Hindu peasants, two Mohammedan butchers, and one Mohammedan wearing the red uniform of the Nana's bodyguard, were sent up to the house, and entered it. Incessant shrieks were heard to come from that fearful house. The Mohammedan soldier came out to the door, holding in his hand a sword-hilt from which the blade had been broken off, and he exchanged this now useless instrument for a weapon in proper condition. Not once but twice this performance took place. Evidently the task imposed on these men was hard work for the sword blades.

After a while the five men came out of the now quiet house and locked the doors behind them. During that time they had killed nearly all the English women and children. They had slaughtered them like beasts in the shambles. In the morning it appeared indeed that the work, however zealously undertaken, had not been quite thorough. The strongest arms and sharpest sabres sometimes fail to accomplish a long piece of work to perfect satisfaction. In the morning it would seem that some of the women, and certainly some of the children, were still alive; that is to say, were not dead. For the five men came then with several attendants to clear out the house of the captives. Their task was to tumble all the bodies into a dry well beyond some trees that grew near. A large crowd of idlers assembled to watch this operation. Then it was seen by some of the spectators that certain of the women and children

were not yet quite dead. Of the children some were alive, and even tried to get away. But the same well awaited them all.

Some witnesses were of opinion that the Nana's officials took the trouble to kill the still living before they tossed them down into the well; others do not think they stopped for any such work of humanity, but flung them down just as they came to hand, the quick and the dead together. At all events, they were all deposited in the well. Any of the bodies that had clothes worth taking were carefully stripped before being consigned to this open grave.

When Cawnpore was afterwards taken by the English, those who had to look down into that well saw a sight the like of which no man in modern days had ever seen elsewhere. No attempt shall be made to describe it here. When the house of the massacre itself was entered, its floors and its walls told with terrible plainness of the scene they had witnessed. The plaster of the walls was scored and seamed with sword-slashes low down and in the corners, as if the poor women had crouched down in their mortal fright with some wild hope of escaping the blows. The floor was strewn with scraps of dresses, women's faded, ragged finery, frilling, underclothing, broken combs, shoes, and tresses of hair. There was some small and neatly severed curls of hair, too, which had fallen on the ground, but evidently had never been cut off by the rude weapon of a professional butcher. These doubtless were keepsakes that had been treasured to the last, parted with only when life and all were going.

There was no inscription whatever on the walls when the house was first entered. Afterwards a story was told of words found written there by some Englishwomen telling of hideous wrong done to them, and bequeathing to their countrymen the task of revenge. This story created a terrible sensation in England, as was but natural, and aroused a furious thirst for vengeance. It was not true. Some such inscription did appear on the walls afterwards, but it is painful to have to say that it was a vulgar, and what would have been called in later times a "sensational" forgery. These English women died without leaving behind them any record of a desire on their part for vengeance. We may be sure they had other thoughts and other hopes as they died. One or two scraps of paper were found which recorded deaths and such like interruptions of the monotony of imprisonment; but nothing more. The well of horrors has been filled up, and a memorial chapel surrounded by a garden built upon the spot. It was right to banish all trace of that hideous crime, and to replace the house and the well, as Mr. Trevelyan says, by "a fair garden and a graceful shrine."

Something, however, has to be told of the Nana and his fortunes. He made one last stand against the victorious English in front of Cawnpore, and was completely defeated. He galloped into the city on a bleeding and exhausted horse; he fled thence to Bithur, his residence. He had just time left, it is said, to order the murder of a separate captive, a woman who had previously been overlooked or purposely left behind. Then he took flight in the direction of the Nepalese marches; and he soon disappears from history. Nothing of his fate was ever known. Many years afterwards England and India were treated to a momentary sensation by a story of the capture of Nana Sahib. But the man who was arrested proved to be an entirely different person; and indeed from the moment of his arrest few believed him to be the long-lost murderer of the English women. In days more superstitious than our own, popular faith would have found an easy explanation of the mystery which surrounded the close of Nana Sahib's career. He had done, it would have been said, the work of a fiend; and he had disappeared as a fiend would do when his task was accomplished.

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## THE BRITISH REGAIN CAWNPORE

In the meantime Allahabad, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, was the place of rendezvous for the British troops that could be sent from Calcutta, Benares, and other quarters, and Colonel Havelock, who had arrived at Calcutta from the Persian War, was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and sent to the recovery of Cawnpore and the relief of the garrison in Lucknow. This gallant veteran, who had entered the army in 1815, and who, notwithstanding his worth, had served twenty-three years before he attained the rank of captain, was now to exhibit, in one short and final campaign, such talents as might have won and which now helped to recover Great Britain's Indian Empire to its former rule. He arrived at Allahabad on the 30th of June, and set out from this place by a forced march under a burning sun, to attack the enemy. He was joined on the way by a body of troops under Major Renaud, which raised his force to four-teen hundred British and nearly six hundred native soldiers, with eight guns. On the morning of the 11th of July he found the rebels, to the number of three thousand five hundred, strongly intrenched at Fathipur, having twelve pieces of cannon, with which they opened fire upon the British as they advanced. But their ardour was quickly damped by discharge of Enfield rifles which killed them from a distance, and with a certainty on which they had not calculated; they were speedily put to the rout, and they fled back to Cawnpore, leaving behind them their ammunition and baggage and all their guns.



SIR HENRY HAVELOCK  
(1795-1857)

This victory was won without the loss of a single European killed, but twelve were struck down during the fight by sunstroke, for they had made a forced march of nearly twenty miles before this four hours' engagement commenced. The march upon Cawnpore was resumed, but on the 15th the victors were twice encountered by the rebels, first at the village of Aong, and afterwards at the bridge over the Pandoonudee, eight miles from Cawnpore. In both engagements the revolted sepoys were completely routed, and Havelock pressed forward. The advance of General Havelock was retarded by a rebel army of five thousand men posted behind some villages in front of Cawnpore; but by a few skilful manœuvres, and the gallant daring of the 78th Highlanders, the enemy, although so greatly superior in numbers, and notwithstanding their desperate attempts to rally, were driven at every point from their positions and guns, and sent fleeing in wild confusion.

The British entered Cawnpore in triumph, but they found nothing but the slaughter-house, on the walls of which the blood of the murdered was still warm, the well in which their limbs were still quivering with the recent death-

agony. It was a sight over which the brave conquerors wept like women, until their tears were dried up by the burning desire of vengeance. Wherever a rebel was caught, unless he could prove his innocence of the deed, he was instantly hanged. As for the chief rebels, they were compelled, previously, to cleanse a certain portion of the pool of blood, that was still two inches deep, where the murders had taken place — for to touch blood was, with high-caste natives, to incur damnation, however plentifully they might cause it to shed — and when they shrank back in abhorrence, the lash of the provost-marshal drove them forward to the task. "No one," writes Havelock indignantly, "who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre, can ever listen to the word 'mercy' as applied to these fiends. The well of mutilated bodies — alas! containing upwards of two hundred women and children — I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave."<sup>c</sup>

#### BRITISH RETRIBUTION

Of the punishment wreaked upon the sepoy, Spencer Walpole<sup>1</sup> has written with severity. He cites the act of one deputy-commissioner who shot without trial 237 sepoy and threw their bodies into a well; reporting his deed with the comment, "There is a well at Cawnpore, but there is also a well at Ujnalla." John Lawrence, as quoted by his biographer, referred to this report as "that nauseous despatch."

Walpole<sup>1</sup> declares that "the pillage which followed the fall of the imperial city was more complete than that which had disgraced its capture by the barbarian, Nadir Shah." He says that the natives were tried in batches by military commission or by special commissioners, and that few escaped condemnation. A four-square gallows was erected in a conspicuous place, and, that the example might be more terrifying, five or six culprits were hanged every day. English officers are said to have sat by, looking composedly at the struggles of the victims.<sup>1</sup> Walpole states that the victims numbered more than three thousand, twenty-nine being members of the royal family, and that in the Punjab 2384 sepoy were executed. He quotes the governor-general as declaring that there was "a rabid and indiscriminate vindictiveness abroad." And indeed there is ample evidence that the British in India were in no gracious mood—which can scarcely be wondered at considering what they had seen. An idea of the attitude of mind engendered by the atrocities of the insurrection may be gained from such off-hand comment as that of an officer at Allahabad, who, writing to the *Times* under date August 26th, 1857, mentions casually, that "we are now pretty quiet at this place, though the hangman is at work daily."<sup>a</sup>

Fearful would have been the doom of the chief offender if he had but ventured to wait the arrival of the British at Bithur. But Nana Sahib, the murderer of women and children, had performed a consistent part by running away from his strongly fortified palace, and in company with his numerous cut-throats, although they mustered five thousand men, with whom he might have made a decisive stand. On the 19th Bithur was occupied by the British; the evacuated fortress was destroyed, and thirteen guns found in it were carried away.

#### THE FAILURE TO REACH LUCKNOW

The relief of Lucknow was the next task to be attempted, and leaving General Neill in command at Cawnpore, Havelock crossed the Ganges into

<sup>1</sup> The text is taken word for word from Holmes.<sup>b</sup>

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Oudh, and resumed an exhausting march at the height of the rainy season, through an overflowed country, and under the heat of a withering sun. On the 29th of July he was confronted by a rebel army near the town of Unao. Their position was truly formidable, for their right was protected by a swamp that could neither be forced nor turned, their advance was drawn up in a garden inclosure, which had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion, while the rest of their forces were posted in or behind a village, the houses of which were loop-holed. The flooded state of the country on the British right and the swamp on their left made an attack upon the enemy's front unavoidable. It was gallantly made, although at every disadvantage, and with complete success: the village was set on fire, and its defenders driven out; and by a series of skilful movements on a narrow passage between the village and the town of Unao, the enemy, who were rallied, and drawn up in line upon the plain, were driven from their batteries, deprived of their guns, and put utterly to the rout.

After a brief rest of only three hours, that was more than needful by the fatigue of such a victory, the British advanced against Buserut Gunge, a walled town on the road to Lucknow, with wet ditches, and provided with every means of a strong resistance. But in spite of these obstacles, and a heavy cannonade, the earthworks were scaled, the intrenchments broken through, and the town captured.

Here, however, General Havelock was obliged to pause in his hitherto victorious progress, for he was encumbered with his sick and wounded, and cholera had broken out in his little army. He therefore fell back upon Mangalwar, about six miles from the Ganges, to recruit his troops and wait for reinforcements, for he declared that to advance upon Lucknow in their present condition was to march to certain destruction. On the 5th of August, hearing that the enemy had again rallied at Buserut Gunge, he advanced against them and was again victorious, turning them both in front and flank, and driving them off the field with great slaughter. He then made preparations to return to Cawnpore for reinforcements, and had already sent his baggage across the Ganges, when he heard that the enemy had rallied for a third time at Buserut Gunge, to abide yet another trial upon that fated spot. With four thousand men and six guns, they now varied their mode of defence, but in vain; for Havelock, by a correspondent change in his attack, foiled all their arrangements, captured their redoubts, guns, and batteries, and drove them before him into a retreat that was soon changed into flight.

Wearied and worn out with so many successes, as well as wounds, sickness, and incessant action under a burning sun, the army now recrossed the river and returned to Cawnpore, but not to rest, for they were almost immediately dragged again into the field by a strong body of the enemy who had mustered at Bithur, and were threatening to descend upon Cawnpore. Having united his force to that of General Neill, Havelock, on the 16th of August, advanced upon the rebels, who consisted of four thousand of the mutineers, joined with a portion of Nana Sahib's own troops, and who occupied a position which General Havelock described as one of the strongest he had ever seen. But after an hour of hard fighting, the rebels were driven from their almost impregnable defences with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat to Seorajpur, and if Havelock had possessed a few cavalry, not one of the enemy would have reached that place.

Seldom, if ever, had so small an army made such marches and obtained so many victories in so short a space of time. Between the 12th of July and

the 17th of August it had fought nine battles, and been successful in them all. Reduced by sickness and the sword to seven hundred men, they now took up their quarters at Cawnpore, to wait the arrival of reinforcements under General Sir James Outram, without which it was impossible for them to march to the relief of Lucknow.

#### SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF DELHI

But leaving Lucknow for the present, we must now turn our attention to the important siege of Delhi, before which the small force under General Barnard had established itself on the 8th of June. The first purpose of the besiegers was merely to maintain their ground and hold the rebels of the city in check, until the arrival of reinforcements should enable them to become the assailants, and they successfully resisted the numerous attacks that continued to be made upon them from the city. Reinforcements, indeed, they continued to receive, but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the troops of rebels that poured into Delhi, now the great centre and stronghold of the revolt. On the 5th of July General Barnard died of cholera, and was succeeded in the command by General Reed, who on the 16th was obliged from ill health to resign office to Brigadier Wilson. By the middle of the month the besieging army had been raised to nine thousand men, of whom half were Europeans, and in every encounter they succeeded in repelling the enemy with heavy loss.

The arrival of fresh reinforcements of native soldiers, and a siege train from Meerut, on the 4th of September, encouraged the British to turn the blockade into an active siege, which was commenced on the 11th, as soon as the batteries were completed. And it was no easy undertaking; for this ancient city of the Mughals and chief capital of India was strong in its fortifications, that extended about seven miles in circumference, and included an area of about three square miles, while it was defended by a numerous army that expected little mercy, and fought with the courage of despair. After a heavy bombardment of two days from fifty-four siege guns, by which some of the best defences of Delhi were shattered and their cannon silenced, the assault was ordered on the morning of the 14th. While no quarter was to be given to the mutineers, no harm was to be inflicted upon women and children, and the soldiers were warned of the necessity of keeping closely together, instead of straggling from their columns.

In the advance of the four columns of attack it was necessary to blow open the Kashmir gate, to give an entrance to the city; and this hazardous deed was performed, at the almost certain risk of death, by a gallant handful who devoted themselves to the work. Through the gap, the first, second, and third columns rushed and formed within the ruined gate, but as yet the outer works only were won; a fierce resistance was maintained from the interior defences and from the city, which retarded the advance of the besiegers for several days, and it was not till the 20th that the whole external defences of Delhi were in possession of the British, and the gate of the strongly fortified palace blown in.

And now all resistance was at an end. The old king fled from his palace, the inhabitants from the city, and the rebel soldiers from their bastions and ramparts — all that could escape were fleeing in confused crowds, some across the bridge of boats into the Doab country, some down the right bank of the Jumna, and some to the bottom of the Ganges and the Jumna, in their blind hurry to escape the vengeance of the conquerors. Thus Delhi was won, but

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not without a loss to the besiegers of 1178 in killed and wounded on the first day of assault, and 177 in the intervening days to the 20th.

## THE KING'S SONS KILLED BY HODSON OF HODSON'S HORSE

But before the hopes of the mutineers could be effectually crushed, it was necessary to obtain possession of the phantom of rebel sovereignty, the king of Delhi, and inflict justice upon his murderous family; and attempts were next made to discover the hiding-places in which they lay concealed. Lieutenant Hodson [known to fame as Hodson of Hodson's Horse, from the troops which he raised and commanded], was commissioned for the purpose. He soon found the old man, who could not flee far, and brought him back to Delhi. Learning that three of the king's sons had concealed themselves in the tomb of the Mughal sovereign Humayun, a huge pile of buildings at some distance from Delhi, Lieutenant Hodson on the following morning repaired to the place of refuge, with a company of one hundred soldiers.<sup>c</sup> The incident which followed exposed Hodson to severe censure. An account of what occurred written by Lieutenant Macdowell, who on this occasion shared the command of the British force, is sufficiently interesting for quotation:<sup>a</sup>

"In Humayun's tomb were the princes and about three thousand Mussulman followers. In the suburb close by about three thousand more, all armed, so it was rather a ticklish bit of work. We halted half a mile from the place, and sent in to say the princes must give themselves up unconditionally or take the consequences. A long half hour elapsed, when a messenger came out to say the princes<sup>1</sup> wished to know if their lives would be promised them, if they came out. 'Unconditional surrender,' was the answer. Again we waited. It was a most anxious time. We dared not take them by force, or all would have been lost, and we doubted their coming. We heard the shouts of the fanatics (as we found out afterwards) begging the princes to lead them on against us. And we had only one hundred men, and were six miles from Delhi. At length, I suppose, imagining that sooner or later they must be taken, they resolved to give themselves up unconditionally, fancying, I suppose, as we had spared the king, we would spare them.

"Soon they appeared in a small *ruth* or Hindustani cart drawn by bullocks, five troopers on each side. Behind them thronged about two thousand or three thousand (I am not exaggerating) Mussulmans. Meanwhile Hodson galloped back, and told the sowars (ten) to hurry the princes on along the road, while we showed a front and kept back the mob. They retired on Humayun's tomb, and step by step we followed them. Inside they went up the steps, and formed up in the immense garden inside. The entrance to this was through an arch, up steps. Leaving the men outside, Hodson and myself, with four men rode up the steps into the arch, when he called out to them to lay down their arms. There was a murmur. He reiterated the command, and (God knows why, I never can understand it) they commenced doing so.

"Well, there we stayed for two hours, collecting their arms, and I assure you I thought every moment they would rush upon us. I said nothing, but smoked all the time, to show I was unconcerned; but at last, when it was all done, and all the arms collected, put in a cart, and started, Hodson turned to me and said, 'We'll go, now.' Very slowly we mounted, formed up the troop, and cautiously departed, followed by the crowd. We rode along quietly. You will say, why did we not charge them? I merely say, we were

<sup>1</sup> Called shahzadahs.

one hundred men, and they were fully six thousand. I am not exaggerating; the official reports will show you it is all true. As we got about a mile off, Hodson turned to me and said, 'Well, Mac, we've got them at last'; and we both gave a sigh of relief. Never in my life, under the heaviest fire, have I been in such imminent danger. Everybody says it is the most dashing and daring thing that has been done for years (not on my part, for I merely obeyed orders, but on Hodson's, who planned and carried it out). Well, I must finish my story. We came up to the princes, now about five miles from where we had taken them, and close to Delhi. The increasing crowd pressed close on the horses of the sowars, and assumed every moment a more hostile appearance. 'What shall we do with them?' said Hodson to me. 'I think we had better shoot them here; we shall never get them in.'

"We had identified them by means of a nephew of the king's whom we had with us, and who turned king's evidence. Besides, they acknowledged themselves to be the men. Their names were Mirza Mogul, the king's nephew and head of the whole business; Mirza Kishere, Sultamet, who was also one of the principal rebels, and had made himself notorious by murdering women and children; and Abu Bukt, the commander-in-chief nominally, and heir-apparent to the throne. This was the young fiend who had stripped our women in the open street, and cutting off little children's arms and legs, poured the blood into their mothers' mouths; this is literally the case. There was no time to be lost; we halted the troop, put five troopers across the road behind and in front. Hodson ordered the princes to strip and get again into the cart; he then shot them with his own hand. So ended the career of the chiefs of the revolt, and of the greatest villains that ever shamed humanity.

"Before they were shot, Hodson addressed our men, explaining who they were, and why they were to suffer death; the effect was marvellous, the Mussulmans seemed struck with a wholesome idea of retribution, and the Sikhs shouted with delight, while the mass moved off slowly and silently. One of the sowars pointed out to me a man running rapidly across a piece of cultivated ground, with arms gleaming in the sunlight. I and the sowar rode after him, when I discovered it was the king's favourite eunuch, of whose atrocities we had heard so much. The sowar cut him down instantly, and we returned, well satisfied that we had rid the world of such a monster. It was now four o'clock; Hodson rode into the city with the cart containing the bodies, and had them placed in the most public streets, where all might see them. Side by side they lay where, four months before, on the same spot, they had outraged and murdered our women."<sup>d</sup>

Hodson's plea of necessity for his action in regard to the princes has since been refused and some have not hesitated to characterise the shooting of the princes as an inexcusable murder. Lord Roberts, however, is disposed to regard the matter in a much more charitable light. He expresses sorrow that so brilliant a soldier should have laid himself open to criticism. He declares, however, in unqualified terms, that Hodson, whatever his error of judgment, made no breach of faith, since he at no time promised that the lives of the princes should be spared; but while admitting this he deprecates the act itself as being one that placed weapons in the hands of Hodson's detractors. At the very worst the deed was an error of judgment. This estimate is of peculiar interest as coming from one who knows from personal experience how difficult it is to deal with similar emergencies.<sup>a</sup>

Justin McCarthy thus sums up the feeling against the deed: "If in cool blood the deed could now be defended, it might be necessary to point out that there was no evidence whatever of the princes having taken any part in the

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massacre of Europeans in Delhi; that even if evidence to that effect were forthcoming, Hodson did not wait for or ask for it; and that the share taken by the princes in an effort to restore the dynasty of their ancestor, however it might have justified some sternness of punishment on the part of the English government, was not a crime of that order which is held in civilised warfare to put the life of its author at the mercy of anyone who captures him when the struggle is all over, and the reign of law is safe. One cannot read the history of this India Mutiny without coming to the conclusion that in the minds of many Englishmen a temporary prostration of the moral sense took place, under the influence of which they came to regard the measure of the enemy's guilt as the standard for their right of retaliation, and to hold that if he had no conscience they were thereby released from the necessity of having any. As Mr. Disraeli put it, they were making Nana Sahib the model for the British officer to imitate. Hodson was killed not long after; we might well wish to be free to allow him to rest without censure in his untimely grave."

Soon afterwards two others of the king's sons, who had been equally guilty, were tried before a military commission, condemned to death, and executed. By these terrible acts of justice all hope of the restoration of the Mughal dynasty, or even the pretext of it, which the mutineers had held out, was utterly destroyed. The last act in the recovery of Delhi was to appoint a flying column for the pursuit of the fugitives on the right bank of the Jumna, and into the Doab, and this was done on the 23rd of September, the regiments that composed this force being known during the rest of the war under the name of Groathead's column, from that of Colonel Groathead, its commander.

In this important capture of Delhi, it is worthy of note that the deed was achieved before a single soldier of the many thousands from Britain sent out for the recovery of India had landed upon its shores. What might not, therefore, be anticipated for the complete re-establishment of the British dominion when these troops had arrived? Another gratifying circumstance was the faithful devoted zeal of those native soldiers who remained true to their colours during all the weary months of siege, and the hearty co-operation of the rajah of Patiala, and the Jhind rajah, the former in quelling the revolt of Ambala, and the latter in the operations of the siege. Their services, as well as those of several khans, showed that all India was not against Britain — that there were many who could rightly appreciate the benefits of her rule, and maintain it in the field even against their own countrymen. They were thanked by the governor-general in council, and in the proclamation delivered afterwards it was stated, "These true-hearted chiefs, faithful to their engagements, have shown trust in the power, honour, and friendship of the British government, and they will not repent it."

#### SIEGE AND RELIEF OF LUCKNOW

After the capture of Delhi, the great object of interest was the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, whose condition was every day becoming more perilous. Already they had endured a long and harassing siege, in which active courage and patient endurance had been equally tried to the utmost; and upon any day, or at any hour, no alternative might be left to them but surrender. Deprived successively of their two brave leaders, the situation of the little garrison was perilous in the extreme. The neighbouring mosques and noblemen's houses, which Sir Henry Lawrence, from a regard to religious buildings and private property, had spared, although he was urged to destroy them, were manned by the enemy's sharpshooters, who kept up an incessant

fire; and as they were within pistol-shot of the British barricades, every part of the residency was exposed to the muskets of about eight thousand men, who discharged their volleys wherever a gap was found or a living object was visible. Thus even the women and children were comparatively under fire in the recesses of the innermost apartments, and the sick in the hospitals were exposed to the same mischievous annoyance, by which several lives were lost.

Nothing could exceed the pertinacity of the enemy, who surrounded the British post with batteries mounting from twenty to twenty-five guns, which were protected by barricades that defied every attempt to silence them by musketry, and who constructed mines under the principal defences of the residency, by which its defenders were constantly in danger of being blown into the air. Every art of warfare which they had learned in the British service was adopted by the mutineers, who were confident in the thousands they could muster for the attack, and in the miserably limited means and numbers of those who resisted. But those who had such overwhelming odds to confront were true to the long-established reputation of their countrymen; and never were British valour and British indomitable resolution more conspicuous than in the defence which this small party maintained against such an ocean-tide of opposition at Lucknow. To sleeplessness was added the nightly toil of moving heavy guns, repairing breaches, and other fatigue-duties. When opportunity offered, they even assumed the aggressive, and in five sorties which they successively made they spiked two of the enemy's heaviest guns and blew up several of the neighbouring houses, from which the fire had been especially dangerous. But wofully were their numbers thinned, not only by the casualties of such a defence, but by scanty and coarse provisions, which added small-pox and cholera to the list of their other calamities. And what the while of the heroines of Lucknow? They too have erected for themselves an imperishable record, and strong men became stronger at the spectacle of their unfearing, uncomplaining endurance. Many of them were made widows in the siege; and at the bedsides of the sick and wounded, where every one was a Florence Nightingale, they found in active Christian duty the best sources of Christian consolation and hope.

But human endurance, which in this instance seemed to be boundless, has its limits; and from day to day many a wistful eye had looked into the far distance for the expected relief, only to be disappointed, while the messengers whom they sent out for tidings never returned. At length, on the twenty-sixth day of the siege, the garrison was cheered by a letter from Havelock's camp, informing them that the troops were on their march, and in five or six days would probably reach them. But six days elapsed and no aid arrived. They did not learn until thirty-five long days had passed that the relieving force, after such strenuous efforts and signal victories, had been obliged to fall back upon Cawnpore. But their relief from Cawnpore was to issue at last, and not an hour later than the march could be commenced. At that city Sir James Outram, justly called by Napier the "Bayard of India," arrived on the 16th of September with the reinforcements for which Havelock had been so anxiously waiting.

Although, as superior officer and chief commissioner of Oudh, Sir James himself might have undertaken the relief of Lucknow, he chivalrously resigned the whole glory of the enterprise to General Havelock, who had already achieved such deeds in the attempt, offering to accompany him as volunteer. Thus invested with a mission on which his generous heart was



**RELIEF OF LUCKNOW**

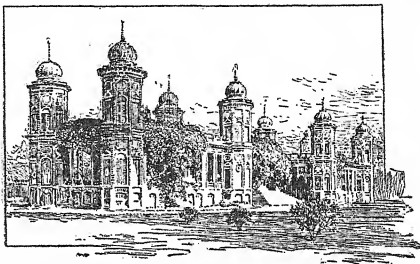
(From the painting by Thomas J. Barker)



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so keenly bent, Havelock crossed the Ganges at the head of twenty-five hundred men, among which were the gallant 78th Highlanders, to whom his previous victories were chiefly owing, and seventeen guns. The enemy, after retiring at his approach, attempted, on the 21st (September), to make a stand at Mangalwar, but after a four hours' fight they were defeated; and Havelock, pressing forward, was within three miles of the residency of Lucknow, when on the 23rd he found the enemy advantageously posted, with their left resting on the Alambagh, an isolated building with gardens and enclosures, and their centre and right drawn up behind a chain of hillocks. But the strategetic skill and rapid movements of General Havelock, seconded as they were by the gallantry of Sir James Outram, were again successful; the enemy were defeated once more; and after halting his troops, that had marched three days in a heavy deluge of rain, and been scantily provisioned and badly lodged, the victorious commander effected his decisive advance upon the residency.

No wonder that Havelock himself looked back upon the march with astonishment, accustomed as he was to dare all but impossibilities. "Our advance," he writes, "was through streets of flat-roofed, loop-holed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, and thus each forming a separate fortress. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of ten thousand good troops. The advantage gained has cost us dear. The killed, wounded, and missing, the latter being wounded soldiers, who, I much fear, some or all have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe, amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men." Among those who thus fell was the brave General Neill, a name distinguished in this unhappy war, who was killed on entering the gate leading to the Doolie square.<sup>c</sup> Mr. R. Gubbins, who was present during the siege of Lucknow, wrote the following account of the relief.<sup>a</sup>



RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW

### *An Eye-witness' Account of the Relief of Lucknow*

On the night of the 22nd [the messenger Ungud] brought a letter from General Sir James Outram which announced to us that an army thoroughly appointed had crossed the Ganges on the 19th, and would, D.V., soon relieve us. Here then, at last, were the long-wished-for and expected tidings of relief! Havelock had not disappointed us! The spirits of the garrison, European and native, were greatly raised by the intelligence, which spread like wildfire. Nor were we left after this long in suspense. During the morning of the 23rd of September the weather cleared, and the sound of artillery in the direction of Cawnpore was distinctly heard. By two in the

afternoon the reports became quite loud and frequent. All now was exultation and joy in the garrison.

The guns of the relieving army were heard again the next day and early on the morning of the 25th, and became louder by ten o'clock. About half-past eleven the firing ceased; but, soon after, numbers of the city people were observed flying over the bridges across the river, carrying bundles of property on their heads. An hour later the flight became more general, and many sepoys, matchlock men, and irregular cavalry troopers crossed the river in full flight, many by the bridge, but more by throwing themselves into the river and swimming across it. The guns of our redan battery, and every other gun that could be brought to bear upon the flying enemy, as well as our mortars, opened a rapid fire upon them, which was maintained for upwards of an hour. No sooner did this begin, than the enemy assailed us on every side with a perfect hurricane of shot and shell from all their batteries. Fragments of shell were falling everywhere, and the interior of the residency itself was visited by round shot in places which had never been reached before.

About two o'clock the smoke of our guns was seen in the suburbs of the city, and presently after the rattle of musketry could be heard. At four o'clock the officers at the look-out could clearly distinguish European troops and officers in movement. About five o'clock the column of the 78th Highlanders and Sikhs, accompanied by several mounted officers, was seen to turn into the main street leading to the residency, up which they charged at a rapid pace, loading, shouting, and firing as they passed along. I will here quote the eloquent description of the greeting given to our friends from the account of "a staff officer":

"Once fairly seen, all our doubts and fears regarding them were ended; and then the garrison's long-pent-up feelings of anxiety and suspense burst forth in a succession of deafening cheers. From every pit, trench, and battery—from behind the sand-bags piled on shattered houses—from every post still held by a few gallant spirits, rose cheer on cheer, even from the hospital! Many of the wounded crawled forth to join in that glad shout of welcome to those who had so bravely come to our assistance. It was a moment never to be forgotten."

The Highlanders stopped everyone they met, and with repeated questions and exclamations of "Are you one of them?"—"God bless you!"—"We thought to have found only your bones," bore them back towards Dr. Fayer's house, into which the general had entered. Here a scene of thrilling interest presented itself. The ladies of that garrison with their children had assembled in the most intense anxiety and excitement under the porch outside, when the Highlanders approached. Rushing forward, the rough and bearded warriors shook the ladies by the hand midst loud and repeated gratulations. They took the children up in their arms, and fondly caressing them, passed them from one to another to be caressed in turn, and then, when the first burst of enthusiasm and excitement was over, they mournfully turned to speak among themselves of the heavy loss they had suffered, and to inquire the names of the numerous comrades who had fallen on the way.

It is quite impossible to describe the scene within the intrenchment that evening. We had received no post, nor any but the smallest scrap of news for 113 days since the date of the outbreak at Cawnpore. All had relatives and friends to inquire after, whose fate they were ignorant of, and were eager to learn. Many had brothers, friends, or relatives in the relieving force whom they were anxiously seeking. Everyone wished for news of the outer world, of Delhi, Agra, Calcutta, and of England. Everybody was on

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foot. All the thoroughfares were thronged, and new faces were every moment appearing of friends whom one had least expected to see. The happy and excited moments passed quickly, until by degrees the excitement moderated. Gradually quarters were found for the officers and soldiers who had come in. Every garrison was glad to welcome in the new-comers, who were sufficiently worn and exhausted to require early repose.<sup>7</sup>

## SIR COLIN CAMPBELL SECURES THE RETREAT FROM LUCKNOW

Though much had been done, the garrison of Lucknow by this last exploit had been reinforced but not relieved. A sufficiency of troops had arrived to lighten the labours of the overwearied defenders and insure their safety for the present, but not to withdraw them from the place around which the coil of siege, after the momentary interruption, was drawn as closely and strongly as ever. Finding it impossible, therefore, to extricate the women, children, and non-combatants, General Havelock and his companions-in-arms resolved to remain with them and abide the brunt of conflict until General Sir Colin Campbell, the newly appointed commander-in-chief, should be able effectually to relieve them. This distinguished hero of the Crimean War had arrived at Calcutta from England on the 14th of August; but, as he was obliged to wait the coming of reinforcements from home, it was not till the 9th of November that he was able to set out from Cawnpore for the effectual relief of Lucknow.

Even then, important and difficult as was the task, his force amounted to only 4,550 men and thirty-two guns. On the 12th he arrived at the Alambagh, and there his difficulties commenced, as the residency was to be reached through the heart of the city, where every street, house, and wall was a fortress, a march along which would have been enough to have destroyed thrice the numbers he commanded. But he had been previously informed of all the localities of the city and suburbs, and the positions of the enemy, and he availed himself of this knowledge by making a detour to the right as Havelock had done. It was effected with equal success, although against obstacles equally formidable; and, after a series of desperate skirmishes, he reached the residency on the 17th, his arrival being aided on the part of Havelock and the garrison by a sally, in which the enemy was routed and the way cleared for his entrance.



COLIN CAMPBELL  
(1792-1863)

And now to remove the women and children, the sick, wounded, and civilians, for he saw that the residency must be abandoned! This was a still more difficult task than to lead armed men into the place. But this also was successfully accomplished. By a series of masterly feints Sir Colin distracted the attention of the enemy; and while he kept them massed together in the expectation of an immediate attack, he quietly removed the helpless during the afternoon and night of the 19th, along a line of posts which he formed on the left rear of his position, and conveyed them in safety to Dilkusha, a palace belonging to the kings of Oudh, after which the troops of the garrison followed on the 22nd, and all reached Dilkusha in safety, without the loss of a man. In like manner the whole of the treasure and all the European guns were carried off in safety. So completely the while was the enemy deceived that their fire was kept up on the old British positions many hours after they had been abandoned.

Altogether it was one of the most masterly retreats under trying disadvantages which the history of modern warfare has on record. Only one event occurred to mar the joy of the rescued, and this was the death of the brave Havelock, who expired at Dilkusha on the 24th, by an attack of dysentery, under which his enfeebled frame, worn out with such excessive exertions, rapidly sunk. Undistinguished during a long course of military service since 1815, except among his friends, who knew him to be a master of strategy in all its branches, he had no sooner attained a separate command, and found his right sphere of action, than he crowded within little more than two short months such a series of victories as would have sufficed for a lifetime, and made any commander illustrious. In that brief period he combined the rapidity of Napoleon with the caution and foresight of Wellington, and upon his own limited field was as successful as either, while the tidings of his victories, which reached home in rapid succession, made all men wonder who this new hero was, and why he had been neglected so long. The queen created him a baronet, but it was three days after he had expired at Dilkusha, and thus the wreath that should have decked his brow could only be planted on his grave.

Sir Colin Campbell was now in full retreat to Cawnpore, where the ladies, children, and civilians, a helpless band of two thousand souls, might be left in safety before further military operations could be undertaken; and he had reached Bunnee on the evening of the 27th of November, when he heard heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore, for which he could not account, as he had received no news from that quarter for several days. But there a desperate battle was going on, and the British arms were in danger. During the absence of Sir Colin, General Windham occupied the military cantonments which lay to the south of that city; but on learning that the Gwalior contingent of rebels were advancing to attack it on the north, he marched on the 26th to encounter them before they could reach Cawnpore, and found them drawn up on the opposite bank of the Pandoonudee, the bed of which river was at that time dry.

The disparity between the two armies was alarming, for while General Windham's force consisted of only twelve hundred infantry, one hundred cavalry, and eight guns, the rebels were about twenty-five thousand men, well provided with artillery. They were gallantly charged, and their advanced troops were driven back; but on their main body coming up, General Windham retired his troops to the canal. On the following day the rebels commenced the attack with a heavy cannonade, that was kept up for five hours, under which the British were obliged to withdraw to their intrenchments

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after severe loss, while their tents and camp stores, which they were compelled to leave behind them, were burned by the enemy. It was this firing that arrested the attention of Sir Colin Campbell, and surmising that General Windham was attacked, he hurried forward to the rescue.

On reaching the scene of conflict in the evening, he found the British shut up within their intrenchments, and the rebels in possession of the city. It was necessary to dislodge them; but before the attempt could be made, the helpless survivors of Lucknow under his charge had to be conveyed across the Ganges by a single bridge which the enemy had not destroyed, and it was not until the 30th that the last cart had crossed the bridge, while two or three days more were spent in having them safely forwarded to Allahabad. He was now in readiness for the fight; but his arrival had made the enemy cautious, and it was not until they had been reinforced by the rebels of Oudh and the followers of Nana Sahib that they ventured, on the 6th of December, to make a decisive stand. But they were effectually beaten, with the loss of all their guns and ammunition, and wherever they attempted to rally they were met by British detachments, and so thoroughly routed and dispersed that this Gwalior contingent as an army could no longer be found. Nor did Nana Sahib, who had sent reinforcements to the rebels, escape a merited chastisement; for troops were sent to Bithur who destroyed all his remaining property, discovered and seized his treasures which were concealed in the wells, and soon left him too poor to continue long his rebellion with any hope of success.

While one powerful rebel chief was thus reduced to comparative helplessness, the British government in India had obtained an effective ally in Maharajah Jung Bahadur, the prime minister of the king of Nepal. This prince having offered his aid to the governor-general, which was gladly accepted, crossed the frontier with ten thousand Gurkhas, among the most warlike of the population of India, and in his advance he twice encountered and defeated a rebel army. He then, at the close of the year, established himself at Gorakhpur, to check the rebels of Lucknow in any attempt they might make in an easterly direction after Sir Colin Campbell should have driven them from the city, an event which was anticipated as likely soon to take place.

Indeed, all fear and foreboding as to the result of the Indian Mutiny were now at an end. Reinforcements had been sent from Britain in such numbers that no native army could confront them successfully in the field; the British soldiers were confident in the valour and skill of their well-tried illustrious leader, while the rebels were so daunted by repeated defeats that their courage and confidence were on the wane. The revolt was now in a great measure confined to Rohilkhand, to the territory between Agra and Allahabad, to Bundelkhand, and to Oudh, while the great metropolis of the insurrection after the fall of Delhi was the populous, warlike, and strongly fortified city of Lucknow. To strike a mortal blow, therefore, at the head of the evil, by the final conquest of this place, was the aim of the commander-in-chief after he had effected the liberation of the garrison.

#### THE RECAPTURE OF LUCKNOW

All being in readiness for this important enterprise, Sir Colin Campbell commenced operations by sending forward two regiments on the 1st of January, 1858, to prevent the rebels from destroying an iron suspension-bridge across the river Kalli-Nuddi. He then commenced his own march two days

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fter to Fathigarh, where he remained till the 1st of February, restoring order in the disaffected districts of the Doab, after which he proceeded to Cawnore, for the purpose of crossing the Ganges at that place; and to clear his line of march, strong detachments were sent forward, by one of which, commanded by General Franks, a brilliant victory was gained over an army of rebels twenty-one thousand strong, who were encountered and completely cattered at Badshahgunge, about two miles from Sultanpur.

On the 5th of March Sir Colin was before Lucknow with his whole force collected, and his siege train brought up, the right of his line resting on Bibiapur and the Gumtee rivers, and his left stretching towards the Alamogah. With such a force as was now arrayed against the devoted city, the issue could not long be doubtful. On the 9th the attack commenced, and by the 21st all the strong defences of Lucknow were stormed and won, and the rebels were fleeing in every direction. It was now the hour of triumph for the Asiatic allies of the British, and they did not neglect the opportunity.

"Those stately buildings," says an eye-witness, "which had never before been entered by European foot, except by a commissioner of Oudh on a state day, were now open to the common soldier and to the poorest camp follower of our army. How their splendour vanished like snow in sunshine! The destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives were oppressive." After a painful description of the spectacle, the writer adds, "It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least twenty thousand camp followers, all staggering under loads of plunder—the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld—coolies, syces, kitmutgars, dhooly-bearers, Sikhs, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, all the 'loot' of ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and the wild Gurkhas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth."

On the whole, it seems to have been but a renewal of the capture and sacking of Jerusalem, Babylon, or Nineveh, as they were exhibited when war was comparatively young, and the passions of men at the wildest. How unfortunate it was for the British that the necessity of their position should have united them with such allies, and made them in some measure responsible for their deeds.

#### SUCCESSSES OF SIR HUGH ROSE IN CENTRAL INDIA: AGAINST THE RANI OF JHANSI

In noticing the leading events of this war, it would be unpardonable to omit the campaign that was carrying on in Central India by Sir Hugh Rose, at the head of the Malwa or Nerbudda field force of about six thousand men, of which twenty-five hundred were British. At the end of January Sir Hugh captured Rathgarh, situated on a pear-shaped hill, and surrounded with precipices, except at the narrowest part, by which, however, the access was very difficult. Although one of the strongest forts in Central India, its difficulties were surmounted and the walls stormed in three days, and such of the rebels as escaped were obliged to use ropes to aid their descent down the rocks. He then advanced to the relief of Sagar, where a European

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garrison and about a hundred women and children had been closely besieged for more than half a year; and on his arrival the enemy were glad to raise the siege. Soon after the Garakhot fort yielded almost without a blow, although it was so strong that it might have withstood a siege for months against the whole assailing force.

Sir Hugh Rose, having thus dislodged the rebels from their most available defences, commenced at the end of February his march upon Jhansi, on the way to which there was a mountain-ridge with three passes, that formed the means of a military advance upon Jhansi. The forts of the passes were speedily taken, and Sir Hugh Rose was master of the whole country between Sagar and Jhansi, to the east of the Betwa river.

The attack of Jhansi itself was now the great object of enterprise. It was the richest city in Central India, and one of the most culpable in the massacres and plunders of the rebellion, so that there was scarcely a house in which there was not some booty that had been taken from the English. Its fortress also was strong, not only by its natural position but by the resources of art; and its walls, which were built of granite, from sixteen to twenty feet in thickness, were well embrasured for cannon and loop-holed for musketry, while the place was defended by a garrison of twelve thousand men, headed by a fearless virago, the rani of Jhansi. Altogether, the siege was one of the most desperate undertakings of the war; but the capture of fort and city was certain to be followed by the downfall of the rebellion in Central India. Desperate was the resistance of the men of Jhansi, who were conscious of their crimes, and apprehensive of a just retribution. By the 30th of March the defences both of city and fort were dismantled by the British artillery, but as the ammunition of the besiegers was running short, they resolved to attempt Jhansi by escalade. The assault was made on the 2nd of April, and the city was successfully entered by two storming columns, who fought their way through every obstacle until they met and were concentrated in the palace.

"This was not effected," says Sir Hugh Rose in his graphic description of the siege, "without bloody, often hand-to-hand combats. One of the most remarkable of them was between detachments of her majesty's 85th regiment and 3rd Europeans, and thirty or forty Velaitie sowars, the bodyguard of the rani, in the palace stables under the fire of the fort. The sowars, full of opium, defended their stables, firing with matchlocks and pistols from the windows and loop-holes, and cutting with their tulwars, and from behind the doors. When driven in they retreated behind their horses, still firing, or fighting with their swords in both hands, till they were shot or bayoneted, struggling even when dying on the ground to strike again. A party of them remained in a room off the stables, which were on fire, till they were half burned: their clothes in flames, they rushed out, hacking at their assailants, and guarding their heads with their shields."

Such frantic deeds of despairing resistance, of which the foregoing is a specimen, were multiplied over the streets and buildings of Jhansi before it was taken; and it was well that there was nothing less than the utmost of British courage and firmness to confront them. When all was hopeless both for city and fortress, the rani gave the signal for flight, by mounting a gray horse and making off with only four attendants, with a body of British cavalry in full pursuit; and on the night after the rebels fled from the fort, leaving it wholly defenceless, but not until they had lost five thousand men in the siege and storm. The city was treated with more humanity than it had expected, and the British soldiers, after the storm had ceased, were to be seen

everywhere sharing their rations of food with the wives and children of those who had been the murderers of their countrymen.

After the fall of Jhansi, the capture of Kalpi was the next enterprise to be attempted, and Sir Hugh Rose, directing his march in this direction, encamped about three miles from Kalpi, where he was attacked on the 22nd of May by the rebels, who were put to the rout. Besides these successes, other victories which had been gained by Generals Roberts and Whitlock made Sir Hugh Rose imagine that Central India was now completely cleared of the rebels, and that there would be no further occasion for the services of his troops in that quarter. But his hopes were premature, for the war was not yet ended: the leader of the rebels at Kalpi, whose name was Tantia Topee, had retreated before the fall of the town, and in him the British found the ablest and most impracticable of all the chiefs of the rebellion. He retired to Gwalior, the capital of Sindhia, whose troops he persuaded to fraternise with the rebels; and when the fugitives of Kalpi fled, they joined these new allies, and drove Sindhia from his capital to the British cantonments at Agra, after which they placed Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, upon the throne of Gwalior.

These events called Sir Hugh Rose again into the field; but before his arrival, the principal rebels and Tantia Topee had left Gwalior, taking with them all the treasure they could find, and leaving the rani of Jhansi to abide the encounter, at the head of her rebels of Kalpi and the mutineers of the troops of Sindhia. Sir Hugh found them occupying a cantonment in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, dislodged and defeated them, and drove them in headlong flight into the capital. On the 19th of June, the rebels rallied upon a range of heights in front of the town, being headed by the rani of Jhansi, who was dressed in male attire, and fought gallantly like a common soldier; but they were defeated with the loss of twenty-seven guns, and also of their brave Amazonian leader.<sup>1</sup> Sindhia was thus restored to his capital and throne, and the rebellion in Central India being now at an end, the troops of Sir Hugh Rose were parted into garrisons for Jhansi, Gwalior, and other parts of the country.

With the fall of Lucknow its capital, the kingdom of Oudh might be considered as disarmed; and it now became necessary to determine the line of policy that was to be followed out in the government of this dangerous and rebellious province. This was soon announced by Lord Canning, the governor-general, then at Allahabad, in a proclamation which he issued on the 3rd of March. His first object, he declared, would be to reward those who had been steadfast in their allegiance, and who had aided and supported the British authority; and, after this, the nature of the reward was announced, and the persons who were to enjoy it. Six talukdars (land-owners) of Oudh, including two rajahs, were named, and it was declared that these were henceforward to be the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when the province came under British rule, with such additional rewards as the government should judge fit to confer upon them — but that with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British government, to be disposed of according to its own judgment. To those talukdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who should make submission to the chief commissioner of Oudh, surrendering their arms to him and obeying his orders, an indemnity from punishment should be granted, provided that their hands were unstained

[<sup>1</sup> Of this Joan of Arc whom Walpole<sup>1</sup> calls "the heroine of the Mutiny," Sir Hugh Rose exclaimed, "the best *man* upon the side of the enemy was the *woman* found dead, the rani of Jhansi."]

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with English blood murderously shed; but for any further indulgence they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. Those among them who should promptly come forward and support the chief commissioner in the restoration of peace and order were to have their claims of restitution to their rights liberally considered; but those who had participated in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen were to be excluded from all mercy.

Such was the proclamation sent to Sir James Outram, the chief commissioner, who neither relished its terms nor the ungracious power with which it invested him, and he lost no time in writing from his camp at Chinhath to Lord Canning, remonstrating upon the impolicy of the measure. There were not, he declared, a dozen chiefs and landholders who had not participated in the rebellion; and those who were thus to be summarily dispossessed would betake themselves to their domains and continue their resistance. Hitherto, he alleged, they had been most unjustly treated under British settlement operations, and hence, when the rebellion was at its height, and their country overrun by the rebel soldiery, they had made common cause with the insurgents; and this being the case, they ought now to be treated rather as honourable enemies than as rebels. These, and other such considerations, were urged by Sir James Outram, but with little effect, for although Lord Canning added a short clause more definite in its promises of restitution to those who should give their aid in the establishment of peace and order, no abatement was made to the right of wholesale confiscation, and the punishment of general dispossession.

Had these resolutions been adopted at an earlier period, and when the progress of the British conquest of India was in full career, they might have been passed without question and acted on without scruple. But now the case was different. The British had almost lost their hold of India, and this by the severity of their rule, originating in over-confidence in their power. Such was the general feeling at home when tidings of this widely-spread and all but universal rebellion in her eastern empire had arrived in England; and while reports followed of the victories which British arms were achieving in the East, the popular triumph was accompanied with the surmise that the rebellion had been provoked, and that justice must be done to India. This was manifested even in the India House, when the original draft of Lord Canning's proclamation had arrived; and a despatch, in the form of a letter from the secret committee of the court of directors of the company, was sent to his lordship, animadverting upon his resolutions, and enjoining their mitigation. Great Britain had annexed the kingdom of Oudh to her own dominion without just cause, and notwithstanding its past services and fidelity to her alliance;<sup>1</sup> she had deprived it of its king, and imposed upon it her own rule, and administered its revenues, without regard to those whom the change had reduced from wealth and distinction to utter destitution. Under these circumstances the hostilities carried on in Oudh had rather the character of a legitimate war than that of rebellion, and its people were to be regarded rather with indulgent consideration, "than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation." And in conclusion they added, "We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oudh. We

[<sup>1</sup> The reader will recollect that the reason for the annexation of Oudh was the misgovernment of its rulers who, though friendly to the British, acted very oppressively towards their own subjects.]

desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people: there cannot be contentment where there is general confiscation."

#### TRANSFER OF THE COMPANY'S POWERS TO THE CROWN

But the days of the company itself were already numbered, and this humane appeal was a graceful close to its existence. The great subject of importance in parliament during the session of 1858 was the suppression of the rebellion in India, and the means of retaining the country under British rule, and for this even the important question of parliamentary reform was postponed.

As it was now certain that measures were about to be introduced by ministers for altering the form of government in India, the company drew up a long, elaborate, and able petition to parliament, setting forth its past services and exertions for the benefit of India<sup>1</sup> and the empire at large, and deprecating the withdrawal of their powers, and the transference of their rule into other hands. [But before the discussions on the subject had terminated, the Palmerston ministry fell and a new scheme introduced by Disraeli met with general disapproval.]

We cannot advert to the discussions that followed, in which every step was followed by a pause or a conflict: all this was only commensurate with the importance of the great question of the future government of the Indian Empire, in which so many mistakes were to be amended and so many evils redressed. The India Bill finally passed the house of commons on the 8th of July, and that of the lords on the 23rd, and received the assent of the crown on August 2nd, the last day of the session. There is a solemnity and vastness of meaning in the simple words by which the transfer is announced in the first clause of the bill, to which the grandeur of the decrees of the Roman senate can present no parallel:

"The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all the powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said company, in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said company, and all rights vested, or which, if this act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the said company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in her majesty, and be exercised in her name; and for the purposes of this act, India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid."

While these discussions were going on in the British parliament, the progress of the war in India was such as promised both a speedy and successful termination. A strong garrison was left in Lucknow to control the city and its neighbourhood, while a campaign was opened against the district of Rohilkhand, to which the Lucknow rebels had retired. Every fort that was assailed by the British was taken, and every enemy in the field put to the rout — and hence the little interest that belongs to the narrative of this closing

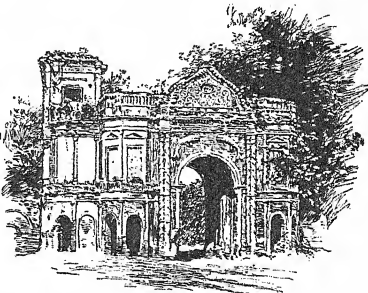
[<sup>1</sup> Of the services of the company, Spencer Walpole writes: "In a single century it had amassed an empire, and had brought one person in every six in the world into subjection. Where else in the world's history can be found a dependency which in the course of three generations produced men of the capacity of Warren Hastings, of Wellesley, and of Dalhousie? And which has produced in the same period among its subordinate officials such men as the two Lawrences, as Havelock and Outram, as Mountstuart Elphinstone and Malcolm, as Metcalfe and Munro?" ]

[1857-1858 A.D.]

portion of the war. In all these proceedings, also, were to be recognised the masterly intellect and military skill of Sir Colin Campbell, who directed each movement, and who, for his able services, was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Clyde. The progress towards a general pacification was likewise promoted by the transference of the government of India to the British crown, and the natives were induced to reverence a sovereign power, more especially when aggrandised by remoteness and invisibility, in preference to the authority of men who were present, and known to be subjects like themselves. Accordingly, when a royal proclamation, which was transmitted to India, was published by the governor-general on the 1st of November, it called forth several addresses to the queen, expressive of their loyalty and attachment.

In this proclamation it was announced to the native princes of India that all engagements which had been made with them by the company would be scrupulously maintained and fulfilled; that no extension of territorial possession was sought; and that no aggression upon it should be tolerated, or encroachment upon that of others sanctioned. The British government held itself bound to the natives of its Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound it to all the other subjects of the British Empire. Upon the important subject of religion, in which the rebellion had originated, the declaration was explicit: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure." It was added that all of whatever race or creed were to be freely and impartially admitted to such offices in her majesty's service as they were qualified to hold. Those who inherited lands were to be protected in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and in framing and administering the law, due regard was to be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

With regard to the late rebellion, a general pardon was granted for past offences, except to those who had taken part in the murder of British subjects, or who had given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt; but in apportioning



LUCKNOW ENTRANCE GATE, SIKANDRA BAGH

(Where two thousand mutineers were killed in 1857)

[1857-1858 A.D.]

the penalty due to such persons, full consideration should be given to the circumstances under which they had been tempted from their allegiance. To all others still in arms against the government, an unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion was promised, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits, and compliance with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

#### END OF THE MUTINY

The chief difficulty that still remained was the pacification of Oudh, without which the government of India could not be fully re-established; and to effect this, such decisive measures were adopted, as could only be justified by the necessity of the case, and the warlike, dangerous spirit of the people. A proclamation was issued by Mr. Montgomery, who had been appointed chief commissioner of Oudh, ordering that all talukdars, zamindars, and native inhabitants of the province should deliver up to the servants of government at the nearest police station, within one month from that date, all their cannon, firearms, weapons, and ammunition, under pain of fine and imprisonment for one year, with flogging; and if a landholder, of the confiscation of his lands. The next step was to suppress the rebels who were still in the field, which was no such easy achievement, for they had made Oudh their place of shelter and rallying point for their final stand, and were likely to defend it with the fierceness of despair. They had also for one of their chief leaders the ex-queen of Oudh, a woman of fearless courage and unyielding spirit, who issued a counter-proclamation to the people, warning them not to trust the promises of the British government, and analysing the proclamation of the British sovereign, paragraph by paragraph, with all the shrewdness and caustic severity of a well-practised literary reviewer. The winter campaign was opened in November, and the Oudh chieftains surrendered their hill-forts, or were driven from them after a short and useless resistance.

With the close of the year, the rebellion in Oudh, its last stronghold, had terminated, and an army, originally numbering one hundred and fifty thousand, been routed and dispersed with comparatively little loss to the victors. Resistance indeed continued to be made, but it was the hopeless resistance of broken bands and fugitive chiefs, lurking among the fastnesses of Nepal, beyond the British dominions, and urged by hunger or revenge; and with every attempt their numbers were diminished and their range circumscribed, so that what had lately been armies, were little more than troops of brigands, whose outrages the nearest military station was strong enough to suppress. The British Empire was re-established in India upon a basis more august and imposing than before.

The act for the better government of India (1858), which finally transferred the entire administration from the company to the crown, enacts that India shall be governed by and in the name of the sovereign of England through one of the principal secretaries of state, assisted by a council of fifteen members. The governor-general received the new title of viceroy. The European troops of the company, numbering about twenty-four thousand officers and men, were amalgamated with the royal service, and the Indian navy was abolished. By the Indian Councils Act (1861) the governor-general's council, and also the councils at Madras and Bombay, were augmented by the addition of non-official members, either natives or Europeans, for legislative purposes only; and by another act passed in the same

[1857-1858 A.D.]

year high courts of judicature were constituted out of the existing supreme courts at the presidency towns.

It fell to the lot of Lord Canning both to suppress the Mutiny and to introduce the peaceful revolution that followed. As regards his execution of the former part of his duties, it is sufficient to say that he preserved his equanimity undisturbed in the darkest hours of peril, and that the strict impartiality of his conduct incurred alternate praise and blame from the fanatics on either side. The epithet then scornfully applied to him of "Clemency" Canning is now remembered only to his honour.

Peace was proclaimed throughout India on July 8th, 1859; and in the following cold weather Lord Canning made a viceregal progress through the upper provinces, to receive the homage of loyal princes and chiefs, and to guarantee to them the right of adoption. The suppression of the Mutiny increased the debt of India by about forty millions sterling, and the military changes that ensued augmented the annual expenditure by about ten millions. To grapple with this deficit, Mr. James Wilson was sent out from the treasury as financial member of council. He reorganised the customs system, imposed an income-tax and licence duty, and created a state paper currency. The penal code, originally drawn up by Macaulay in 1837, passed into law in 1860, together with a code of civil and criminal procedure.<sup>b</sup>

Spencer Walpole<sup>c</sup> pays a glowing tribute to the sterling merits of Canning, placing him easily in the first rank of what he denominates the new class of rulers of India. He admits Canning's defects of character; conceives that a Clive or a Wellesley, or perhaps even a Hastings or a Hardinge, might have stamped out the rebellion more rapidly; but he believes that no one of these men would have presented so fine an example of the best features of British character. The tribute is a high one, but perhaps not too high.<sup>d</sup>



INDIAN JAR. INDIA MUSEUM.



## CHAPTER VII

### INDIA SINCE THE MUTINY

[1858-1906 A.D.]

LORD CANNING left India in March, 1862, and died before he had been a month in England. His successor, Lord Elgin, lived only till November, 1863, when he too fell a victim to the excessive work of the governor-generalship, dying at the Himalayan station of Dharmsala, where he lies buried. He was succeeded by Sir John Lawrence [afterwards Lord Lawrence], the saviour of the Punjab. The chief incidents of his administration were the Bhutan War and the terrible Orissa famine.<sup>b</sup>

The drought of 1865 had caused a dearth in 1866. Unforeseen by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, it could not be met with imported supplies, and before the following rainy season brought relief a million souls had died of hunger or consequent disease, out of a province containing a population of only four millions. Lord Napier saved Madras from a similar calamity by his foresight, and a year later the sufferings from a drought in Mysore were considerably mitigated by the British rulers.<sup>a</sup>

#### LORD LAWRENCE'S VICE-ROYALTY (1863-1869 A.D.)

In the little state of Bhutan, lying at the north of Assam, there were rugged mountaineers who had not infrequently descended upon the British subjects in the foothills which they claimed as a part of their own territory. Certain British subjects had been kidnapped in the course of these raids, and in 1863 Mr. Ashley Eden had been sent to treat with the marauders, but "the utter failure of the mission," says Trotter,<sup>h</sup> "was crowned by the insults heaped upon the envoy himself. In fear of his life he had to sign a treaty surrendering the very lands in dispute." It was this incident that led Sir John Lawrence in November, 1864, to declare war against the Bhutans, and to send an invading force against them. But the highlanders showed such resources

[1869-1877 A.D.]

and such courage as have usually distinguished the inhabitants of a mountainous country, and they more than held their own for a time. Ultimately, however, they were reduced to a state of submission, pledges being exacted for the maintenance of peace.

Great importance also attaches to Lawrence's Afghan policy, the interest of the British power in Afghan affairs having become closer as her frontiers advanced towards Afghanistan in consequence of the annexations following on the Sind and Sikh wars. Bright<sup>c</sup> has defended Lawrence's attitude against the critics who have spoken slightly of his policy. Bright points out that Lawrence held aloof from the dynastic quarrels of the Afghans, and that he showed great tact in dealing with the rival princes. He cultivated the friendship of the amir by gifts, carefully avoiding any topic that could give offence. Such accomplishments often mark an exhibition of a high phase of political activity.<sup>a</sup>

#### THE GOVERNORSHIPS OF LORDS MAYO AND NORTHBROOK (1869-1876 A.D.)

Lord Mayo, who succeeded Lawrence in 1869, carried on the permanent British policy of moral and material progress with a special degree of personal energy. The Ambala (Umballa) *darbar*, at which Sher Ali was recognised as amir of Afghanistan, though in one sense merely the completion of what Lord Lawrence had begun, owed much of its success to the personal influence of Lord Mayo himself. The same quality, combined with sympathy and firmness, stood him in good stead in all his dealings both with native chiefs and European officials. His example of hard work stimulated all to their best. While engaged in exploring with his own eyes the farthest corners of the empire, he fell by the hand of an assassin in the convict settlement of the Andaman Islands in 1872.

His successor was Lord Northbrook, whose ability showed itself chiefly in the department of finance. During the time of his administration a famine in Lower Bengal in 1874 was successfully obviated by government relief and public works, though at an enormous cost; the gaekwar of Baroda was dethroned in 1875 for misgovernment and disloyalty, while his dominions were continued to a nominated child of the family; Lord Lytton followed Northbrook in 1876.

#### QUEEN VICTORIA BECOMES EMPRESS OF INDIA (1877 A.D.)

On January 1st, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India at a *darbar* of unequalled magnificence, held on the historic "ridge" overlooking the Mughal capital of Delhi. But, while the princes and high officials of the country were flocking to this gorgeous scene, the shadow of famine was already darkening over the south of India. Both the monsoons of 1876 had failed to bring their due supply of rain, and the season of 1877 was little better. The consequences of this prolonged drought, which extended from the Deccan to Cape Comorin, and subsequently invaded northern India, were more disastrous than any similar calamity since the introduction of British rule. Despite unparalleled importations of grain by sea and rail, despite the most strenuous exertions of the government, which incurred a total expenditure on this account of eleven millions sterling, the loss of life from actual starvation and its attendant train of diseases was lamentable. The total number of deaths from disease and want in the distressed tracts in excess of the normal mortality for the two years 1876-1878 is estimated to have raised the

eath-rate forty per cent., or five millions. In the autumn of 1878 the affairs of Afghanistan again forced themselves into notice.<sup>b</sup>

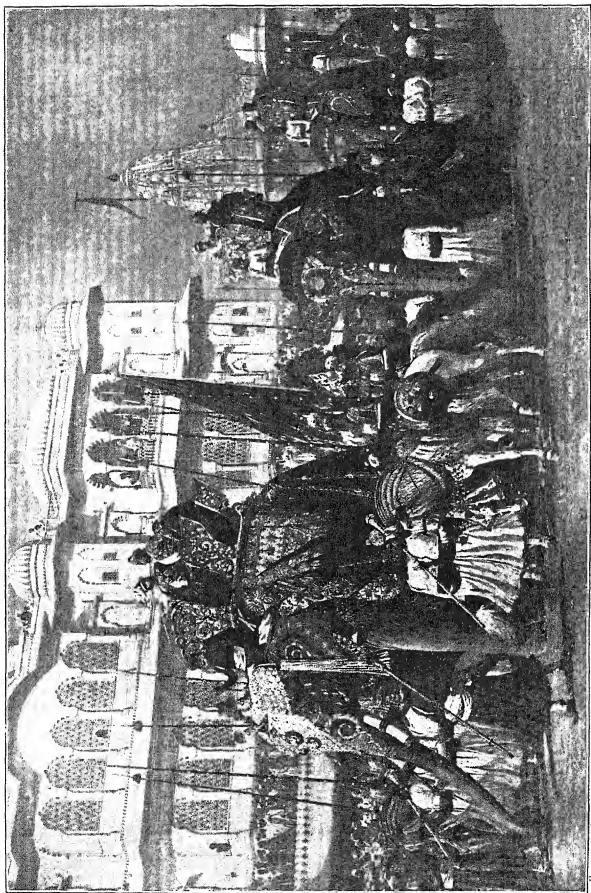
#### RELATIONS WITH THE AFGHANS

In following the history of the course of affairs in Afghanistan during the nineteenth century, it should be remembered that the Sadozais and Barakzais are two branches of the Durani tribe, which was raised to dominant power by its chief, Ahmed Khan, the founder of an Afghan kingdom under the Sadozai dynasty towards the end of the eighteenth century. His descendants had ruled, amid many vicissitudes, at Kabul, until in 1818 the assassination by the reigning amir of his powerful minister, Fatteh Khan Barakzai, led to a revolt headed by the Barakzai family, which ended in the expulsion of the Sadozai Shah Shuja, and the establishment at Kabul of Dost Muhammed, Fattah Khan's son; while Shah Shuja took refuge in the Punjab. By this time the political situation of Afghanistan had become materially affected by the consolidation of the formidable military dominion on its eastern frontier in the Punjab, under Ranjit Singh and his Sikh army. Ranjit Singh took advantage of the distracted condition of Afghanistan to seize Kashmir, and in 1823 he defeated the Afghans in a battle which gave him the suzerainty of the Peshawar province on the right bank of the Indus, though an Afghan chief was left to administer it. Ten years later Shah Shuja, the exiled Sadozai amir, made a futile attempt to recover his kingdom. He was defeated by Dost Muhammed, when Ranjit Singh turned the confusion to his own account by seizing Peshawar and driving the Afghans back into their mountains.

At this point begins the continual interference of England and Russia in the affairs of Afghanistan, which has ever since exercised a dominant influence upon all subsequent events and transactions. It has not only transformed the situation of the ruling amirs, but has also profoundly affected the Asiatic policy of the two European governments. Shah Shuja's enterprise in 1833 had been supported by the co-operation of Ranjit Singh, and encouraged by the British viceroy, Lord W. Bentinck. Although the expedition failed, the result was to excite jealousy of the British designs; and the Russian envoy at Tehran instigated the Shah of Persia to attack Herat, the important frontier fortress of northwestern Afghanistan, which was then in the possession of an independent chief. In 1837, in spite of remonstrances from the British representative at Tehran, a Persian army besieged the city, but the appearance of British troops on the southern coast of Persia compelled the Persians to withdraw from Herat in 1838.

The rivalry between England and Russia was now openly declared, so that each movement from one side was followed by a counter move on the Afghan chess-board from the other side. The British ministry had been seriously alarmed at the machinations of Russia and the attitude of Dost Muhammed at Kabul; and it was determined that the most effective means of securing their own interests within the country would be by assisting Shah Shuja to recover his sovereignty. A tripartite treaty was made between Ranjit Singh, the British governor-general of India, and Shah Shuja; and a British army marched up the Bolan pass to Kandahar, occupied that city, pushed on northwards to Ghazni, which was taken by assault, and entered Kabul in 1839. As Dost Muhammed had fled across the northern mountains, Shah Shuja was proclaimed king in his stead.

But this ill-planned and hazardous enterprise was fraught with the elements



*From a carbon print by Brown, Cameroun & Co.*

# THE PRINCE OF WALES (NOW H.M. KING EDWARD VII) IN INDIA

(From the painting by Vassili Verestchagin)



[1878 A.D.]

of inevitable failure. A ruler imposed upon a free people by foreign arms is always unpopular; he is unable to stand alone; and his foreign auxiliaries soon find themselves obliged to choose between remaining to uphold his power, or retiring with the probability that it will fall after their departure. The leading chiefs of Afghanistan perceived that the maintenance of Shah Shuja's rule by British troops would soon be fatal to their own power and position in the country, and probably to their national independence. The attempt to raise taxes showed that it might raise the people; so that for both men and money the shah's government was still obliged to rely principally upon British aid. The result was that after two years' occupation of the country, in the vain hope of establishing a national government under Shah Shuja, the British found their own situation untenable; for the fierce and warlike tribes broke out into incessant revolt, until a serious insurrection at Kabul in the winter of 1841-42 compelled the British army to make an ignominious and disastrous retreat. The whole force was lost on the road between Kabul and Jalalabad; but Jalalabad was successfully defended by its British garrison, and General Nott held out at Kandahar until General Pollock's temporary reoccupation of Kabul in 1842 restored in some degree the military reputation of Great Britain. The British troops then completely evacuated the country. Dost Muhammed, who had been a state prisoner in India, was replaced on the Kabul throne; and the policy of intervention in Afghan affairs was suspended for nearly forty years.

It has been said that the declared object of this policy had been to maintain the independence and integrity of Afghanistan, to secure the friendly alliance of its ruler, and thus to interpose a great barrier of mountainous country between the expanding power of Russia in Central Asia and the British dominion in India. After 1849, when the annexation of the Punjab had carried the Indian northwestern frontier up to the skirts of the Afghan highlands, the corresponding advance of the Russians southeastward along the Oxus river became of closer interest to the British, particularly when, in 1856, the Persians again attempted to take possession of Herat. Dost Muhammed now became the British ally, but on his death in 1863 the kingdom fell back into civil war, until his son Sher Ali had won his way to undisputed rulership in 1868. In the same year Bokhara became a dependency of Russia. To the British government an attitude of non-intervention in Afghan affairs appeared in this situation to be no longer possible. The meeting between the amir Sher Ali and the viceroy of India at Ambala in 1869 had drawn nearer the relations between the two governments; the amir consolidated and began to centralize his power; and the establishment of a strong, friendly, and united Afghanistan became again the keynote of British policy beyond the northwestern frontier of India.

When, therefore, the conquest of Khiva in 1873 by the Russians, and their gradual approach towards the amir's northern border, had seriously alarmed Sher Ali, he applied for support to the British; and his disappointment at his failure so far estranged him from the British connection that he began to entertain amicable overtures from the Russian authorities at Tashkend. In 1869 the Russian government had assured Lord Clarendon that they regarded Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere of their influence; and in 1872 the boundary line of Afghanistan on the northwest had been settled between England and Russia so far eastward as Lake Victoria. Nevertheless the correspondence between Kabul and Tashkend continued, and as the Russians were now extending their dominion over all the region beyond Afghanistan on the northwest, the British government determined, in 1876,

once more to undertake active measures for securing their political ascendancy in that country. But the amir, whose feelings of resentment had by no means abated, was now leaning toward Russia; and upon his refusal to admit a British agent into Afghanistan the negotiations finally broke down.

#### THE AFGHAN WAR OF 1878-1880

In the course of the following year (1878) the Russian government, to counteract the interference of England with their advance upon Constantinople, sent an envoy to Kabul empowered to make a treaty with the amir. It was immediately notified to him from India that a British mission would be deputed to his capital, but he demurred to receiving it; and when the British envoy was turned back on the Afghan frontier hostilities were proclaimed by the viceroy in November, 1878, and the second Afghan War began. Sir Donald Stewart's force, marching up through Baluchistan by the Bolan pass, entered Kandahar with little or no resistance; while another army passed through the Khyber pass, and took up positions at Jalalabad and other places on the direct road to Kabul. Another force under Sir Frederick Roberts marched up to the high passes leading out of Kuram into the interior of Afghanistan, defeated the amir's troops at the Paiwar Kotal, and seized the Shutargardan pass which commands a direct route to Kabul through the Logar valley. The amir Sher Ali fled from his capital into the northern province, where he died at Mazar-i-Sherif in February, 1879. In the course of the next six months there was much desultory skirmishing between the tribes and the British troops, who defeated various attempts to dislodge them from the positions that had been taken up; but the sphere of British military operations was not materially extended. It was seen that the farther they advanced the more difficult would become their eventual retirement; and the problem was to find a successor to Sher Ali who could and would make terms with the British government.

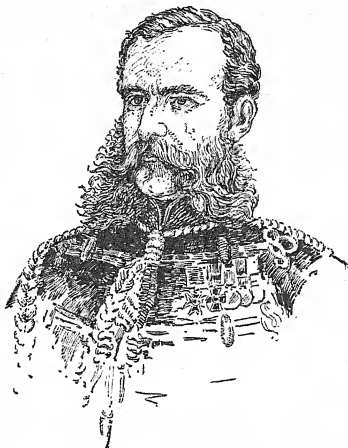
In the meantime Yakub Khan, one of Sher Ali's sons, had announced to Major Cavagnari, the political agent at the headquarters of the British army, that he had succeeded his father at Kabul. The negotiations that followed ended in the conclusion of a treaty in May, 1879, by which Yakub Khan was recognized as amir; certain outlying tracts of Afghanistan were transferred to the British government; the amir placed in their hands the entire control of his foreign relations, receiving in return a guarantee against foreign aggression; and the establishment of a British envoy at Kabul was at last conceded. By this convention the complete success of the British political and military operations seemed to have been attained; for whereas Sher Ali had made a treaty of alliance with, and had received an embassy from Russia, his son had now made an exclusive treaty with the British government, and had agreed that a British envoy should reside permanently at his court.

Yet it was just this final concession, the chief and original object of British policy, that proved speedily fatal to the whole settlement. For in September the envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, with his staff and escort, was massacred at Kabul, and the entire fabric of a friendly alliance went to pieces. A fresh expedition was instantly despatched across the Shutargardan pass under Sir Frederick Roberts, who defeated the Afghans at Charasia near Kabul, and entered the city in October. Yakub Khan, who had surrendered, was sent to India; and the British army remained in military occupation of the district round Kabul until in December (1879) its communications with India were interrupted, and its position at the capital placed in serious jeopardy, by a

[1878-1880 A.D.]

general rising of the tribes. After they had been repulsed and put down, not without some hard fighting, Sir Donald Stewart, who had not quitted Kandahar, brought a force up by Ghazni to Kabul, overcoming some resistance on his way, and assumed the supreme command. Nevertheless the political situation was still embarrassing.

Abdurrahman, the son of the late amir Sher Ali's elder brother, had fought against Sher Ali in the war for succession to Dost Muhammed, had been driven beyond the Oxus, and had lived for ten years in exile with the Russians. In March, 1880, he came back across the river, and began to establish himself in the northern province of Afghanistan. The viceroy of India, Lord Lytton, on hearing of his reappearance, instructed the political authorities at Kabul to communicate with him. After pressing in vain for a treaty he was induced to assume charge of the country upon his recognition by the British as amir, with the understanding that he should have no relations with other foreign powers, and with a formal assurance from the viceroy of protection from foreign aggression, so long as he should unreservedly follow the advice of the British government in regard to his external affairs. The province of Kandahar was severed from the Kabul dominion; and the sirdar Sher Ali Khan, a member of the Barakzai family, was installed by the British representative as its independent ruler.



LORD ROBERTS  
(1832- )

For the second time in the course of this war a conclusive settlement of Afghan affairs seemed now to have been attained; and again, as in 1879, it was immediately dissolved. In July, 1880, a few days after the proclamation of Abdurrahman as amir at Kabul, came news that Ayub Khan, Sher Ali's younger son, who had been holding Herat since his father's death, had marched upon Kandahar, had utterly defeated at Maiwand a British force that went out from Kandahar to oppose him, and was besieging that city. Sir Frederick Roberts at once set out from Kabul with ten thousand men to its relief, reached Kandahar after a rapid march of 313 miles, attacked and routed Ayub Khan's army on September 1st, and restored British authority in southern Afghanistan. As the British ministry had resolved to evacuate Kandahar, Sher Ali Khan, who saw that he could not stand alone, resigned and withdrew to India, and the amir Abdurrahman was invited to take possession of the province. But when Ayub Khan, who had meanwhile retreated to Herat, heard that the British forces had retired, early in 1881, to India, he mustered a fresh army and again approached Kandahar. In June the fort of

Girisk, on the Helmund, was seized by his adherents; the amir's troops were defeated some days later in an engagement, and Ayub Khan took possession of Kandahar at the end of July. The amir Abdurrahman, whose movements had hitherto been slow and uncertain, now acted with vigour and decision. He marched rapidly from Kabul at the head of a force, with which he encountered Ayub Khan under the walls of Kandahar, and routed his army on September 22nd, taking all his guns and equipage. Ayub Khan fled toward Herat, but as the place had meanwhile been occupied by one of the amir's generals he took refuge in Persia. By this victory Abdurrahman's rulership was established.<sup>d</sup>

Roughly speaking, of the years from the close of 1858, when the government of British India was transferred from the East India Company to the crown, to the commencement of 1900, half were occupied in preparing, in plotting out, and in making a vigorous commencement in the execution of the great projects for the moral and material development of India, of which the latter half saw the application and extension. The schemes which were then put into force, more particularly for the material development of India, for increasing the system of railway communications, for fiscal reform, or for the prosecution of irrigation works, had their inception in the preceding period, and more particularly in its second decade. The work of reorganisation, of progress, and of financial reform, which was commenced in 1859 by Lord Canning, though from time to time hindered under his successors by war, was on the whole continuously carried on. In spite of discouragement from famines and plague, from a succession of wars on the northwestern and eastern frontiers, and from the ruinous effect on Indian finance of the continuous fall in the value of silver relatively to gold, the work begun in the first half of the forty-one years under review, and vigorously resumed after 1880, was more or less consistently carried on up to 1900. Thus the whole period forms, as it were, one growth. The first half is inextricably bound up with the second; and while much of the progress of the last twenty years has been in directions previously but little pursued, more has been but the sequence and necessary outcome of the foregoing period.

#### SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The finances of the country, which, during the years immediately preceding 1876 and 1877, had been very carefully husbanded by the Indian government, were in those two years made the subject of a fresh and exhaustive study. Sir John Strachey took charge of the finances in 1876, and his administration marks a new era in Indian finance. He was not destined to reap the fruit of all his labours; but great changes had already been effected by him, and more were in contemplation, when the stress and strain of the Afghan War deferred their execution. The obstructive old internal salt customs frontier line, stretching at one time from the Indus to the Mahanadi in Madras, a distance of 2,300 miles, and guarded by nearly 2,000 men, had been finally abolished. The inland salt duties throughout India were at the same time in great measure equalised. Arrangements had been concluded with certain native states by which, subject to compensation allotted to them, the great Indian sources of salt supply, which lie for the most part within their territories, were made over to the control of the government of India. The consumption of salt at once considerably increased as a consequence of this measure, and the revenue corresponded. Similar reforms had been contemplated, and in a

[1880 A.D.]

small measure had been commenced, with regard to the customs revenue from import duties levied in India on cotton goods.

During Lord Mayo's rule administrative measures had been initiated, having for their object the decentralization of the finances; the transfer, that is to say, to the several provincial governments of the direct control of a portion of the public receipts and expenditure within their limits, with corresponding relief and advantage to the central administration. In 1877-1879 these measures were further developed. Certain important local sources of revenue were definitely placed in the hands of the provincial governments, which were left to cultivate and improve them, to augment their produce, and to spend all or a definite part of them, at their discretion. On the other hand, the expenditure in certain branches of administration was transferred to provincial governments, of which the cost would be defrayed from the funds assigned them. Economy and good administration resulted, so far as the finances and the provincial governments were concerned, while the central government was relieved from provincial importunities, of which it could not always measure the relative importance, and from the control of details of provincial administration of which, in truth, it was not a competent judge.

Education had advanced during the twenty years under review, though relatively to area and population it was still in an extremely backward state. A despatch from England in 1854 had laid down with fullness and precision the principles which were to guide the government in state education, and its provisions were continued and enlarged by a subsequent despatch of 1859. These two despatches still form the charter of education in India. The three universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had been incorporated in 1857 by acts of the Indian legislature. Among the several presidencies and provinces Bengal and Madras had on the whole shown the greatest advance; but Bombay, with its large and highly intelligent Parsee population, has always been prominent in respect of education.

The three great codes which pre-eminently do honour to the Indian legislature — the Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the Civil Procedure Code — were passed during the earlier part of the sixth decade of the nineteenth century. The labours of Sir Henry Sumner Maine and Sir Fitz-James Stephen had enriched the Indian statute book with other important acts, such as the Evidence Act, various forest laws, the Criminal Tribes Act, the Christian Marriage Act, the Mohammedan and Parsee Marriage Act, and an Act for the Prevention of the Murder of Female Infants. The relations of landlord and tenant in upper India and in Oudh had occupied the attention of the legislature. A high court of judicature, similar to those already existing in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, had been established for the north-west provinces. The police system throughout India had been reorganised; sanitation had been especially recognised as claiming attention; the trade of India had developed from a total in round figures of forty-one millions of imports and forty-three millions of exports in 1859-64 to a total of sixty-two millions of imports and seventy-six millions of exports in 1880-81. Notably the great tea industry had taken firm root, and was assuming ever-increasing proportions. There existed at that date twenty-one jute mills, mostly in Bengal. Brewing had been introduced, and was becoming more and more extended. Steam paper mills and some minor industries had also taken root.

The administrative note, therefore, of the seventeen years from 1859, after the close of the Mutiny, to 1876 was one of moderation and cautious advance. They were years but little removed from the rule of the late East India Company and the great catastrophe of 1857. The whole machinery of govern-

[1880-1882 A.D.]

ment, more especially during the earlier part of that period, was successively brought under review, and in almost every department reorganisation more or less complete was projected. It was a time mainly of study and deliberation, preliminary to action; of prudent but thorough overhauling of the administration which had been but recently handed over to the crown.

With the advent in 1880 of Lord Ripon as viceroy the portals of war were closed, and India entered once more upon the pleasant paths of peace. Remission of taxation, encouragement of primary and secondary education, the promotion of local self-government, the amelioration of the status of the agricultural tenant, the recognition and promotion of native claims to a share in directing the internal affairs of India — these were the cardinal points of the policy of 1880 and the years immediately ensuing. During the preceding period the attention of the central government, and the genius of those who inspired it, had been more immediately devoted to the material progress of India. Of that sympathetic and indulgent handling of the native population which characterised the East India Company, the traces become less and less apparent as we pass from the sixth towards the close of the seventh decade. The greatest benefits had been conferred on the people by the fiscal and public works measures introduced during those years. But of any seeking or strengthening of personal touch with them on the part of the administration there is comparatively little trace. Much was done for the people, but in concert with them little was attempted. The steps taken in this direction during the eighth decade mark a return to the more personal and human aspects of administration which before 1857 had been perhaps exclusively prominent, but which of later years might be judged to have fallen too greatly into abeyance. In short, after 1880, and for a brief term of subsequent years, the moral development of India again took an equal place in the foreground, and the characteristic note of the decade which succeeded 1880 is to be found in the greater effort made during that period to combine moral with material progress.

In 1882 India was freed from taxation on her imports, strong liquors and salt excepted. The customs duty thenceforth, and till further changes, was derived entirely from the produce of an export duty on rice, and from import duties on salt and alcohol. At the same time the salt duty was reduced. The estimated loss of revenue consequent on this reduction was £1,400,000. A total of two and one-half millions in taxation was thus remitted to the country. In their *Finances and Public Works of India*,<sup>e</sup> the two Strachays, writing in 1881, had expressed themselves on the subject in strong terms: "The policy followed by the government of India during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton was one of absolute free trade, without reserve or qualification, and financial necessities alone prevented that policy from being carried out to the fullest extent. The proceedings of the last three of four years have, however, succeeded in rendering inevitable the almost total abolition of the customs duties, which of all Indian taxes are probably the worst."

It is, however, necessary to add that the abolition of the import duties on cotton goods was carried out against the very general feeling whether of Europeans or of the educated natives of India.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES IN PUBLIC SERVICE

The salaries of the upper grades of the native subordinate executive services were improved in 1882, at an estimated increase of about £50,000 a year. It was declared to be the intention of the British government and of the gov-

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ernment of India that a constantly increasing share of the work of the country should be performed by natives of India. Few aspects of Indian administration are more disagreeable at first sight than this, that with few exceptions all the higher posts, which carry with them the larger salaries, are confined to Europeans. Given the conditions and requirements of the administration this is at present inevitable. But it necessarily bears on the face of it that appearance of a monopoly by a foreign caste of the higher grades of employment, which cannot fail to attract hostile criticism. It may confidently be asserted on behalf of the Indian government, that it is ever on the watch to modify the existing state of matters, and is more than desirous of finding occasion for the advancement of natives to the higher ranks of civil employ. Its efforts in this direction have not been rewarded, so far, with any corresponding success. But any native now who, by education, force of character, probity, or good service, can prove his fitness for advancement to the higher grades of employment is no longer debarred from arriving at them.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

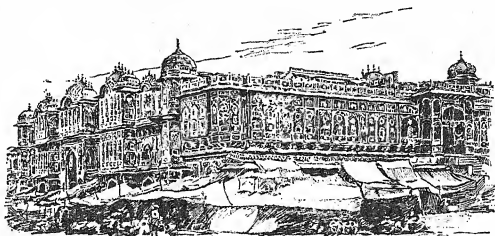
The system of decentralisation, and of assigning to provincial governments the financial profit and loss on certain branches of administration, was largely extended in 1882. Practically, excepting the departments of army, marine, post office, telegraphs, opium, salt, customs, and for the most part the railways, all branches of the public service, with their receipts and expenditure, may be said to have been then made over to provincial hands. The result has been productive of economy and of good government; but on the other hand the measure has erected something of a barrier between the central government and the internal conduct of affairs. To borrow a term from telegraphy, there is a fault in communication.

In connection with the extension of provincial finance, greater latitude of self-administration was at the same time accorded to municipalities and local bodies throughout India. Few measures that have been greeted on their introduction with comparative indifference are likely, with lapse of time, to take deeper root in the country than the scheme of conferring self-government on municipalities. The aim and ideal of the energetic and highly-trained officers to whom is entrusted the administration of the various districts into which India for executive purposes is divided, has been hitherto government of and for the people, rather than government by or with the people. The prestige of the powerful Indian civil service is based on successes achieved in past years, when the authority of its officers was the only authority, and when, by the energetic and enlightened exercise thereof, great results had been everywhere obtained. Intimate knowledge of native character, and daily experience of the weaknesses, the jealousies, the animosities, and the trivial aims and pursuits of native society, might well make those who up to the present had been its guides not a little sceptical as to the uses to which local self-government would be put, and doubtful as to the intelligence and interest with which it would be carried into effect. So far as concerns the district or local bodies, these apprehensions have not been without justification. But so far as town and municipal bodies are concerned, the measure of 1882 has met with a degree of success fully equal to any that its authors could have expected. Local self-government in all countries is a plant of slow growth. In India, with its counter-currents of Hindu and Mohammedan, its apathy, its passion for hereditary usages and employment, the indifference of its several units to the general good, the aptitude of the Indian for verbal controversy and inapti-

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tude for collective action, any marked or early development of disinterested public spirit could not be counted on. It would be untrue to assert that the results have so far brought India into line with even moderately progressive European countries. But with regard, at least, to the more important towns, it may be affirmed that the measure enforced by the government of Lord Ripon has, up to the present time, proved as useful as its authors hoped, and promises with the progress of years to acquire increasing stability.

It is to be noted that in India, and more especially in Upper India, the Mohammedan element, though considerable, is numerically inferior to the Hindu. The former have thus found themselves, wherever election is the rule of appointment, in danger of being left permanently in a minority. They view with distrust and natural dislike the passing of authority into Hindu hands. Especially is this the case where, as often happens, the hands into which power passes are those of classes of Hindus who, though previously



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of no consideration, of obscure origin, and socially of less than little weight, are enabled by their familiarity with English, and by their education in British colleges, wholly to manipulate and control the municipal councils. In this direction there will for long exist antagonism between Hindu and Mohammedan. Resentment will smoulder on the one side, and on the other there will be little wish to conciliate. In India such differences do not take the form of party, but are inflamed by the virus of race and of religion, and become the more embittered.

The conduct of education and the control of colleges and schools in India is in the hands of the provincial governments. But in this, as in all other departments, the central government retains the ultimate authority. It has been already noted that the main lines on which the system of education in India is carried on were laid down in 1854 and 1859. Since then, necessarily, progress has been made, and fresh developments have called for further instructions. To the three universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay have been added universities at Lahore and at Allahabad, respectively the headquarters of the Punjab and north-western governments.

Western education at the most has as yet touched little more than the fringe of Indian life. But the crying defect of education in India is the failure to find means of extending education to girls. Only 402,158 girls were under

[1888 A.D.]

instruction in 1896-97, whether in public or private institutions, forming 2.34 of the percentage of school age. Practically, woman in India is wholly uninfluenced by western education. Mothers, wives, or daughters at no time of their existence come under its influence. Whether from a social or political point of view this is lamentable, and the consequences are far-reaching and injurious. The influence of women in India is very considerable, and it is to be feared that it is exerted consistently in a direction opposed to the ethical or educational standards set up in English teaching institutions. But the position of woman in the East, and the strictness with which, after her earlier years, she is guarded from contact with all but the nearest members of her family, oppose barriers which are at present impassable.

In general terms it may perhaps be added that, so far as concerns the masses, to live under British administration, when at its best, is in itself a liberal education. Enlightened codes, justice, equality before the law, social and religious freedom, protection, order, method, moderation in the assessment of fiscal burdens, good and easy means of transport, are no mean lessons in enlightenment to the millions who, till comparatively recent years, have lived in the dark ages of bigoted tyranny and have cowered under violence and misrule.

Great attention was paid by Lord Ripon's government towards carrying out the recommendations of the famine commission of 1880 with regard to the extension of railways. A programme was prepared in 1883-84 covering the ensuing six years, but it was not put into practical effect till Lord Dufferin had assumed the reins of government in 1885. But from that date to the present time the extension of the Indian railway system, whether directly by the state or by aided enterprise, whether for commercial, protective, or military lines, has been pursued with vigour.

#### CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

A proposed alteration of the Criminal Procedure Code, with the view of conferring criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects upon certain classes of native judicial officers in the interior, caused during 1883 the greatest excitement throughout India.

A bill was accordingly introduced on February 9th, 1883. Immediately there arose the clamour of opposition. On the 20th of February a public meeting of the European inhabitants of Calcutta was held in the town hall, at which a resolution was passed denouncing the principle of the bill, and pledging the community to oppose its progress. From that time the opposition rapidly gathered strength, and later in the year became violent beyond all precedent. The British community, with rare exceptions, united in opposing the bill.

In 1884 the government undertook to agree in select committee to the right being given to European British subjects, when brought for trial before a district magistrate or sessions judge, to claim trial by jury, such as is provided by section 451 of the Criminal Procedure Code, subject to the following conditions: (1) No distinction to be made between European or native district magistrates or sessions judges; (2) the powers of district magistrates under section 446 of the code to be extended to imprisonment for six months or fine of 2,000 rupees. The settlement thus arrived at became law without further opposition in January, 1884, and remains the law on this subject to the present time.

Among other prominent measures of the early years of the eighth decade

[1834-1885 A.D.]

was the repeal of the Vernacular Press Acts passed by Lord Lytton. In the opinion of Lord Ripon's government, the Press Acts passed by Lord Lytton (9 and 16 of 1878) constituted a direct departure from the policy with respect to the press in India which had been followed by the government of India for upwards of forty years. It was the aim of these acts to restrain the press, which was stated to have been at that time markedly seditious in its tone. They provided that a paper, after having been warned, would be liable to suspension, and they applied not only to publications of a nature to excite disaffection and endanger the public peace, but also to those affecting private persons and public servants. Other objections apart, it was held by Lord Ripon's government that an invidious exception was thus permitted in favour of the English press; and it was contended that if the Penal Code did not meet such cases, the existing defect in the code might be remedied. Acts 9 and 16 of 1878 were accordingly repealed. Later, in 1898, in consequence of plague riots in Poona, the murder of two British officers in retaliation for alleged insults to native usage and custom in the searching of women's apartments, and of much seditious writing connected therewith in the Bombay press, the Penal and Criminal Procedure codes were respectively amended by Acts 4 and 5 of 1898, which rendered the law in regard to seditious writing very considerably more stringent.

From Lord Ripon's tenure of office date also the revival and reorganisation, in accordance with the recommendations of the famine commission of 1878, of an agricultural department, whether in the government of India or in provincial governments. Such a department had already been brought into existence in 1871, but only to be abolished in 1877. It was not till the tenure of office by Lord Dufferin that the Bengal and Oudh Rent bills actually became law; but they had been framed and prepared and made almost ready for legislative sanction before his predecessor resigned office. They aimed at securing to the cultivating tenant a more stable interest in his holding, and they modified previous legislation principally in this direction. In Bengal, and in a lesser measure in Oudh, the objects aimed at by the legislature met with strenuous and organized opposition. In both provinces the landlord had hitherto enjoyed in a degree unusual in India the power of rack-renting and evicting his tenants. In neither province had he shown solicitude for the tenant by whose labour he so largely profited. The Bengal and Oudh Rent acts dealt with a vast variety of local tenures and sub-tenures and complicated questions of tenant right in a spirit of equity and moderation. The result has been everywhere beneficial. Speaking in general terms, it may be said that legislation was more favourable to the tenant than to the landlord. The dust of controversy has since settled down, and the new legislation has become the rule of practice.

The year 1885 furnishes the high-water mark of peaceful and uninterrupted progress. From that date clouds again began to accumulate around and about the Indian horizon. Before that year was over Great Britain had been nearly plunged into war by a collision between Russian and Afghan troops at Panjdeh, in Central Asia. Over £2,000,000 had been expended in hurried war preparations; commercial and famine railway extension had been arrested, and a large scheme of unremunerative military railways had in part overlaid and superseded it. Then came, almost on the heels of the Panjdeh incident, the outbreak of the Burma War, which in one or other form dragged on for the space of nearly two years. Meanwhile, in view of the approach of Russia in Central Asia, the government of India had decided to increase the effective strength both of its British and native army, the former by ten thousand, the

[1885 A.D.]

latter by twenty thousand men, at an estimated annual increase of little less than one and one-half million sterling. Military defence works and measures for more speedy mobilization added largely to prospective military expenditure. Exchange, which had remained for the space of three or four years fairly stationary, again resumed its downward course. A succession of costly frontier wars was entered on; and, as in 1878, before long the attention of the government was once more diverted from all home questions. Finally, though at a later date, came a recurrence of famine and the appearance in India of the bubonic plague. Such, during the period from 1885 to 1900, was the accumulation of disastrous circumstances, some of which it was not in the power of the government of India by the exercise of any prudence or wisdom to avert. Following rapidly one on the other, they again obstructed indefinitely that uncertain and hesitating path of progress which is so soon lost or choked by the sudden and tropical growth of tangled troubles in India.

## CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

Before, however, all this had finally occurred, one or two measures of importance remain to be noticed, which originated with Lord Dufferin's government, though they were in their final stage put into execution by his successor. They are marked by the desire to conciliate native opinion, and to provide a field for the due expansion of native ambitions, which had uniformly characterised the administration both of Lord Dufferin and of his predecessor. In October, 1886, a strong mixed commission was appointed by the government of Lord Dufferin to inquire into the system under which natives of India were at that time admitted by statute to the covenanted civil service, or to offices formerly reserved exclusively for members of that service; and also their employment in all branches of the public service connected with the civil administration of the country. The commission presented a report at the close of 1887, dealing with all branches of the civil administration. The recommendations of the commission, with comparatively unimportant reservations, were accepted by the government of India and the secretary of state for India, and are at the present moment in force. They have greatly improved and strengthened the prospects of higher employment to all classes of natives of India, and have for some time to come, it may be reasonably anticipated, set at rest agitation on this point.

A measure was introduced by Lord Dufferin's government which concerns rather the military and political than the internal administration of India, but which cannot be wholly regarded as outside the general scope of Indian affairs. At the time of the Panjdeh difficulty in 1885, when war with Russia seemed imminent, all the leading native princes made offers of pecuniary aid. Their offers were refused, but it was intimated to them at a somewhat later date that if they would place a small military force in each state at the disposal of the British government, to be commanded by state officers, but drilled, disciplined, and armed under the supervision of British officers and on British lines, the government would undertake to find the necessary supervising officer, arms, and organisation. The offer was universally accepted, and the Imperial State troops, as they are called, amount at present to nearly 18,000, mainly cavalry and infantry, whose efficiency is very highly thought of. They rendered good service in Chitral and Gilgit, in the wars on the north-west frontier, and in China. The total native state troops are said to number, inclusive of this body, about one hundred and ten thousand, largely an ill-

armed and ill-disciplined rabble. The Imperial Service troops, therefore, amount to about 16 per cent. of the total number.

During the twenty-one years preceding 1880 both upper and southern India had been visited at times by devastating famines. In 1896-97 India was revisited by famine, and the bubonic plague, which has since been constantly present in more or less virulence, first showed itself. The famine of 1896-97 extended over some 310,000 square miles, with a population in round figures of 35 millions, and was most severe in the north-west provinces, in Oudh, and in the central provinces. It lasted from about September, 1896, till October, 1897. At the worst time the total numbers on relief were 4,609,000. The death-rate per mile in the famine districts rose from 32.80, the normal death-rate, to 39.54. The total government expenditure and loss to government is estimated at about seventeen and one-quarter millions. Again, in 1900, famine appeared and proved itself most severe in Bombay, Rajputana, and the central provinces. The tract concerned contained a population of eighty-five millions, of whom perhaps fifty-two millions were severely affected. Of the eighty-five millions, forty-three and one-quarter millions were inhabitants of native states, and forty-one and three-quarter millions were in British territory. At the close of May 1900, 5,802,000 were in receipt of relief. After the rainy season of 1900 distress gradually abated. The expenditure necessary to cope with the famine was estimated at £13,000,000 (at 15 rupees to the £1). The death of adults from starvation is stated to have been of rare occurrence, and due entirely to the apathy of the people themselves.

### THIRD BURMESE WAR (1885 A.D.)

The causes which led to this war, and the consequent annexation of Upper Burma, may be briefly narrated. Relations between the British and Burmese governments had for some years been considerably strained, but it was not till the accession of Thibaw to the throne in 1878 that matters became really serious. This potentate opened his reign by a series of more than usually cold-blooded massacres of his nearest male relatives, and it soon became evident that the position of a British envoy at the court of Ava was no longer either a desirable or dignified one. In 1879, therefore, Great Britain ceased to be represented in Mandalay, and matters went from bad to worse. Thibaw lent himself more and more to foreign intrigues; and finally, in the summer of 1885, matters came to a crisis over a dispute that had arisen between the king and a large British mercantile firm called the Bombay-Burma Trading Company, which for years had been engaged in the export of timber from the great teak forests of the king's dominions. The imposition of an impossible fine on this company, coupled with the threat of confiscation of all their rights and property in case of non-payment, led to the British ultimatum of October 22nd, 1885; and by November 9th a practical refusal of the terms having been received at Rangoon, the occupation of Mandalay and the dethronement of the king were determined upon.

At this time, beyond the fact that the country was one of dense jungle, and therefore most unfavourable for military operations, little was known of the interior of Upper Burma; but British steamers had for years been running on the great river highway of the Irawadi, from Rangoon to Mandalay, and it was obvious that the quickest and most satisfactory method of carrying out the British campaign was an advance by water direct on the capital. The total effective of the British force was 9,034 fighting men,

[1885 A.D.]

2,810 native followers, and 67 guns; and, for river service, 24 machine guns. The river fleet which conveyed the troops and stores was composed of a total of no less than 55 steamers, barges, launches, etc.

Thayetmyo was the British post on the river nearest to the frontier, and here, by November 14th, five days after Thibaw's answer had been received, practically the whole expedition was assembled. On the same day General Prendergast received instructions to commence operations. There is not the slightest doubt that the Burmese king and his country were taken completely by surprise by the unexampled rapidity of the advance. There had been no time for them to collect and organise for the stubborn resistance of which the river and its defences were undoubtedly capable. They had not even been able to block the river by sinking steamers, etc., across it, for, on the very day of the receipt of orders to advance, the armed steamers, the *Irrawaddy* and *Kathleen*, engaged the nearest Burmese batteries, and brought out from under their guns the king's steamer and some barges which were lying in readiness for this very purpose. On the 16th the batteries themselves on both banks were taken by a land attack, the enemy being evidently unprepared and making no resistance. On the 17th of November, however, at Minhla, on the right bank of the river, the Burmans in considerable force held successfully a barricade, a pagoda, and the palace and redoubt of Minhla. The attack was pressed home by a brigade of native infantry on shore, covered by a bombardment from the river, and the enemy were defeated with a loss of 170 killed and 276 prisoners, besides many more drowned in the attempt to escape by the river.

The advance was continued next day and the following days, the naval brigade and heavy artillery leading and silencing in succession the enemy's river defences at Nyoungu, Pokoko, and Myingyan. On the 26th of November, when the flotilla was approaching the ancient capital of Ava, envoys from King Thibaw met General Prendergast with offers of surrender; and on the 27th, when the ships were lying off that city and ready to commence hostilities, the order of the king to his troops to lay down their arms was received. There were three strong forts here, full at that moment of thousands of armed Burmans, and though a large number of these filed past and laid down their arms by the king's command, still many more were allowed to disperse with their weapons; and these, in the time that followed, broke up into "dacoit" or guerilla bands, which became the scourge of the country and prolonged the war for years. Meanwhile, however, the surrender of the king of Burma was complete; and on November 28th, in less than a fortnight from the declaration of war, Mandalay had fallen, and the king himself was a prisoner, while every strong fort and town on the river, and all the king's ordnance (1,861 pieces), and thousands of rifles, muskets, and arms had been taken. Much valuable and curious "loot" and property was found in the palace and city of Mandalay, which, when sold, realized about 9 lacs of rupees (£60,000). A grant of money was divided among the troops as "prize money."

From Mandalay, General Prendergast made a bold stroke and seized Bhamo on December 28th. This was a very important move, as it forestalled the Chinese, who were preparing to claim the place. But unfortunately, although the king was dethroned and deported, and the capital and the whole of the river in the hands of the British, the bands of armed soldiery, unaccustomed to conditions other than those of anarchy, rapine, and murder, took advantage of the impenetrable cover of their jungles to continue a desultory armed resistance. Reinforcements had to be pressed into the country, and it was in this phase of the campaign, lasting several years, that the most

difficult and most arduous work fell to the lot of the troops. It was in this jungle warfare that the losses from battle, sickness, and privation steadily mounted up; and the troops, both British and native, proved once again their fortitude and courage.

Various expeditions followed one another in rapid succession, penetrating to the remotest corners of the land, and bringing peace and protection to the inhabitants, who, it must be mentioned, suffered at least as much from the "dacoits" as did the troops. The final, and completely successful, pacification of the country was only brought about by an extensive system of small protective posts scattered all over the country, and small lightly-equipped columns moving out to disperse the enemy whenever a gathering came to a head, or a pretended prince or king appeared.

#### THE DECLINE OF INDIAN PROSPERITY

The first fruits of political complications and military measures, combined with a further fall in the exchange, was the repeal of the then existing licence tax and the reimposition of an income tax in March, 1886; this being the first of a succession of fiscal measures by which in the course of the ensuing eight years the work of Sir John Strachey and Sir Evelyn Baring was gradually but completely undone, and the country again subjected to methods of taxation which it had been the object of their reforms finally to remove.

In introducing the Income Tax Bill in 1886, the financial member of the council said: "With the present year our brief spell of happiness has come to an end. The fat kine have passed on, and the lean kine have come in. Three uninterrupted years of prosperity is a godsend in the annals of every nation; in our Indian annals it is extraordinarily good fortune." In 1885-1886 the fall in exchange which had been temporarily suspended recommenced, and the Burmese War broke out. In 1886 India definitely entered into the region of depression and storm from war, famine, pestilence, and exchange, from which in 1902 she had not yet emerged.

Taking the average net expenditure of the years 1883-1885, and contrasting it with 1895-1896, the Indian expenditure commission found that the increase in the later period amounted to twelve and one-half millions of pounds. To meet the increased expenditure it had therefore become necessary that the resources of the Indian treasury should be increased by about £12,000,000. Thus the taxation on salt and imports, which was abolished by Sir John Strachey and Sir E. Baring, has now been reimposed, and remains in force. Other taxation has been added. The normal growth of revenue during the period of comparison (£5,800,000) was absorbed by the increase of expenditure under "defence and foreign affairs" — in other words, military and political — in India, and apart from the charge for exchange.

Of the total increased expenditure of £12,400,000, not less than £9,786,000, inclusive of exchange, was due to military and political expenditure. From 1886 onwards, with but brief intervals, there has occurred a series of wars and frontier expeditions, some of which, such as the Burmese War of 1886-1887, were extremely costly. The preparation for possible war with Russia amounted, in 1885-1886, to over two millions. The war with Burma cost, in the three years 1885-1886 to 1887-1888, over four millions. Minor expeditions, from 1887-1888 to 1895-1896, cost over five millions. The Tirah campaign of 1897-1898 (though this was of a date later than 1896-1897, the last year of the commission's comparison) cost over three millions — say in all, in round numbers, fourteen millions in eleven years. Increase in military and

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political expenditure, and increased loss by exchange (itself partly caused by the increase in military expenditure), are the causes which have led to the reimposition of the customs duties on cotton and other goods, and to the raising of the salt duties. The increased loss by exchange has been checked by closing the Indian mints to the coinage of silver and by the adoption of a gold standard. The further increase of military and political expenditure must largely depend on the policy pursued by the government of India with regard to the tribes on its north-western frontier, and to the course of events hereafter in Afghanistan.

## EVENTS ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

Since 1889 India has suffered from a succession of frontier wars. At the close of the Kabul War in 1880 the British cabinet decided to withdraw not from Kabul only, but from Kandahar, and with the exception chiefly of the Pishin and Sibi districts, and of Quetta, the British retired within their former borders. So matters remained till 1883-1884, when the advance of Russia in Central Asia again turned the attention of the government of India to affairs on and beyond the frontier, and led ultimately to the final abandonment of the policy of observation and reserve, which is known as the Lawrence policy. The control of the frontier was transferred in the latter part of the eighth decade from the lieutenant-governor of the Punjab to the government of India in its foreign department.

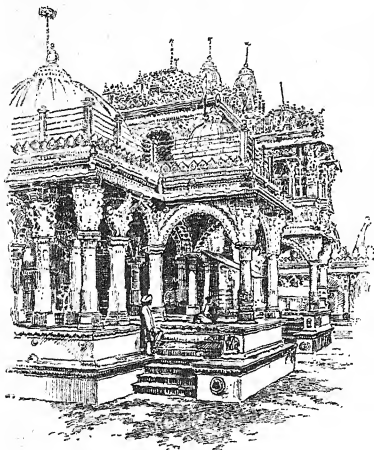
From that time the policy of non-interference was replaced by increasing activity. From 1885, when war with Russia seemed imminent, there has been more or less continuous movement along one or other part of the frontier and beyond the British border, indicating the gradual development of a pre-arranged plan of operations. Between the years 1885-1895 there were delimited at various times by joint commissions the Russo-Afghan frontier. To the westward, after various disagreements and two military expeditions, the territories comprising the Zhob, Barhan, and Bori valleys, occupied by Pathan tribes, were in 1890 finally incorporated in the general system of the Trans-Indus protectorate. About the same time (in 1889) at the other end of the frontier, where it touches China, the post of British resident in Gilgit had been re-established. The result became very shortly apparent. The government of Kashmir having for the time passed under the direct control of the British authorities through the death of the maharajah, in 1889, a council of regency was established under the supreme direction and authority of the British resident in Kashmir. Acting under his instructions, the council asserted and, with the aid of its troops led by the resident of Gilgit and by other British officers, re-established its supremacy over the petty states of Hunza and Nagar, in the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which it claimed as feudatories. The former chieftains were deposed, and others, more friendly to the British government, replaced them. In 1893 the frontiers of Afghanistan and British India were defined by a joint agreement between the two governments. There followed on the part of the British authorities, interference in Chitral, which had fallen to India, ending in an expedition in 1895 and the ejection of the local chiefs in favour of candidates amenable to British influence.

A more formidable hostile combination, however, awaited the government of India. By the agreement of 1893 with the amir most of the Waziri clan, the Bajouris, and the Afridis had been left outside the limits of the amir's influence and transferred to the British zone. Soon after that date the establishment of the British military authorities of posts within the Waziri country

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had led to apprehension on the part of the local tribesmen. In 1895 the occupation of points within the Swat territory for the safety of the road from India to Chitral similarly roused the suspicion of the Swatis. The Waziris and Swatis successively rose in arms, in June and July, 1897, and their example

was followed by the Mohmands. Finally, in August the powerful Afridi tribe joined the combination and closed the Khyber pass, which runs through their territory, and which was held by them, on conditions, in trust for the government of India. This led to the military operations known as the Tirah campaign, which proved very costly both in men and money. It was not till February, 1898, that hostilities finally ceased along the border, with a total British loss in all the several engagements with the several tribes of 506 of all ranks killed, 537 dead of disease, 1,428 wounded, and 9 missing — in all 2,480. By the middle of 1898 British authority had been made paramount throughout the whole belt of ter-



TEMPLE OF HATHISINGH AT AHMEDABAD

ritory which stretches between the former British frontier and the frontiers of Russia and Afghanistan, and from the Karakoram pass to Pishin.

#### VICEROYS, 1880-1906

The viceroys who held office during the period here dealt with were the marquis of Ripon, 1880-84; the marquis of Dufferin and Ava, 1884-88; the marquis of Lansdowne, 1888-95; the earl of Elgin, 1895-99; Baron Curzon of Kedleston, 1899; [and the earl of Minto from 1905]. Few viceroys have been animated by greater zeal, or sustained by a higher conception of duty, than Lord Ripon. In the prime of life, possessed of much ability, an indefatigable worker, and of experience in public affairs, he was greeted on arrival in India with a welcome the more warm in that the public had grown distrustful of his predecessor. Before he laid down office the goodwill with which he had been received had turned into hatred such as had never before dogged the footsteps of an Indian governor-general. So long as Lord Ripon confined himself to raising and improving the status of the native of India his action was followed by the British community, if not with warm approval, at least with kindly good will. But when he proceeded to assimilate the authority of native magistrates over European British subjects to that of British magistrates

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themselves, he was rudely made to feel that the government of India, autocratic though it may at times be with the natives, must be more circumspect in dealing with the British community.

The struggle with his fellow countrymen in which Lord Ripon suffered himself to be involved dealt a death-blow to his usefulness as viceroy. Instead of holding the balance between all parties, the viceroy became seemingly a partisan of one against another. When Lord Ripon's name grew to be a symbol between contending factions, nothing remained for him but to withdraw from an office in which he could no longer render useful service. But the Indian historian will hereafter record that to Lord Ripon belongs the distinction of having been the first viceroy openly to recognise and give practical encouragement to the growth of a self-respecting spirit of endeavour and of the desire for some measure of self-government among the more advanced classes of the natives. He sought, as events have shown not unsuccessfully, to assist them in raising themselves from an attitude of passive administrative subjection to a position more worthy both of themselves and of the government under whose liberal rule they live. His generous and kindly recognition of their claims and capacity was warmly responded to by all classes of natives; and if he was condemned to leave Calcutta in whatever disgrace may be thought to attach to the censure of that city, he received from the natives of India throughout his journey to Bombay a spontaneous and enthusiastic ovation, of which the like has never been accorded to his predecessors or successors.

It is greatly to the honour of Lord Dufferin that, though by no means indifferent to popularity among his countrymen, he never for a moment hesitated to continue and to carry further the main lines of the enlightened policy which had been initiated by Lord Ripon. But in Lord Dufferin's sagacious hands the rocks and shoals on which his predecessor foundered were avoided. In raising the status of the native civil service, and in enlarging the basis and extending the attributes of the several legislative councils, Lord Dufferin laid the native population under a lasting debt of gratitude. In the historic interview with the amir of Afghanistan in 1885 at Rawal Pindi, as throughout his treatment of the Panjdeh incident, his characteristic firmness and suavity were equally displayed. His term of office was darkened by financial difficulties, largely owing to the fall in exchange. The conquest of Upper Burma, though it increased his popularity and added to the lustre of his viceroyalty, reopened the floodgates of military expenditure and added to financial troubles.

With the advent of Lord Lansdowne the liberal policy of his immediate predecessors suffered eclipse. As time passed, it became evident that his thoughts were more occupied with affairs beyond the north-west frontier of India than with the interests of good government within its limits. The growing influence exercised over the viceroy by his chief military and political advisers became more and more matter of uneasy comment. Under their influence, and probably with approval in Whitehall, Lord Lansdowne renewed in substance Lord Lytton's policy, and the wars which have drained India of money and men since 1896 were due to the course of action adopted under his auspices in the years preceding. There never was a time since 1838 when Simla was so actively the centre of ambitions and of designs beyond the Indus. The most favoured type of Indian official was no longer the provincial governor or the sagacious resident, but that warden of the marches of Baluchistan, Sir Robert Sandeman, whose unique aim it was to extend the zone of British influence beyond the frontier, and whose method was to participate in

tribal dissensions, and to profit by them. "Sandemania," which has proved so contagious, then first became epidemic in high quarters.

It should be added, however, to the credit of his administration, that Lord Lansdowne grappled successfully with one hideous evil in Hindu social life, which required all the more courage to combat because it rested on immemorial custom, and was hallowed by religious sanction. He left behind him an act to raise the age of consent among Indian wives from ten to twelve, which, while it provoked much popular clamour, was approved by men of enlightenment of all creeds and races.

During so much of his term of office as was not occupied with combating famine and plague, Lord Elgin was engaged in conflict beyond the frontier with enemies who were none of his own seeking, or in acrid controversy with political friends in England on questions arising out of the political difficulties which had been bequeathed to him by his predecessor. Though the credit of introducing a gold standard into India does not personally rest with Lord Elgin, it was during his term of office that the measure was matured and effect given to it. Lord Curzon became viceroy in 1899. Under him the years 1900-1902 were marked by a great famine which was especially pronounced in the Bombay presidency, Baroda, Hyderabad, and the Central Indian States. Still more terrible were the ravages of the plague, which, beginning in 1896, gradually increased in virulence until in the year 1903 about 842,000, and in 1904 about 1,029,000 persons died of it.

In the year 1903 a British mission under Colonel Younghusband was despatched by the Indian government to Tibet to discuss trade relations and to secure the observance of certain conventions made in 1890 and 1893. In the following March, after long delays and protracted negotiations, the military escort which accompanied the mission became involved in an armed conflict with the Tibetans. After some further delays and negotiations, the expedition then fought its way to the mysterious forbidden city of Lhasa, which was taken on the 3d of August. There a formal treaty was signed by which arrangements were made for commercial intercourse between India and Tibet, and Tibet agreed to pay an indemnity of £500,000, but this sum was later reduced to £166,000.

Lord Curzon's administration was in general a satisfactory one, but in 1905 he became involved in a controversy with Lord Kitchener, the commander-in-chief of the forces in India, over the latter's proposal to abolish the system whereby while the commander-in-chief was the responsible head of the army, and its supplies were administered by the Military Department under a member of council. Lord Kitchener's proposal that the Army and War Department should be under a single head was deprecated by the Viceroy as introducing a military autocracy. The Home government, however, took Lord Kitchener's view, and issued instructions that a separate Military Supply department should be created, the member in charge of which should have no power to veto the proposals of the commander-in-chief. This was reluctantly accepted by Lord Curzon, but a subsequent difference arose over the appointment of the new Military Supply member. Hereupon on August 12, 1905, Lord Curzon, feeling that the Government's policy differed from his own, resigned, to the great regret of all classes throughout India, and was succeeded by the Earl of Minto.

In 1907 seditious movements against the British government were rife in India, an account of which has been given in the latter part of Volume XXI.

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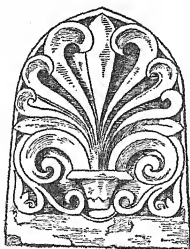
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## A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA (1336-1906 A.D.)

- 1336 Independent Afghan dynasty (capital Ghor) begins to reign in Bengal.
- 1347-1357 Earliest Mohammedan dynasty established in the Deccan by Ala-ud-din (capital Gulbargah).
- 1391 Independent Mohammedan dynasty founded at Ahmadabad in Guzerat.
- 1484 Imad Shahi dynasty founded at Berar (capital Ellichpur).
- 1489 Adil Shahi dynasty founded at Bijapur.
- 1490 Nizam Shahi dynasty founded at Ahmadnagar.
- 1492 Barid Shahi dynasty founded at Bidar.
- 1498 Vasco da Gama discovers the Cape route to India and reaches Calicut.
- 1500 Portuguese factories established at Kananur and Cochín.

### THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- 1505 First Portuguese viceroy in India: the Portuguese discover Ceylon.
- 1510 The Portuguese viceroy conquers Goa and
- 1511 Malacca.
- 1512 Kutab Shahi dynasty founded at Golkonda.
- 1515 Portuguese established at Diu.
- 1518 Portuguese settle in Ceylon.
- 1521 The discontented subjects of the emperor of Delhi summon Baber (Zehir-ud-din), the Mughal king of Kabul, to India.
- 1526 Baber defeats the Delhi emperor in the great battle of Panipat and takes Agra; the Rana Sanga of Mewar (Udaipur) collects a vast host against him.
- 1527 Baber wins the battle of Kanweh and makes himself master of India.
- 1530 Death of Baber. His son Humayun succeeds him.
- 1531 Daman taken and destroyed by Portuguese.
- 1539 Humayun defeated by Shir Shah who becomes lord of Hindustan; Humayun takes refuge in Persia.
- 1543 St. Francis Xavier founds Christian settlements in Travancore.
- 1545 Portuguese viceroy defeats the king of Guzerat at Diu.
- 1556 Humayun recovers part of his empire, including Delhi. Humayun dies and is succeeded by Akbar the Great under regency of Bairam Khan. He begins a series of wars to recover the empire of Baber.
- 1558 Portuguese settled at Daman.
- 1560 Akbar assumes the government in person and exercises a strong and humane government.
- 1565 Battle of Talikota; the five Mohammedan kings of the Deccan defeat the Hindu rajah of Vijayanagar and overthrow his empire (founded 1118) which splits up into small sovereignties.
- 1567 Princes of western India league against the Portuguese but are defeated by them.

- 1568 Akbar takes Chitor and conquers Ajmir.
- 1570 Akbar obtains Oudh and Gwalior.
- 1572 Akbar defeats the ruler of Ahmadabad and constitutes Guzerat a viceroyalty. The Afghans expelled from Bengal, and the lower Ganges valley recovered for Akbar.
- 1578 Orissa annexed to Akbar's empire. Akbar invites Jesuit missionaries to Lahore.
- 1579 The Englishman, Thomas Stephens visits India.
- 1581 Kabul added to Akbar's empire.
- 1586 Kashmir acquired by Akbar.
- 1592 Sind acquired by Akbar.
- 1594 Kandahar submits to Akbar.
- 1596 Akbar subdues Berar.
- 1600 Charter granted to the English East India Company.

### THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- 1602 First voyage made for the East India Company. Dutch East India Company formed.
- 1605 Akbar dies and is succeeded by his son Jahangir.
- 1606 Rebellion of Jahangir's son, Khusru, punished.
- 1612 The East India Company's first factory founded at Surat. First Danish East India Company founded.
- 1614 British agency established at Ajmir.
- 1615 An English embassy despatched to the court of Delhi.
- 1616 Danish settlements at Tranquebar and Serampur.
- 1620 Portuguese fleet defeated by the English.
- 1622 The Dutch massacre eighteen Englishmen at Amboyna. English factory established at Masulipatam.
- 1627 Shah Jahan succeeds Jahangir; the Mughal Empire at its height.
- 1634 Portuguese expelled from Bengal.
- 1638 Aurangzeb, son of Shah Jahan, having seized and plundered Hyderabad becomes governor of the Deccan. The Dutch take Portuguese forts in Ceylon.
- 1639 English settlement established at Madras.
- 1650 Shah Jahan renders the kingdom of Bijapur (Deccan) tributary.
- 1657 The Mahratta, Sivaji, rebels against the king of Bijapur and builds up a Mahratta power in the Deccan.
- 1658 Aurangzeb, having defeated three brothers and assassinated another, usurps the throne of his father, Shah Jahan. The Dutch take Colombo and the last Portuguese possessions in Ceylon.
- 1661 Bombay ceded to England by Portugal.
- 1664 The Dutch take the Portuguese settlements on the Malabar coast. Sivaji pillages Surat.
- 1666 Shah Jahan dies and is buried in the beautiful Taj Mahal which he had built at Agra.
- 1668 Bombay transferred to the East India Company. Successful campaign of Aurangzeb in the Deccan.
- 1670 Second Danish East India Company founded.
- 1674 French East India Company established at Pondicherry.
- 1680 Sivaji, having consolidated a strong Mahratta power in the Deccan, dies.
- 1682 Aurangzeb sets out to conquer the Deccan.
- 1683-1687 Aurangzeb incorporates the kingdoms of Bijapur and Goleonda with his empire.
- 1686 The English attempt to take Chittagong and are driven from Bengal.
- 1687 Bombay becomes the headquarters of the East India Company.
- 1693 East India Company's charter renewed.
- 1698 "General Society trading to the East Indies" formed in England.
- 1700 Calcutta purchased by the East India Company.

### THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- 1707 Death of Aurangzeb, the last great ruler of the Mughal dynasty. War between his sons; Bahadur Shah the victor. The authority of the Mughal power gradually usurped by minor chieftains.
- 1709 "General Society" unites with English East India Company.
- 1712 Death of Bahadur Shah. Quarrels between his sons.
- 1713 Jahandar Shah, son of Bahadur Shah, deposed and strangled; Farrakhsiyyar succeeds.
- 1714 Kamr-ud-din (Asaf Jah) is appointed governor of the Deccan and becomes founder of the Hyderabad dynasty. The peshwas of Poona begin to found an independent Mahratta power which becomes the head of the Mahratta confederacy.

- 1716 The Bhonsla king Raghoji establishes a Mahratta power of Nagpur.
- 1719 Farrakhsiyar deposed and strangled; Muhammed Shah succeeds. Various French companies consolidated as "Company of the Indies."
- 1720 Saadat Ali Khan appointed nawab of Oudh, which he makes an independent sovereignty.
- 1721 Commencement of the foundation of the Mahratta state of Baroda.
- 1724 The Mahratta dynasty of Sindhia establishes itself at Gwalior.
- 1733 Foundation of the Mahratta power of Indore, or Holkar's dominions.
- 1735 Kashmir incorporated with the kingdom of Kabul.
- 1736 Sindhia's forces invade Hindustan and advance to Delhi.
- 1739 Persians under Nadir Shah invade India and withdraw after sacking Delhi.
- 1746 Madras captured by the French under La Bourdonnais.
- 1748 The English besiege Pondicherry.
- 1751 French and English having taken sides in the quarrels of the Deccan princes, the English under Clive take Arcot and defend it against the French and their allies.
- 1753 The French acquire the Northern Circars from the sovereign of the Deccan.
- 1756 Clive becomes governor of Fort St. David. The fort at Calcutta taken by Siraj-ud-Daula (Surajah Dowlah) and the European prisoners confined in the Black Hole of Calcutta.
- 1757 Clive defeats Siraj-ud-Daula at Plassey, and establishes Mir Jafar in his place. The British relieve Trichinopoly, besieged by the French, who take the English factory at Vizagapatam. Madras surrendered to the British.
- 1758 French under Lally take Fort St. David from the British.
- 1759 Lally fails in the siege of Madras. The British take Masulipatam from the French and obtain eight districts from the ruler of the Deccan. Northern Circars transferred to British. Clive aids Mir Jafar to repel an invasion from Rohilkhand.
- 1760 The British defeat Lally at Wandewash and take Pondicherry. Bardwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong ceded to the British.
- 1761 The king of Kabul totally defeats the Mahrattas at Panipat and finally destroys the power of the king of Delhi.
- 1763 War between the British and the nawab of Bengal.
- 1764 The great Mughal with Sujah-ud-Daula, ruler of Oudh, aids the nawab of Bengal and is defeated at Baxar. The English make a treaty with the great Mughal who grants them the zemindari of Benares.
- 1765 Sujah-ud-Daula and the Mahrattas defeated by the British at Korah. The great Mughal empowers Clive to collect the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.
- 1766 Hyder Ali makes himself rajah of Mysore.
- 1767 War between the peshwa and Hyder Ali. The British and the nizam of the Deccan aid the peshwa. The peshwa makes a separate peace with Hyder. The British retreat and defeat the Mysore troops at Trinomali and Ambur.
- 1768 Nepal conquered by the Gurkas.
- 1769 Hyder, joined by the French, makes successful attacks on the British. Treaty of Hyder Ali with the British.
- 1770 Great famine in Bengal.
- 1771 War between Hyder and the peshwa. Shah Alam becomes nominal sovereign of Delhi under the real domination of Sindhia.
- 1772 Marawar war. Impeachment of Clive. Warren Hastings governor of Bengal.
- 1773 "Regulating Act" for the East India Company passed.
- 1774 British troops aid Sujah-ud-Daula of Oudh in the Rohilla war. Hastings becomes governor-general.
- 1775 War with Mahrattas (first Mahratta war) and acquisition of Salsette by the Bombay presidency. The supreme council at Calcutta forces the Bombay government to break faith with the Mahratta chief Ragoba.
- 1778 War between France and England. Hastings seizes Chandarnagar. War with the Mahrattas renewed.
- 1780 Hyder Ali overruns the Coromandel Coast and defeats the British at Conjeveram. Independence of Baroda recognised by the British government.
- 1781 Hyder ravages Tanjore and is defeated at Porto Novo by Sir Eyre Coote, who relieves Vellore.
- 1782 Sea fights between the British and the French under Suffren. Tipu Sahib succeeds his father Hyder Ali.
- 1783 Bednor taken by the British and recovered by Tipu, who besieges Mangalore. Indecisive sea fight off Cuddalore between Suffren and Hastings.
- 1784 The British evacuate Mangalore. Peace with Tipu. Pitt's India Bill, regulating the management of the East India Company, passed.
- 1786 Lord Cornwallis becomes governor-general of India. Supplementary bills passed.
- 1787 Impeachment of Warren Hastings.

- 1788 Tipu Sahib overruns and oppresses Calicut.  
 1789 Tipu attacks the rajah of Travancore, a British ally. The British make alliance with the peshwa against Tipu. Tipu defeats the rajah of Travancore.  
 1790 War with Tipu. The rajah of Travancore restored.  
 1791 Cornwallis takes Bangalore and defeats Tipu, but retreats.  
 1792 Cornwallis takes Seringapatam and forces Tipu to surrender half his territories, the British retaining his possessions on the Malabar coast.  
 1793 "Permanent Settlement" (of assessments on land in Bengal).  
 1795 Sindhia attacks and defeats the nizam of the Deccan. The British take the Dutch forts in Ceylon.  
 1796 French company of the Indies abolished by the French national assembly.  
 1798 Lord Mornington (Marquis Wellesley) becomes governor-general. Napoleon Bonaparte opens negotiations with Tipu Sahib; French from Mauritius organise a jacobin club in Seringapatam. Ranjit Singh becomes ruler of Lahore.  
 1799 British declare war on Tipu and defeat him at Malaveli; they capture Seringapatam, where Tipu is killed. The Kanara district becomes British territory. Maharajah Krishna, representative of the ancient dynasty of Mysore, made sovereign of Mysore.  
 1800 Sir John Malcolm is sent as ambassador to the king of Persia and concludes an alliance between him and the British government. The East India Company assumes the government of Surat. By treaty with the nizam the East India Company engages to defend Hyderabad against foreign aggression, receives territories in trust (Berar) to defray cost of British troops, and assumes direction of Hyderabad's foreign affairs.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1801 The East India Company interferes in the disputes for the rule of the Carnatic and takes over the government in perpetuity.  
 1802 The peshwa, driven from Poona by Holkar, concludes the Treaty of Bassein with the Company. British possessions in Ceylon become a direct dependency of the British crown.  
 1803 Second Mahratta War. General Wellesley (Duke of Wellington) restores the peshwa. Wellesley defeats the Mahrattas at Assaye. Lake takes Aligarh, wins the battle of Laswari and takes Delhi and Agra. Wellesley defeats the Mahrattas at Argam. Powell overruns Bundelkhand and takes Gwalior. Cuttack conquered by the British. Unsuccessful war in Ceylon. Treaty with Sindhia who surrenders his suzerain rights over the chiefs between the Jumna and Ganges and others.  
 1804 War with Holkar. Wellesley disperses the predatory bands formed from Sindhia's army. Holkar besieges Delhi which Lake relieves. Holkar's forces destroyed at Dig and Farrakhabad.  
 1805 Lake besieges Bhartpur, but fails to take it; the rajah of Bhartpur makes a treaty with the British. Treaty with Sindhia, who cedes Gwalior and part of Gohud to the British; treaty with Holkar secures Poona and Bundelkhand to the British.  
 1806 Sepoy mutiny at Vellore quelled by Colonel Gillespie.  
 1807 Lord Minto becomes governor-general.  
 1809 Treaty between the British and Shuja-ul-Mulk king of Kabul. Shuja-ul-Mulk defeated by his brother Mahmud. Treaty between the British and Ranjit Singh. Kashmir becomes an independent kingdom.  
 1810 Amboyna and the Banda Islands conquered by the Company. The British conquer Mauritius.  
 1811 The Company's troops conquer Java from the Dutch.  
 1813 An act of Parliament modifies the political organisation of the East India Company and extends the privilege of trading with India to other persons. A system introduced for the support of government-paid missionaries in India. Lord Moira (Hastings) governor-general. Ranjit Singh obtains possession of Attock.  
 1814 Disastrous war with Nepal. Amboyna, Banda Islands and Java restored to the Dutch.  
 1815 The British defeat the tyrant of Ceylon; the whole island becomes British; civil and religious liberty granted to the inhabitants.  
 1816 Second war with Nepal; the Gurkas defeated at Mukwanpur; a British residency established in Nepal.  
 1817-1818 Power of the robber Pindharis crushed by the British. Third Mahratta war; the Mahrattas of Poona (peshwa's capital), Nagpur and Indore (Holkar's dominions) rise against the British and are overthrown; Holkar defeated at Mehidpur. Ranjit Singh obtains possession of Multan.  
 1819 An English factory established at Singapore. Ranjit Singh annexes Kashmir.  
 1823 Lord Amherst becomes governor-general.

- 1824 First Burmese war.  
 1825 Dispute over the succession to Bhartpur. Burmese War ended by Treaty of Yandabu; Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim ceded to the British.  
 1826 Bhartpur besieged and taken by Lord Combermere.  
 1828 Lord William Bentinck becomes governor-general.  
 1829 Bentinck decrees the abolition of suttee (sati).  
 1831 Misgovernment in Mysore compels the British to assume the direct administration.  
 1833 The charter of the East India Company renewed; it is compelled to abandon its trade; a commission, under Macaulay's presidency, appointed to codify the law of India.  
 1835 Lord Auckland governor-general.  
 1838 First Afghan war; the British in alliance with Ranjit Singh undertake to restore Shah Shuja.  
 1839 Ghazni and Kabul taken and Shah Shuja reinstated. Death of Ranjit Singh.  
 1840 The amirs of Sind arise against the British.  
 1841 Revolt in Kabul; the British envoys murdered; disastrous retreat of the British garrison, only one man reaching Jalalabad alive. The Afghans besiege the British garrisons in Kandahar and Jalalabad.  
 1842 Lord Ellenborough succeeds Auckland. Afghans defeated at Jalalabad and Kandahar. The British occupy Kabul; they evacuate Afghanistan.  
 1843 War in Sind; Sir Charles Napier wins the battles of Miani and Hyderabad. Sind annexed.  
 1845 The English acquire the Danish settlements at Tranquebar and Serampur by purchase. First Sikh War; the Sikhs invade British territory and are defeated at Mudki and Ferozshah.  
 1846 Sikhs defeated at Aliwal and Sohraon; Lahore surrenders to the British, Dhuleep (Dhialp) Singh is recognised as rajah of Lahore, and a British garrison is stationed there; the Jalandhar Doab annexed by the British; Kashmir recognised as independent.  
 1848 Lord Dalhousie becomes governor-general. Murder of British officers at Multan begins the second Sikh War.  
 1849 Multan taken by the British. Battle of Chillianwala and heavy British losses. Gough destroys the Sikh army at Gujrat. The Punjab annexed to the British dominions. Satara annexed.  
 1852-1853 Second Burmese War resulting in the annexation of Pegu.  
 1853 Nagpur and Jhansi escheat to the central government. Change in the charter of the East India Company decreasing the company's influence on the government and throwing the Indian civil service open to competition.  
 1854 Ganges canal opened. Treaty with Baluchistan.  
 1856 The king of Oudh dethroned for misgovernment and a British commissioner appointed. Lord Canning becomes governor-general. Successful war with Persia.  
 1857 Religious fears of the sepoys roused by the issue of greased cartridges. First attempt at mutiny suppressed. Formidable mutiny at Meerut and murder of many Europeans; the mutineers escape to Delhi, are joined by the garrison there, and proclaim the king of Delhi sovereign of India; the British destroy the Delhi powder magazine. Mutinies and massacres at Neemuch, Allahabad, Jhansi, Mhow, and other places in the Bengal Presidency. Massacre in Delhi. Nana Sahib besieges Cawnpore. Sir John Lawrence aided by Sikh troops prevents mutiny in the Punjab. The British besiege Delhi. Neill recovers Allahabad. Cawnpore garrison massacred. Mutineers besiege the residency at Lucknow. Massacre of the women and children at Cawnpore. Delhi taken by storm; Hodson shoots down the king's sons. Mutinies in the Bombay Presidency. Outram and Havelock relieve Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell brings reinforcements from England and finally rescues the Lucknow garrison.  
 1858 Sir Colin Campbell recovers Lucknow. The revolted city of Jhansi taken by Sir Hugh Rose. Campbell subdues Rohilkhand. Kalpi and Gwalior taken by Rose. Behar reduced. End of the East India Company; its territories and powers transferred to the crown; Canning receives the title of viceroy.  
 1862 Lord Elgin viceroy. Death of the ex-king of Delhi, Bahadur Shah, the last of the great Mughals.  
 1863 Sir John Lawrence viceroy.  
 1865 War with Bhutan ended by the cession by the Bhutias of the eighteen Dwaras of Bengal and Assam in return for a subsidy.  
 1866 Terrible famine and flood in Orissa.  
 1869 Lord Mayo viceroy; interview at Ambala with Sher Ali, amir of Afghanistan.  
 1872 Lord Mayo assassinated at the Andaman Islands. Lord Northbrook viceroy.  
 1874 Famine in Lower Bengal. Gaikwar of Baroda deposed for incapacity and a new gaikwar established.

- 1876 Lord Northbrook resigns and is succeeded by Lord Lytton. Treaty with the khan of Kalat; the British Government undertakes to uphold the khan's authority.
- 1877 Queen Victoria proclaimed empress of India. Severe famine in India.
- 1878 Acts restraining the liberty of the press passed. Sher Ali receives a Russian mission and declines to admit a British one. Second Afghan War; the British invade Afghanistan.
- 1879 By the Treaty of Gandamak the British frontier is advanced towards Afghanistan and a British resident admitted at Kabul. Murder of the British resident and his escort. A punitive expedition under General Roberts takes Kabul. The amir deposed.
- 1880 Lord Lytton resigns and is succeeded by Lord Ripon. Abdurrahman Khan proclaimed amir of Kabul. Disaster at Maiwand; a British force is defeated by a son of the deposed amir and the remnant besieged in Kandahar. March of General Roberts to relieve Kandahar; he routs the enemy before the walls. The British withdraw from Afghanistan.
- 1881 Government of Mysore restored to the Hindu dynasty.
- 1882 Abolition of cotton duties; salt duties reduced; increased administrative powers conferred on provincial governments.
- 1883 Controversy over the Ilbert Bill concerning the extension of the powers of covenanted civil servants.
- 1884 The Ilbert Bill passed with a reservation granting European British subjects the right of trial by jury. Lord Dufferin viceroy. The Indian national congress, designed to oppose the exclusive conduct of Indian affairs by the ruling race, holds its first annual session.
- 1885 Collision between Afghans and Russians at Panjdeh leads to preparations for war in India; the affair arranged diplomatically. Burmese War; Ava and Mandalay occupied and the king Thibaw taken.
- 1886 Upper Burma formally annexed.
- 1887 Civil service reform. British Baluchistan incorporated with India.
- 1888 Hazara expedition. A British expedition expels the Tibetans from Sikkim. Lord Lansdowne viceroy.
- 1889 Burmese War ends.
- 1890 China acknowledges the British protectorate over Sikkim.
- 1891 Manipur expedition.
- 1892 Indian Councils Act passed.
- 1893 Frontier between India and Afghanistan defined.
- 1895 Opium inquiries; the report declares against repressive measures. Chitral expedition. Lord Elgin viceroy.
- 1896 Famine and plague in India.
- 1897 Burma made a lieutenant-governorship. The Waziris, Swatis, Mohmands, and Afridis rise against the British; the Tirah campaign undertaken in consequence.
- 1899 Lord Curzon of Kedleston viceroy. Nushki district and Niabat in Baluchistan transferred to British management.
- 1900 Severe famine.
- 1903 842,000 people die of the plague.
- 1904 An expedition captures Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. 1,029,000 people die of the plague.
- 1905 Lord Curzon resigns and is succeeded by the earl of Minto.





## BOOK VIII

### THE COLONIAL WORLD

#### CHAPTER I

#### THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

##### DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

OWING to its position at the antipodes of the civilised world, Australia has been longer a *terra incognita* than any other region of the same extent. Its first discovery is involved in considerable doubt, from confusion of the names which were applied by the earlier navigators and geographers to the Australasian coasts.

The ancients were somehow impressed with the idea of a Terra Australis which was one day to be revealed. The Phœnician mariners had pushed through the outlet of the Red Sea to eastern Africa, the Persian Gulf, and the coasts of India and Sumatra. But the geographer Ptolemy, in the 2nd century, still conceived the Indian Ocean to be an inland sea, bounded on the south by an unknown land, which connected the Chersonesus Aurea (Malay Peninsula) with the promontory of Prasum in eastern Africa. This erroneous notion prevailed in mediæval Europe, although some travellers like Marco Polo heard rumours in China of large insular countries to the southeast.

The investigations of Mr. R. H. Major make it appear probable that the Australian mainland was known as "Great Java" to the Portuguese early in the sixteenth century; and the following passage in the *Descriptionis Ptolemaice Augmentum* of Cornelius Wytfliet,<sup>h</sup> printed at Louvain in 1598, is perhaps the first distinct account that occurs of the country:—"The Australis Terra is the most southern of all lands, and is separated from New Guinea by a narrow strait. Its shores are hitherto but little known, since, after one

[1598-1770 A.D.]

oyage and another, that route has been deserted, and seldom is the country sighted, unless when sailors are driven there by storms. The Australis Terræ begins at one or two degrees from the equator and is ascertained by some to be of so great an extent, that if it were thoroughly explored it would be regarded as a fifth part of the world."

It was in 1606 that Torres, with a ship commissioned by the Spanish government of Peru, parted from his companion Quiros (after their discovery of spiritus Santo and the New Hebrides), and sailed from east to west through the strait which bears his name; while in the same year the peninsula of Cape York was touched at by a vessel called the *Duyfshen* or *Dove* from the Dutch colony of Bantam in Java, but this was understood at the time to form a part of the neighbouring island of New Guinea. The Dutch continued their attempts to explore the unknown land, sending out in 1616 the ship *Endraght*, commanded by Dirk Hartog, which sailed along the west coast of Australia from lat.  $26^{\circ} 30'$  to  $23^{\circ}$  S. This expedition left on an islet near Shark's Bay a record of its visit engraved on a tin plate, which was found there in 1801. The *Pera* and *Arnhem*, Dutch vessels from Amboyna, in 1618 explored the Gulf of Carpentaria, giving to its westward peninsula, on the side opposite to Cape York, the name of Arnhem Land. The name of Carpentaria was also bestowed on this vast gulf in compliment to Peter Carpenter, then governor of the Dutch East India Company. In 1627 the *Guldene Zeepard*, carrying Peter Nuyts to the embassy in Japan, sailed along the south coast from Cape Leeuwin, and sighted the whole shore of the Great Bight. But alike on the northern and southern seaboard, the aspect of New Holland, as it was then called, presented an uninviting appearance.

An important era of discovery began with Tasman's voyage of 1642. He, too, sailed from Batavia; but, first crossing the Indian Ocean to the Mauritius, he descended to the 44th parallel of S. lat., recrossing that ocean to the east. By taking this latter course he reached the island which now bears his name, but which he called Van Diemen's Land, after the Dutch governor of Batavia. In 1644 Tasman made another attempt, when he explored the northwest coast of Australia, from Arnhem Land to the 22nd degree of latitude, approaching the locality of Dirk Hartog's discoveries of 1616. He seems to have landed at Cape Ford, near Victoria River, also in Roebuck Bay, and again near Dampier's Archipelago. But the hostile attitude of the natives, whom he denounced as a malicious and miserable race of savages, prevented his seeing much of the new country; and for half a century after this no fresh discoveries were made.

The English made their first appearance on the Australian coast in 1683, when the northwestern shores were visited by the famous buccaneer Captain William Dampier, who spent five weeks ashore near Roebuck Bay. A few years later (1697) the Dutch organised another expedition under Vlamingh, who, first touching at Swan River on the west coast, sailed northward to Shark's Bay, where Hartog had been in 1616. Dampier, two years later, visited the same place, not now as a roving adventurer, but with a commission from the English admiralty to pursue his Australian researches. This enterprising navigator, in the narrative of his voyages, gives an account of the trees, birds, and reptiles he observed, and of his encounters with the natives. But he found nothing to invite a long stay. There was yet another Dutch exploring squadron on that coast in 1705, but the results were of little importance.

It was Captain Cook, in his voyages from 1769 to 1777, who communicated the most important discoveries, and first opened to European enterprise and

[1770-1798 A.D.]

settlement the Australasian coasts. In command of the bark *Endeavour*, 370 tons burden, and carrying 85 persons, amongst whom were Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, returning from the Royal Society's expedition to observe the transit of Venus, Cook visited both New Zealand and New South Wales. He came upon the Australian mainland in April, 1770, at a point named after Lieutenant Hicks, who first sighted it, on the shore of Gipps' Land, Victoria, S. lat., 38°, E. long. 148° 53'. From this point, in a coasting voyage not without peril when entangled in the barrier reefs of coral, the little vessel made its way up the whole length of the eastern sides of Australia, rounding Cape York, and crossing Torres Strait to New Guinea. In his second expedition of Australasian discovery, which was sent out in 1773, Cook's ship, the *Resolute*, started in company with the *Adventure*, commanded by Captain Furneaux. The two vessels separated, and Cook went to New Zealand, while Furneaux examined some parts of Tasmania and Bass Strait. The third voyage of Cook brought him, in 1777, both to Tasmania and to New Zealand.



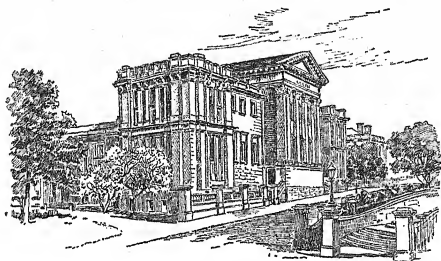
WILLIAM DAMPIER  
(1652-1715)

Next to Cook, twenty or thirty years after his time, the names of Bass and Flinders are justly honoured for continuing the work of maritime discovery he had so well begun. To their courageous and persevering efforts, begun at their private risk, is due the correct determination of the shape both of Tasmania and the neighbouring continent. The French admiral Entrecasteaux, in 1792, had made a careful examination of the inlets at the south of Tasmania, and in his opinion the opening between Tasmania and Australia was only a deep bay. It was Bass who discovered it to be a broad strait, with numerous small islands. Captain Flinders survived his friend Bass, having been associated with him in 1798 in this and other useful adventures. Flinders afterwards made a complete survey in detail of all the Australian coasts, except the west and northwest. He was captured, however, by the French during the war, and detained a prisoner in Mauritius for seven years.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE FOUNDING OF NEW SOUTH WALES

New South Wales, the oldest of the Australian group, was founded in 1788, the British government being induced by the favourable reports of Captain Cook to use it as a penal settlement in place of the former American colonies. The so-called "first fleet," consisting of eleven vessels, reached Botany Bay in January 1788, with a complement of three hundred and forty-eight free persons and six hundred and ninety-six male and female prisoners. The voyage had occupied eight months.<sup>a</sup>

The shores of Botany Bay were found to be unsuitable for residence or cultivation, and Captain Phillip, R.N., who was in charge of the expedition, transferred the people under his command to Port Jackson, half-a-dozen miles away, near the site of the present city of Sydney. For some years the history of the infant settlement was that of a large gaol. The attempts made to till the soil at Farm Cove near Sydney, and near Parramatta, were only partially successful, and upon several occasions the residents of the encampment suffered much privation. But by degrees the difficulties inseparable from the foundation of a remote colony were surmounted, several additional convict ships landed their living freight on the shores of Port Jackson, and in 1793 an emigrant ship arrived with free settlers, who were furnished with provisions and presented with free grants of land." By this time Captain Phillip had been succeeded by Captain John Hunter, his second in command on the voyage. Under his rule agriculture made some progress. What was more important was the discovery of the Cow Pastures. Some cattle which had escaped from the herd reached this district, and disclosed to the settlers in pursuit of them some admirable pasture-land. The number of



THE MUSEUM, COLLEGE STREET, SYDNEY

inhabitants of Sydney increased to five thousand, and a church was built, with the name of St. Phillip, in honour of the first governor.

Captain Hunter was succeeded in turn by Captain Philip Gidley King. A penal settlement was formed in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), and an unsuccessful attempt was made to colonise Port Phillip. But a disastrous set-back came upon the little colony. One of the floods to which the river Hawkesbury is subject swept over the farms which had been granted to the free settlers, destroying produce to the value of £3,500. "Danger of absolute starvation ensued," says Fitzgerald, "as the valley was the granary of the colony. Maize and flour sold at 2s. 6d. per pound. A 2 lb. loaf reached the price of 5s. For many months the inhabitants adopted stringent measures to restrict consumption. The growth of garden vegetables was encouraged, and sea-fishing was undertaken." By August, 1806, however, when Captain King left the colony on the expiry of his term of office, the crisis had passed. He was succeeded by Captain William Bligh, the naval officer connected with the mutiny of the *Bounty*. The incapacity of this officer in dealing with men was no good omen for his appointment to so difficult a position as that of governor of a penal settlement. He had not been long in the country before he came

[1808-1821 A.D.]

into collision with the officers of the New South Wales corps, a regiment raised in England for service in the colony. Fitzgerald, though admitting that the conduct of the officers was in many respects open to censure, says that the measures adopted by Captain Bligh during the dispute were, to say the least, ill-advised. The opposition culminated in open rebellion. On January 26th, 1808, Captain Bligh was forcibly deposed and placed in a ship with the object of returning to England, but he lingered about the coast, while the senior officer of the corps administered the government until the arrival of Macquarie, an army officer who had been appointed governor.

The régime of this able administrator marked the transformation of New South Wales from a penal settlement to a colony. He explored the surrounding country, constructed roads and bridges, and put up many permanent and palatial buildings in the cities of Sydney and Parramatta. All these public works were naturally accomplished by convict labour. His administration having been somewhat severely criticised by the British government at home, Colonel Macquarie himself, in an able *apologia* printed in the *Parliamentary Papers* of 1828, described the state in which he found the settlement, and the means he had taken to improve its conditions.

"I found the colony," he says, "barely emerging from infantile imbecility, and suffering from various privations and disabilities: the country impenetrable beyond forty miles from Sydney, agriculture in a yet languishing state, commerce in its early dawn, revenue unknown, threatened with famine, distracted by faction, the public buildings in a state of dilapidation and mouldering to decay, the few roads and bridges rendered almost impassable, the population in general depressed by poverty, no public credit nor private confidence, the morals of the great mass of the population in the lowest state of debasement, and religious worship almost totally neglected." Such was the state of New South Wales when he took charge of its administration on January 1st, 1810. He left it in February, 1821, reaping incalculable advantages from his extensive and important discoveries in all directions, including the supposed almost impassable barrier called the "Blue Mountains," to the westward of which are situated the fertile plains of Bathurst, and in all respects enjoying a state of private comfort and public prosperity which he thought would equal the expectation of his majesty's government. He goes on to state that in 1810 there were: population, 11,590; sheep, 25,888; cattle, 9,544; acres in cultivation, 7,615; and that in October, 1821, the population was 38,778; sheep, 290,158; cattle, 102,939; acres in cultivation, 32,267.

Governor Macquarie signalled his term of office by an attempt to improve the condition of the prisoners, which met with considerable opposition from the free settlers and the garrison. He is described by Fitzgerald as inviting to his table, appointing as magistrates, and distinguishing by other marks of favour men whom he supposed to be reformed. Fitzgerald adds that the controversy excited so much interest in England that Mr. John Bigge was sent out in 1819 with the fullest powers of investigation; serious doubts being entertained in Downing Street, not only as to the wisdom of Macquarie's policy, but also whether transportation had not, in consequence of it, ceased to be a terror to evildoers. The result of the two years' inquiry was embodied in three separate reports. They recommended that transportation be continued, but suggested improvements in discipline, severely censuring the governor's indulgence towards prisoners.

[1817-1851 A.D.]

It was during Captain Macquarie's administration that the first banking institution, the Bank of New South Wales, was founded. His own financial methods consisted in remedying the scarcity of coin by allowing private individuals to issue promissory notes for 5s. redeemable in copper, and in preventing the exportation of the Spanish dollar by punching out the centre and allowing a value of 5s. to the remaining ring.

By 1817, after the fall of Napoleon had given the people of the United Kingdom leisure to think about their overseas possessions, free settlers were arriving in considerable numbers.

#### ABOLITION OF TRANSPORTATION: GOLD AND SHEEP

Governor Macquarie was succeeded as governor in 1821 by Sir Thomas Brisbane, the distinguished astronomer, in whose administration (1822-25) the first legislative council met, trial by jury in criminal cases was substituted for trial by military juries, and the censorship of the press was abolished. A penal colony established at Moreton Bay in 1824 afterward developed into the colony of Queensland, the capital city of which was named from Governor Brisbane. In 1825 Sir Ralph Darling became governor and established many needed reforms, particularly in regard to the land system. It was during his administration that the movement to put an end to the system of convict transportation attained new force by the alliance of the governor with the exclusionists. In 1831 he was superseded by Sir Richard Bourke of whom it has been said that he revolutionised the whole system of government, and inaugurated a new era for the colony.

Free grants of land, excepting such as were for public purposes, were abolished, thus doing away with one of the greatest sources of fraud and discontent. The convict system was remodelled and regulated, abuses in "assignment" were rectified and the severity of punishments mitigated. The immigration of women was encouraged in order to remedy the defect due to the extraordinarily disproportionate numbers of men in the colony; a law providing for more liberal religious equality was enacted. In the six years of Governor Bourke's administration the population of New South Wales had almost doubled.

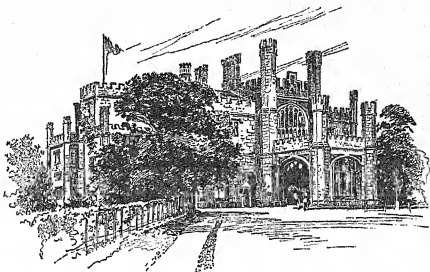
In 1838 Sir George Gipps became governor, remaining at the head of the colonial government until 1846. A violent temper and great obstinacy made the new governor unpopular in the extreme, but his administration was marked by great progress in many directions. It was a period of rapid growth in the new districts of Victoria (Australia Felix or Port Phillip) and in South Australia. The abolition of transportation in 1840 was followed by the encouragement of free immigration. In 1841 the population passed 130,000. Extravagant speculation, undue inflation, overtrading and overproduction led to a crisis which was precipitated by a fall in the price of wool in England and a severe drought in 1841-42. Land sales fell from £316,000 in 1840 to £90,000 in the following year, and in 1842 the sales barely defrayed the expenses of the survey.

Sir Charles Fitzroy was governor from 1846-1855. His administration was marked by several occurrences of importance. By 1851 the population of New South Wales had reached 190,000 while Victoria and South Australia aggregated about 80,000 inhabitants each.<sup>a</sup>

At Summerhill Creek, 20 miles north of Bathurst, in the Macquarie plains, gold was discovered, in February, 1851, by Edward Hammond Hargraves, an Australian gold miner returned from California. The

[1851 A.D.]

intelligence was made known in April or May; and then began a rush of thousands—men leaving their former employments in the bush or in the towns to search for the ore so greatly coveted in all ages. In August it was found at Anderson's Creek, near Melbourne; a few weeks later the great Ballarat gold field, 80 miles west of that city, was opened; and after that, Bendigo, now called Sandhurst, to the north. Not only in these lucky provinces, New South Wales and Victoria, where the auriferous deposits were revealed, but in every British colony of Australasia, all ordinary industry was left for the one exciting pursuit. The copper mines of South Australia were for the time deserted, while Tasmania and New Zealand lost many inhabitants, who emigrated to the more promising country. The disturbance of social, industrial, and commercial affairs, during the first two or three years of the gold era, was very great. Immigrants from Europe, and to some extent from North America and China, poured into Melbourne, where the arrivals in 1852 averaged 2,000 persons in a week. The population of Victoria was doubled in the first twelve-month of the gold fever.<sup>b</sup>



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SYDNEY

In the year of the gold discovery Victoria was established as an independent colony. Two years later (1853), the imperial parliament enacted as law the new constitution drawn up by the New South Wales legislative council which made the colony self-governing on a responsible representative basis.

Walpole<sup>j</sup> remarks that "any one who had patiently studied the statistics of Australia during the opening years of the nineteenth century might have been puzzled to name the advantages which were likely to result from the foundation of the settlement." But he points out that there were even at this time in operation causes that were to lead to the success of the colony, —in particular, a beginning had been made in the wool industry.<sup>a</sup> The suitability of the land for pastoral pursuits was undoubtedly the means of leading the infant colony of New South Wales to take its first step on the path of commercial progress.

By the year 1795, Captain MacArthur, one of the first promoters of sheep-breeding in New South Wales, had accumulated a flock of 1000; but, not satisfied with the natural increase of his flocks alone, he sought also to improve the quality of their fleeces. A happy circumstance enabled him to attain his object, for in 1797 Captain Waterhouse arrived from the Cape of Good Hope with a number of very fine Spanish-bred sheep. By scientifically crossing his new stock with the old, MacArthur gradually improved his strain, and in a few years obtained fleeces of very fine texture.

In due course MacArthur arrived in England with specimens of the wool

[1851-1879 A.D.]

obtained from his finest sheep, conclusively proving the capabilities of Australia as a wool-producing country. In this way he opened up a small trade, which, as Australasian wool rose in estimation, gradually increased until it reached its present dimensions. During his visit to England MacArthur purchased an additional stock of ten rams and ewes of the breed, which had formed portion of a present from the King of Spain to George III. After his return to New South Wales, MacArthur patiently continued for many years the process of selection, with such success that in 1858, when his flock was finally dispersed, it was estimated that his superior ewes numbered fully one thousand.<sup>o</sup>

The magnitude of the industry may be appreciated from the statistics which Walpole<sup>j</sup> gives as to the increase in the number of sheep in New South Wales in the nineteenth century. He says that in 1800 New South Wales possessed 6757 sheep; in 1821 she had 120,000; in 1834 about 1,000,000; in 1839, 3,000,000; in 1856, 7,700,000; whilst in the next twenty-five years the stock of sheep increased more than fourfold.<sup>a</sup>

Ministry succeeded ministry at short intervals, and it was some years before constitutional government worked smoothly. The powers of the new parliament were utilised for extending representative institutions. Vote by ballot was introduced; the number of members in the assembly was increased to 80, and the franchise was granted to every adult male after six months' residence in any electoral area. Meanwhile the material progress of the colony was unchecked.

During the *régime* of Sir John Young, afterwards Lord Lisgar, who succeeded Sir William Denison in 1861, several important events occurred. The land policy of previous governments was entirely revised, and the Land Bill, framed by Sir John Robertson, introduced the principle of deferred payments for the purchase of crown lands, and made residence and cultivation, rather than a sufficient price, the object to be sought by the crown in alienating the public estate. This measure was followed by similar legislation in all of the Australian colonies. It was during the governorship of Sir John Young that the distinction between the descendants of convicts and the descendants of free settlers, hitherto maintained with great strictness, was finally abandoned. In 1862 the agitation against the Chinese assumed importance, and the attitude of the miners at Lambing Flat was so threatening that a large force, military and police was despatched to that gold-field in order to protect the Chinamen from ill treatment by the miners. The railways were gradually extended, and the condition of the country roads was improved. The only drawback to the general progress and prosperity of the country was the recrudescence of bushranging, or robbery under arms, in the country districts. This crime, originally confined to runaway convicts, was now committed by young men born in the colony, familiar with its mountains and forests, who were good horsemen and excellent shots. It was not until a large number of lives had been sacrificed, and many bushrangers brought to the scaffold, that the offence was thoroughly stamped out in New South Wales, only to reappear some years afterwards under somewhat similar conditions.

The earl of Belmore was governor from 1868 to 1872. Sir Hercules Robinson, afterwards Lord Rosmead, was sworn in as governor in 1872. During his rule the long series of political struggles, which prevented any administration from remaining in office long enough to develop its policy, was brought to an end by a coalition between Sir Henry Parkes and Sir John Robertson. Lord Augustus Loftus became governor in 1879, in time to inaugurate the first international exhibition ever held in Australia. The census taken during the

[1880-1901 A.D.]

following year gave the population of the colony as 751,468. The railway to Melbourne was completed in 1880; and in 1883 valuable deposits of silver were discovered at Broken Hill, near the western frontier of New South Wales.

In 1889 the premier, Sir Henry Parkes, gave his adhesion to the movement for Australasian federation, and New South Wales was represented at the first conference held at Melbourne in the beginning of 1890. Lord Jersey assumed office January 15, 1891, and a few weeks afterwards the conference to consider the question of federating the Australian colonies was held at Sydney. A board of arbitration and conciliation to hear and determine labour questions and disputes was formed and by later legislation its powers have been strengthened.<sup>a</sup> Sir William Duff, who followed Lord Jersey, died in 1895, and was succeeded by Lord Hampden, who in 1899 gave way to Earl Beauchamp. Federation was not so popular in New South Wales as in some of the colonies; and when the federation bill came before the people there was doubt as to the outcome, but those favouring the measure carried the day, and New South Wales entered the union.<sup>a</sup>



ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL AND HYDE PARK, SYDNEY

#### THE SETTLEMENT OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

When Van Diemen's Land, as the island of Tasmania was first called, was first occupied in 1803 it was intended to devote it to colonisation of the more dangerous criminals, particularly the Irish rebels of 1798. For almost a quarter of a century it was little but a convict settlement under the control of the governor of New South Wales, represented by a lieutenant-governor at Hobart Town. In 1810 the total population was only 1,300. Bushranging was rife, and there was no guarantee of safety to either life or property. In December, 1825, Van Diemen's Land, its population being then over 8,000, was separated from New South Wales and made a separate colony under the governorship of Sir George Arthur, who continued in control until 1836. He was an able man, and a strict and perhaps at times a rather autocratic disciplinarian. But strict discipline was exactly what the colony demanded and the administration of Governor Arthur marked the beginning of a new era for the island that was to prepare the way for the still better time to come when the convict transportation should cease. During this period too occurred the expeditions against the aborigines known as the Black War. This was an attempt to hem in by a cordon drawn across the island the remainder of the native tribes which had been giving trouble to the rapidly growing sheep raising communities. An inglorious campaign in which 3,500 regular and volunteer troops were employed resulted in the expenditure of £30,000 but nothing more. In 1837 conciliatory methods prevailed where force had failed and the remnants of the native population were removed *en masse* to Flinder's

[1808-1853 A.D.]

Island. Sir John Franklin of Arctic exploration fame, succeeded Sir George Arthur as governor in 1836 and free immigration soon commenced. For years the political history of Van Diemen's Land is confined almost exclusively to agitation against transportation. The system known as "assignment" was tried and failed. The introduction of "probation gangs" was infinitely worse. At length a league was formed with the other colonies and in 1853 this iniquitous system, so long a blot on the fair fame of Australia, was abolished. Even the old name of the island was changed to that of Tasmania in the effort to efface from memory the awful *régime* which the name of Van Diemen's Land must ever recall.

#### THE CONVICT SYSTEM IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

The convict might be assigned to the road-gang, the chain-party, or, worst of all, to the terrible penal settlements. The first two were the lot of those whose offences were considered to merit a lighter punishment. Their labour consisted of stone-breaking upon the roads; the chain-gang being distinguished by a more degrading dress, heavy chains, and the superintendence of armed soldiers. They lived in huts, which were removed according to the needs of the public service, being, according to the evidence of Sir Richard Bourke, "locked up from sunset to sunrise in boxes holding from twenty to twenty-eight men, but in which the whole number can neither stand upright, nor sit down at the same time, except with their legs at right angles to their bodies, and which, in some instances, do not allow more than eighteen inches in width for each individual to lie down on the bare boards."

The accumulated horror of the penal settlements is almost beyond imagination. Judging from the descriptions we have received of them, they deserve to the utmost the words of one who himself had passed through them, that "the heart of a man who went to them was taken from him, and he was given that of a beast." One of the worst of these settlements was that of Macquarie Harbour, chosen by Governor Sorell in December 1821 on account of its isolated position, as a place of government for the worst class of criminals. Macquarie Harbour was an inlet of the sea on the western coast, about two hundred miles from Hobart Town by water. This inferno seems to have been thoroughly suitable to the purpose for which it was used. It was a region lashed with tempests and frequent rains. The climate was chill and humid; animal life was preserved there with difficulty, and vegetation, except in its coarsest forms, was stunted and precarious. After weeks of tossing on an agitated sea in a confined space, the convict passed at length to his dreary home over the perilous bar of sand called "Hell's Gates," a name equally appropriate to the appearance of the place and to the treatment of the inhabitants. Beyond this spread impenetrable forests, and in the distance enormous snow-covered mountains; the whole place wearing an air of unspeakable sadness.

The chief employment of the inhabitants of this dreary spot was to carry large logs from the interior parts of the forest to the beach, and thence to float them through the water to the dockyard. In this toil they sometimes passed hours in the water, diseased and weakened by hunger and exposed to the maladies of the blood which result from a lack of vegetables, until, for many, death supervened. But a still severer punishment was used for refractory convicts. They were sent at night to a lonely rock which it was impossible to reach without being soaked by the surf. There they

[1803-1853 A.D.]

obtained what rest they could, without fires or bedding, wet to the skin, and often loaded with heavy irons.

Terrible treatment was also meted out to the convict whose punishment was supposed to be lighter than that of the penal settlements, to judge by the descriptions both of those who witnessed and those who underwent it. If the toil in the woods with the chain-gang had tasked his powers of endurance too greatly, his "malingering," as a display of physical weakness was called, was only a signal for increased brutality. Flogging was administered on the smallest pretext, and was often followed by days of solitary confinement. Sometimes a convict whose weaker spirit made him dread the lash was ordered to flog his fellow. If he refused, he received the punishment himself, while if he made his strokes too light, he was urged on to greater severity by threats. It is no wonder that such treatment rendered men desperate, even careless of their lives, if they could only revenge themselves on their tormentors.

Those who knew these convict establishments were unanimous in their opinion as to their absolute lack of reformatory effect on the prisoners. "A convict," said the chief police magistrate of Van-Diemen's Land, "is sure to return more vicious and more hardened in spirit than he was before." Nor were they of any more effect as deterrents. It was the opinion of Sir George Arthur, the governor, that the moment a convict was released, he fell into crime on the slightest temptation.

The effect of the hardening of the prisoners is shown by the almost incredible acts of despair to which they were reduced. Several instances were recorded of a victim chosen by lot being murdered in sight of the authorities, with no other object on the part of the murderers than to be executed for the crime. Any kind of death was welcome after the miserable existence of the Van Diemen's Land prisons; even the slow starvation that followed an escape into the surrounding country was a relief after the indescribable horrors of Macquarie Harbour, Port Arthur, and Tasman's Peninsula. Some of the escapes have been recounted which were made by desperate prisoners in hopes of reaching settled districts through the tangled vines and impervious horizontal scrub; most of these parties never being heard of again. Especially noticeable is the fate of a party of eight convicts, who left the settlement in 1822. They were driven by starvation to murder their companions for food until the only survivor gave himself up to a



GEORGE STREET, SYDNEY

[1831-1834 A.D.]

shepherd, still carrying with him the remains of his last comrade. Grey says, "It is with shame that we have to admit that such things were not only possible under the convict system, but that they did actually take place in the penal establishments of Van Diemen's Land until the exposure of these inhuman outrages led to their discontinuance." He expresses his belief that if the British Government and people of a past generation had been sooner apprised of them, it is only just to their feelings of humanity to believe that drastic measures would have been taken at a much earlier period to punish those who were responsible for these atrocities and to reform the methods of transportation.

Van Diemen's Land became especially connected with the transportation system. More convicts were sent there than anywhere else, and the system lingered on there after it had been abolished in other places. The assignment system—an arrangement by which free settlers and members of the garrison were allowed to make their own selection of assigned servants—was productive of a large amount of evil. Every applicant for a servant got just what he wanted: there was no effort to prevent convicts from being assigned to improper persons.

Very often it happened that the masters themselves were "emancipists," that is, old convicts who had been pardoned or had finished their terms. They made no attempt to look after those who were under their charge, but left them nominally under the supervision of the police, but practically uncontrolled. The result was that the capital itself became a hotbed of crime and iniquity. Officers selected mistresses from among the female convicts and lived with them openly, and the military elements of the population were practically in a position to do whatever they pleased. The natural outcome of this *régime* was drunkenness, prostitution, adultery, murder, flogging, and hanging. The last item was so common an occurrence that half-a-dozen prisoners would be executed in a single day, while floggings were a daily, even an hourly, spectacle. In the prisons themselves the crimes that took place were as terrible as any that have ever happened. All the horrors we associate with absolute power, wielded by brutal and ignorant men, flourished in this British settlement. The wonder is that these penal stations were not broken up long before the mandate went forth to abolish them.

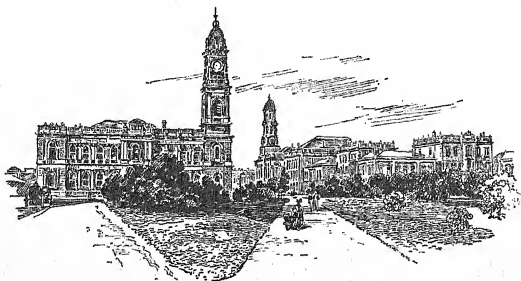
#### SOUTH AUSTRALIA

The settlement of South Australia involved a very interesting problem in political economy, and was the subject of much animated discussion early in the nineteenth century. The idea of a new colony, to be free both from slavery and penal servitude, seems to have been due to Edward Gibbon Wakefield, a man of wide knowledge and possessing notable humanitarian views. Harcus<sup>c</sup> sympathetically describes him as "an advanced political economist," who had thought out "a system of colonisation which he maintained was the only true system, possessing the element of stability and success." But the London *Times* scoffed and doubted the wisdom of establishing the new colony. "Our duty to the public," said the *Times*, "requires that we should declare broadly, however briefly, our entire distrust of the whole character and tendencies of such a project, and our hope that it may rather be strangled in the birth than live just long enough to spread

[1831-1834 A.D.]

disappointment and ruin through a far wider portion of society than that now subjected to its influence." A little later the same journal was even more hostile to the scheme, remarking—"There was no bubble of the year 1825 more deserving of reprobation than this Australian humbug."

Negotiations for the settlement of South Australia took form in 1831, but it was not until 1834 that enough interest was aroused to lead to definite results. This led to the formation of the South Australian Association, whose object was to found a colony under royal charter, and without convict labour, at or near Spencer's Gulf, on the south coast of Australia, a place far removed from any then existing penal settlement. At the end of June in that year, an enthusiastic meeting was held at Exeter Hall, London, the proceedings lasting several hours, and as an outcome a scheme was prepared and ultimately embodied in an act of the British parliament, which was passed in the following August. It was provided that the delimited colony of South Anstralia extending from the tropic of Capricorn southward to the ocean, and between the 132nd and 141st degrees of east longitude, should



POST OFFICE AND TOWN HALL, ADELAIDE

henceforth be independent of any other Australian colony. All the lands within its limits were declared to be public lands, and placed under the management of a board of commissioners sitting in London. Private property in any of these lands could be acquired only by the payment of ready money, but the quantity so acquirable was unrestricted, subject only to certain fees and a minimum price of 12s. per acre. The whole of the money received from the sale of lands was intended to be employed in conveying poor labourers to the colony, but such persons were to be carefully chosen from young adult persons of both sexes in equal proportion.

Wakefield had an idea that if colonisation was to be carried on successfully both capital and labour must be attracted to the new colony. He pointed out the scarcity of labour in those colonies where access to the land was practically free, and he decried the very conditions that later generations of political economists are prone to approve.

The ideas of Wakefield have been re-examined recently by a French writer, André Siegfried, who thus summarises his efforts: "Wakefield had not long to wait for the first application, at least partial, of his ideas. The Colonial Office, in 1831, decided that the selling of lands should make its

[1836-1894 A.D.]

beginning in New South Wales; but Wakefield complained bitterly that his doctrine had been mutilated. He set to work to find a new field for experimentation, where he would be free to act as he chose, and he undertook the foundation of the colony of South Australia. Nevertheless, he encountered new obstacles. He was obliged to reckon with the government, who limited his experiments. A law, passed in 1834, regulated the conditions of the colonisation of the new enterprise, wherein the ideas of Wakefield were for the most part excluded from the commission charged with their execution."

The coast of South Australia had been discovered by Captain Flinders in 1802, who made a survey for the British government; and in 1815 Captain Dillon engaged in some commerce along the coast. In 1827-8 Captain Gould visited the locality and reported most favourably as to its possibilities.<sup>a</sup>

The colony began its actual existence with the arrival at Holdfast Bay on December 28, 1836, of the first governor, Captain Hindmarsh and a company of settlers. Hindmarsh proved a poor administrator and in a little over a year was superseded by Colonel Gawler. The course of colonial progress in South Australia was similar to that in the other colonies. Speculation was followed by a period of distress and confusion. The prices of food products rose enormously: flour sold at £100 per ton. Colonel Gawler's policy of undertaking extensive public works to keep the unemployed busy was not approved by the colonial secretary and he was superseded by Captain, afterward Sir George Grey and at the same time the authority of the South Australian Company was abolished. Governor Grey's reforms were efficacious and ere long the colony was on a self supporting basis and growing rapidly. In the administration of Colonel Robe, who became governor in 1845, were made the important discoveries of copper at Kapunda and Burra Burra. Sir Henry Fox Young, who succeeded as governor in 1848, had to face the serious crisis growing out of the discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851, the rush to the gold fields threatening for a time to depopulate the colony. But the increased prosperity of the succeeding years more than made up for the temporary set-back. In the year 1853 a new constitution establishing a responsible government on a representative basis was adopted, and although there were thirty-one changes of ministry in the succeeding twenty-two years it can be said to have worked satisfactorily.<sup>a</sup>

From its origin as the venture of private enterprise, South Australia has passed through orderly stages of evolution up to the zenith of democratic government. Such alterations as have been made in the constitution have been in the direction of a still further enlargement of the franchise. Payment of members proved to be the corollary of manhood suffrage. It was held that an unrestricted right of selection was unavailing if the area of selection was limited to the few who had been specially favoured by fortune. In 1887 a temporary act was passed for the payment of £200 a year to each member of both houses, and in 1890 the law was made permanent. Thus was rendered possible the direct representation of all classes. Soon afterwards the parliamentary labour party came into existence; this forms a considerable proportion of the membership of both houses, and includes in its ranks men of the highest intelligence, industry, and eloquence. In 1894 the principle of "one man vote" was extended to that of "one adult one vote" by the inclusion of women as voters on terms of absolute equality with men. Experience has demonstrated that, owing to the intrusion of the personal element, general elections have often failed to afford conclusive evidence of the state of the popular will. Attention has therefore been directed towards the referendum as a means of obtaining an unquestionable verdict on important public issues.

[1802-1855 A.D.]

Although no general statute had been formulated on the subject up to 1902, custom has definitely established the practice. Undoubtedly the practical application of the referendum in South Australia facilitated the adoption of this principle in the ratification and in the method of amendment of the commonwealth constitution. The right of the second chamber to suggest amendments to bills which it has not power to amend was borrowed by the commonwealth from the constitution of South Australia, as also was the idea of a simultaneous dissolution of both houses as a means of overcoming possible deadlocks between the chambers.

The existence of South Australia as a colony was co-terminous with the reign of Queen Victoria. The colony was established only a few months before the accession of that monarch, and South Australia ceased to be a colony by entering the commonwealth as a state within a few days of the close of the Victorian Age.<sup>2</sup>

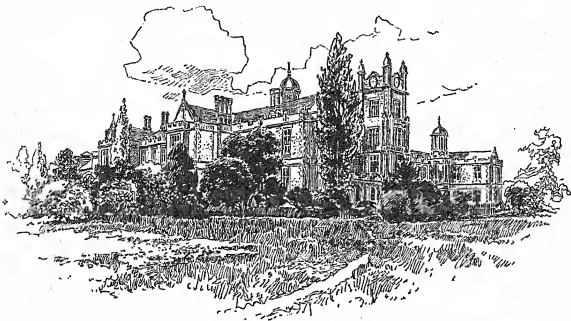
## VICTORIA

The early attempts to colonise the Victoria district were fruitless. Fears that the French contemplated a settlement in the region led the government to send Lieutenant Grimes to examine the country as early as 1802. He visited the site of the present city of Melbourne, but his report was unfavourable, as was that given by Colonel Collins who was dispatched thither in the succeeding year with instructions to found a settlement at Port Phillip and who returned without completing his mission. A number of similar failures are to be recorded during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The real founders of Victoria were undoubtedly the Hentys, sons of a Sussex banker who had gone out to Australia as members of the unfortunate Swan River Colony in 1829, and in 1834 established several sheep farms in the neighbourhood of the present Portland. In May, 1835, colonists from Van Diemen's Land established themselves at Geelong. In the August following, John P. Fawcner and his associates laid the foundation of Melbourne, which, after some hesitation, was recognised by the appointment of a magistrate by the Sydney government. In 1839 Governor Latrobe was appointed by the New South Wales government as its representative in what was then known as the Port Phillip district, holding office until he became the first governor of the colony of Victoria in 1851. The jealousy between the Sydney and Melbourne governments was intense and bitter for many years, and the former threw every obstacle in the way of the separation of Port Phillip. The justice of the demand was too apparent to be resisted however and in July, 1851, the Port Phillip district, renamed the colony of Victoria, began its independent existence. In 1851 the population of the colony aggregated 90,000. In the same year gold was discovered at Ballarat, and in 1852 the new settlers entering the colony numbered over 70,000. At the end of ten years (1861) the population was six times that of 1851. Local self-government was introduced in 1853, and responsible government established under a new constitution in 1855. In the same year discontent in the gold fields, due to an exorbitant license fee charged all miners culminated in an armed revolt. The difficulty was eventually overcome by the substitution of an export duty on gold for the licence fee.

The political history of Victoria was for some decades little more than the story of bitter struggles between the liberal, or democratic party, firmly ensconced in the lower branch of the legislature and the conservatives who controlled the council. The widest divergence has been upon the question of

[1825-1829 A.D.]

protection or free trade, the democratic assembly declaring for the former while the conservative council stood out firmly for the latter policy. So bitter was the struggle and so uncompromising were the partisans, that on several occasions all legislation came to an end and the whole fabric of society



GRAMMAR SCHOOL, MELBOURNE

was shaken to its foundations. In 1891 began an era in which the collectivist idea dominated the legislation to an unprecedented degree. The principle of "one man one vote" was established: old age pensions and "eight hour" laws enacted, and tribunals for fixing a minimum wage provided.

#### WESTERN AUSTRALIA

The earliest settlement in Western Australia was made in 1825 by Major Lockyer who was despatched thither with a company of convicts to head off a threatened French occupation. In three years the settlers returned to New South Wales. In 1827 Captain (Sir James) Sterling reported favourably on the availability of the Swan River region, and in 1829 he was sent out as lieutenant-governor of a new colony established under the auspices of an association of London promoters. But the colony did not prosper.<sup>a</sup> The fault was an ignorance of the first principles of colonisation. Vast tracts of land were sold or granted to individuals. The colony was to be exempted as a favour, from any importation of convicts. The settlers were to be allowed 200 acres of land for every labouring man, woman, or child above ten years of age, that they should import into the colony; and forty acres of land were given for every amount of £3 imported into the settlement in any shape. Thus land superabounded in proportion to capital, and the capital brought in, though so scanty in proportion to the land, abounded in proportion to the labour. The richest of the colonists could obtain no labourers; and they sat down upon their lands, surrounded by their rotting goods, their useless tools, and the frames of houses which there were no hands to erect — without shelter, and certain soon to be without food, if more labour could not be obtained. Instead of more, there was daily less, as the few labourers who were on the spot made use of their first exorbitant earnings to possess them-

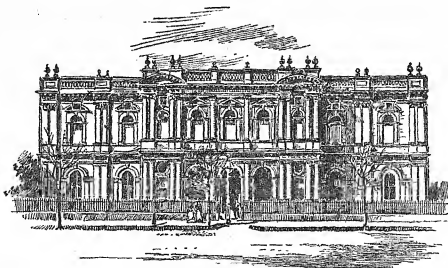
[1840-1900 A.D.]

selves of enough of the cheap land to make them their own masters. They made up their minds that the secret of the success of other settlements, pitied for their liability to convict immigration, was in their convict labour; and the Swan River colonists petitioned the government at home to send them convicts to save them from destruction. Some of the settlers wandered away, as they could find opportunity, to other colonies, stripped of everything or carrying the mere wrecks of their expensive outfit.

In 1849 the entire population was only 4,622. In the following year the prayer of the colonists that the colony be made a penal settlement was acceded to by the imperial government, and during the ensuing eighteen years over 10,000 convicts were transported. In 1868 at the unanimous request of the other Australian colonies the transportation ceased. Until this was done the colony made no material progress. In 1870 under the energetic governorship of Sir Frederick Weld a new era in colonial progress was inaugurated. A systematic exploration of the interior was undertaken and surveys made for railroad and telegraph lines. The discovery of gold at Kimberley in 1882 and at Yilgarn in 1887 still further added to the progress of the colony. In October, 1890, the colony was granted a new constitution providing a responsible representative government. Sir John Forrest who had served the colony well as one of the pioneers in opening up the interior, and later as the principal champion of the self-government movement became its first premier, and guided the colony safely into the confederation. The progress made during the decade of his premiership is evidenced by the growth in population which increased from 45,290 in 1890 to 195,000 in 1900.

## QUEENSLAND

The history of Queensland dates from the planting of a penal colony at Moreton Bay (Brisbane) in 1824. It proved almost impossible however to attract free settlers to the colony, and little by little the penal station fell into



PUBLIC LIBRARY, MELBOURNE, VICTORIA

disuse. In 1841 there were only 200 people in the settlement. By 1842 it was practically deserted. In that year it was declared open to free settlers only, and a slight immigration took place. In 1844 there was a considerable group of "squatter" stations about Moreton Bay and on the Darling Downs,

[1849-1873 A.D.]

and the future prosperity of the region as a stock raising community had begun. By 1849 there were in the colony 72,000 cattle and over a million sheep. By 1859 the population of the district had reached 25,000 and despite the protests of New South Wales it was constituted an independent colony under the name of Queensland. A constitution conferring all the rights and privileges of self-government was granted and Sir George Bowen became the first governor. The first premier, Mr. Robert George Wyndham Herbert, held office continuously until 1866, during which period the north and west interiors were rapidly opened to settlement. The collapse of a government loan in 1866 during the brief ministry of Mr. Arthur Macalister, precipitated a panic, and an easily quelled revolt among the workers on the railroads. The discovery of gold at Gympie in 1867 was followed by a big "rush" to the region and prosperity was restored. Sugar planting, begun in 1862, became one of the leading industries of the colony, but led to the introduction of coolie and Kanaka labourers. Their restriction and control has since become one of the burning questions of Queensland politics. The decade, 1890-1900, was chiefly notable for the rise of the labour party as a power in politics, and the disappearance of the "squatter" as a dominant factor.<sup>a</sup>

#### AGRARIAN LEGISLATION: CHINESE EXCLUSION

The history of Australia since 1873 is mainly comprised in its industrial progress, for, with the exception of the advent of the labour party and the federation government, there have been no occurrences of such political importance as to call for special mention. The four eastern states had the privilege of responsible government bestowed on them at various dates between 1855 and 1860. After the establishment of responsible government the main questions at issue were the secular as opposed to the religious system of public instruction, protection as opposed to a revenue tariff, vote by ballot, manhood suffrage, abolition of transportation and assignment of convicts, and free selection of lands before survey; these, and indeed all the great questions upon which the country was divided, were settled before the year 1873. With the disposal of these important problems, politics in Australia became a struggle for office between men whose political principles were very much alike, and the tenure of power enjoyed by the various governments did not depend upon the principles of administration so much as upon the personal fitness of the head of the ministry, and the acceptability of his ministry to the members of the more popular branch of the legislature. For the most part, therefore, the history of the colonies is a catalogue of their domestic events, such a thing as a foreign policy being quite unknown. The leading politicians of all the states have felt the cramping effects of mere domestic legislation, albeit on the proper direction of such legislation depends the well being of the people, and to this sense of the limitations of local politics was due, as much as to anything else, the movement towards federation.

Taking the states as a whole, agrarian legislation has been the most important subject that has engrossed the attention of their parliaments, and every state has been more or less engaged in tinkering with its land laws. The main object of all such legislation is to secure the residence of the owners on the land. The object of settlers, however, in a great many, perhaps in the majority of instances, is to dispose of their holdings as soon as possible after the requirements of the law have been complied with, and to avoid permanent settlement. This has greatly facilitated the formation of large

[1870-1888 A.D.]

estates devoted chiefly to grazing purposes, contrary to the policy of the legislature, which has everywhere sought to encourage tillage, or tillage joined to stock rearing, and to discourage large holdings. The importance of the land question is so great that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it is usual for every parliament of Australia to have before it a proposal to alter or amend its land laws. Since 1870 there have been four radical changes made in New South Wales. In Victoria the law has been altered five times, and in Queensland and South Australia six times.

Apart from the settlement of agrarian questions, recent Australian politics have concerned themselves with the prevention or regulation of the influx of coloured races, the prevention or settlement of labour disputes, and federation. The agitation against the influx of Chinese commenced very soon after the gold discoveries, the European miners objecting strongly to the presence of these aliens upon the diggings. The allegations made concerning the Chinese really amounted to a charge of undue industry. The Chinese were hard working and had the usual fortune attending those who work hard. They spent little on drink or with the storekeepers and were therefore by no means popular. The Chinese difficulty, so far as the mining population was concerned, was solved by the exhaustion of the extensive alluvial deposits. The nearness of China to Australia always appeared to the Australian democracy as a menace to the integrity of the white settlements; but the absence of any federal authority made common action difficult.

In 1888 an important conference on the Chinese question held in Sydney and attended by delegates from all the states, resolved that the number of Chinese privileged to land should be so limited as to prevent the people of that race from ever becoming an important element in the community. The New South Wales parliament ultimately passed a law which in some respects went much beyond the agreement arrived at. Under the New South Wales law masters of vessels were forbidden to bring to the colony more than one Chinese to every 300 tons, and a poll-tax of £100 is charged on every Chinese landing. In Victoria, Queensland, and South Australia no poll-tax was imposed, but masters of vessels may bring only one Chinese to every 500 tons burden. West Australian legislation was until recently similar to that of the three last-named states, but has now been superseded by the Coloured Immigrants Restriction Act. Tasmania allows one Chinese passenger to every 100 tons, and imposes a poll-tax of £10. These stringent regulations have had the effect of greatly restricting the influx of Chinese, but in spite of all precautions there is still some immigration. The only other alien race present in large numbers in Australia are the Polynesians in Queensland, where they number about 9000. Of late years there has been an influx of Hindus and other Eastern races. But a very large proportion of the Asiatics, whose entrance into the colonies it was desired to stop, were British subjects, and the imperial government refused to sanction any measure directly prohibiting in plain terms the movement of British subjects from one part of the empire to another. Eventually, the difficulty was overcome by the application of an educational test to the coloured races seeking admission to the states, whereby they are required to write out in some European language an application for permission to enter the colony in which they propose to reside. The agitation which this restrictive legislation caused was promoted and kept alive almost entirely by the trades unions, and was the first legislative triumph of the labour party, albeit that party was not at the time directly represented in parliament.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The labour movement in Australia may be traced back to the early days when transportation was in vogue, and the free immigrant and the time-expired convict objected to the competition of the bond labourer. The great object of these early struggles being attained, labour directed its attention mainly to securing shorter hours. It was aided very materially by the dearth of workers consequent on the gold discoveries, when every man could command his own price. When the excitement consequent on the gold finds had subsided, there was a considerable reaction against the claims of labour, and this was greatly helped by the congested state of the labour market; but the principle of an eight-hours day made progress, and was conceded in several trades. In the early years of the seventies the colonies entered upon an era of well-being, and for about twelve years every man, willing to work and capable of exerting himself, readily found employment. The labour unions were able to secure in these years many concessions both as to hours and wages. In 1873 there was an important rise in wages, in the following years there were further advances. For five years thereafter these high wages ruled; but in 1886 there was a sharp fall, though wages still remained very good.

In 1888 there was an advance, and again in 1889. In 1890 matters were on the eve of a great change and wages fell, in most cases to a point 20 per cent. below the rates of 1885. In 1893 came the bank crisis and great restriction in trade. Almost the first effect of this restriction was a reduction in wages, which touched their lowest in 1895, and fell to a point below that of any year since 1850. Since then there has been a marked recovery, and wages stood in 1900 at about the same level as in 1873. During the whole period from 1873 onwards, prices, other than of labour, have been steadily tending downwards, so that the cost of living in 1900 was much below that of 1873. Taking everything into consideration the reduction was, perhaps, not less than 40 per cent., so that though the nominal or money wages in 1873 and 1900 were the same, the actual wages were much higher in the latter year. Much of the improvement in the lot of the wage earners has been due to the labour organizations, yet so late as 1881 these organizations were of so little account, politically, that when the law relating to trades unions was passed in New South Wales, the English law was followed, and it was simply enacted that the purposes of any trades union shall not be deemed unlawful (so as to render a member liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise) merely by reason that they are in restraint of trade. After the year 1884 labour troubles became very frequent, the New South Wales coal miners in particular being at war with the colliery owners during the greater part of the six years intervening between then and what is called the Great Strike. The strong downward tendency of prices made a reduction of wages imperative; but the labouring classes failed to recognize any such necessity, and strongly resented any reductions proposed by employers. It was hard indeed for a carter drawing coal to a gasworks to recognise the necessity which compelled a reduction in his wages because wool had fallen 20 per cent. Nor were other labourers, more nearly connected with the producing interests, satisfied with a reduction of wages because produce had fallen in price all round. Up to 1889 wages held their ground, although work had become more difficult to obtain, and some industries were being carried on without any profit.

[1890 A.D.]

## THE GREAT STRIKE OF 1890

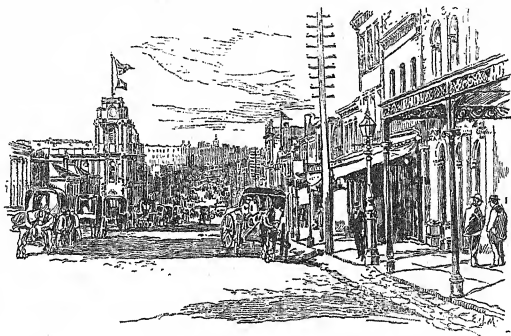
It was at such an inopportune time that the most extensive combination of labour yet brought into action against capital formulated its demands. A strike of the Newcastle miners, after lasting twenty-nine weeks, came to an end in January, 1890, and throughout the rest of the year there was great unrest in labour circles. On September 6th the silver mines closed down, and a week later a conference of employers issued a manifesto which was met next day by a counter-manifesto of the Intercolonial Labour Conference, and almost immediately afterwards by the calling out of 40,000 men. The time chosen for the strike was the height of the wool season, when a cessation of work would be attended with the maximum of inconvenience. Sydney was the centre of the disturbance, and the city was in a state of industrial siege, feeling running to dangerous extremes. Riotous scenes occurred both in Sydney and on the coal fields, and a large number of special constables were sworn in by the government. Towards the end of October 20,000 shearers were called out, and many other trades, principally concerned with the handling or shipping of wool, joined the ranks of the strikers, with the result that the maritime and pastoral industries throughout the whole of Australia were most injuriously disturbed. The "Great Strike," as it was called, terminated early in November 1890, the employers gaining a decisive victory. The colonies were, however, to have other and bitter experiences of strikes before labour recognized that of all means for settling industrial disputes strikes are, on the whole, the most disastrous that it can adopt.

One result of the strike of 1890 was the planting of a colony of communistic Australians in South America. Another effect of the Great Strike was in a more practical direction. New South Wales was the first country which endeavored to settle its labour grievances through the ballot-box and to send a great party to parliament as the direct representation of labour, pledged to obtain through legislation what it was unable to obtain by strikes and physical force. Several attempts had been made by individuals belonging to the labour party to enter the New South Wales parliament, but it was not until 1891 that the occurrence of a general election gave the party the looked-for opportunity for concerted action. The results of the election came as a complete surprise to the majority of the community. The labour party captured 35 seats out of a house of 125 members; and as the old parties almost equally divided the remaining seats, and a fusion was impossible, the labour representatives dominated the situation. It was not long, however, before the party itself became divided on the fiscal question; and a protectionist government coming into power, about half the labour members gave it consistent support and enabled it to maintain office for about three years, the party as a political unit being thus destroyed. The events of these three years taught the labour leaders that a parliamentary party was of little practical influence unless it was able to cast on all important occasions a solid vote, and to meet the case a new method was devised. The party therefore determined that they would refuse to support any person standing in the labour interests who refused to pledge himself to vote on all occasions in such way as the majority of the party might decide to be expedient. This was called the "solidarity pledge," and, united under its sanction, what was left of the labour party contested the general election of 1894. The result was a defeat, their numbers being reduced from 35 to 19; but a signal triumph was won for solidarity. Very few of the members who refused to take the

[1890-1900 A.D.]

pledge were returned, and the adherents of the united party were able to accomplish more with their reduced number than under the old conditions.

The movement towards forming a parliamentary labour party was not confined to New South Wales; on the contrary, it was common to all the colonies except West Australia, and its greatest triumphs have been achieved in New Zealand and South Australia. Like the organisation in New South Wales, the labour party of South Australia owes its origin to the failure of the Great Strike of 1890. In that year the Trades and Labour Council of Adelaide summoned a conference of labour representatives, at which a proposal for the formation of a parliamentary party was drawn up and adopted. The political programme of the new party was comprehensive and popular, and almost immediately on its adoption three representatives of labour won seats in the second chamber (legislative council), and at the ensuing general election of 1893 the party secured 8 seats in the assembly out of a total of 54, and 6 out of 24 in the council, thereby gaining a controlling vote in both



BOURKE STREET, MELBOURNE

houses. In 1900 it controlled 12 votes in the popular house and 8 in the council. The members of the South Australian labour party differ in one important respect from those of New South Wales. They are all persons who have worked for their living at manual labour, and this qualification of being an actual worker is one that was strongly insisted upon at the formation of the party and strictly adhered to, although the temptation to break away from it and to accept as candidates persons of superior education and position has been very great. In Victoria the labour party has not been so conspicuous as in New South Wales and South Australia. The members of the Victorian assembly are not divided into such distinct parties as are the members of the popular houses of the other colonies, and the labour party has therefore not been able to determine the real balance of power. In Queensland the labour party numbered, in 1900, 21 out of 72 members in the elective branch of parliament, a larger proportion than in any other state; but only for a brief period [toward the close of 1899] have parties been so evenly divided as to give the labour party the balance of power.

[1852-1894 A.D.]

## FEDERATION

The question of federation was not lost sight of by the framers of the original constitution which was bestowed upon New South Wales. In the report of the committee of the legislative council appointed in 1852 to prepare a constitution for that colony [an intercolonial assembly was suggested]. But it was not until the necessities of the colonies forced them to it that an attempt was made to do what the framers of the original constitution suggested. Federation at no time actually dropped out of sight, but it was not until thirty-five years later that any practical steps were taken towards its accomplishment. Meanwhile a sort of makeshift was devised, and the imperial parliament passed a measure permitting the formation of a federal council, to which any colony that felt inclined to join could send delegates. Of the seven colonies New South Wales and New Zealand stood aloof from the council, and from the beginning it was therefore shorn of a large share of the prestige that would have attached to a body speaking and acting on behalf of a united Australia. The council had also a fatal defect in its constitution. It was merely a deliberative body, having no executive functions and possessing no control of funds or other means to put its legislation in force. Its existence was well-nigh forgotten by the people of Australia until the occurrence of its biennial meetings, and even then but slight interest was taken in its proceedings. The council held eight meetings, at which many matters of intercolonial interest were discussed. In 1889 Sir Henry Parkes addressed the other premiers on the desirability of a federal union for purposes of defence. The immediate result was a conference at Parliament House, Melbourne, of representatives from each of the seven colonies. This conference adopted an address submitting certain resolutions which affirmed the desirability of an early union, under the crown, of the Australasian colonies, and provided that steps should be taken for the appointment of delegates to a national Australasian convention, to consider and report upon an adequate scheme for a federal convention. In accordance with this understanding, the various Australasian parliaments appointed delegates to attend a national convention to be held in Sydney. On the 2nd of March, 1891, the convention held its first meeting. Sir Henry Parkes was elected president, and he moved a series of resolutions embodying the principles necessary to establish the structure of a federal government.

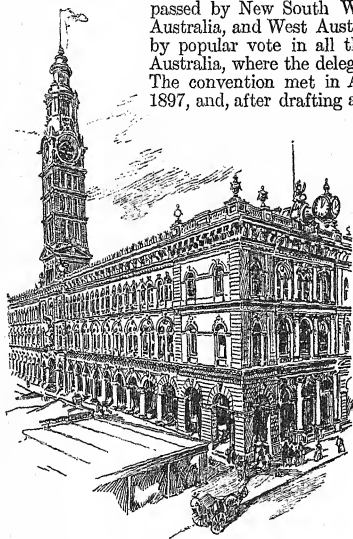
On the 31st of March Sir Samuel Griffith, as chairman of the committee on constitutional machinery, brought up a draft Constitution Bill, which was carefully considered by the convention in committee of the whole and adopted on the 9th of April, when the convention was formerly dissolved. The bill, however, fell absolutely dead. Not because it was not a good bill, but because the movement out of which it arose had not popular initiative, and therefore failed to reach the popular imagination. Even its authors recognized the apathy of the people, and parliamentary sanction to its provisions was not sought in any colony.

Although the bill of 1891 was not received by the people with any show of interest, the federation movement did not die out; on the contrary, it had many enthusiastic advocates, especially in the colony of Victoria. In 1894 an unofficial convention was held at Corowa, at which the cause of federation was strenuously advocated, but it was not until 1895 that the movement obtained new life, by reason of the proposals adopted at a meeting of premiers convened by Mr. G. H. Reid of New South Wales. At

[1896-1898 A.D.]

this meeting all the colonies except New Zealand were represented, and it was agreed that the parliament of each colony should be asked to pass a bill enabling the people to choose ten persons to represent the colony in a federal convention; the work of such convention being the framing of a federal constitution to be submitted to the people for approval by means of the referendum. During the year 1896 Enabling Acts were passed by New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, and West Australia, and delegates were elected by popular vote in all the colonies named except West Australia, where the delegates were chosen by parliament. The convention met in Adelaide on the 22nd of March 1897, and, after drafting a bill for the consideration of the

various parliaments, adjourned until the 2nd of September. On that date the delegates re-assembled in Sydney, and debated the bill in the light of the suggestions made by the legislatures of the federating colonies. In the course of the proceedings it was announced that Queensland desired to come within the proposed union; and in view of this development, and in order to give further opportunity for the consideration of the bill, the convention again adjourned. The third and final session was opened in Melbourne on the 20th of January, 1898, but Queensland was still unrepresented; and, after further consideration, the Draft Bill was finally adopted on the 16th of March and remitted to the various colonies for submission to the people. In its



POST OFFICE, SYDNEY

main provisions the bill of 1898 followed generally that of 1891, yet with some very important alterations.

The constitution was accepted by Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania by popular acclamation, but in New South Wales very great opposition was shown, the main points of objection being the financial provisions, equal representation in the senate, and the difficulty in the way of the larger states securing an amendment of the constitution in the event of a conflict with the smaller states. As far as the other colonies were concerned, it was evident that the bill was safe, and public attention throughout Australia was fixed on New South Wales, where a fierce political contest was raging, which it was recognised would decide the fate of the measure for the time being. The fear was as to whether the statutory number of 80,000 votes necessary for the acceptance of the bill would be reached. This fear proved to be well founded, for the result of the referendum in New South Wales showed 71,595 votes in favour of the bill and 66,228 against it, and it was accordingly

[1899-1901 A.D.]

lost. In Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia, on the other hand, the bill was accepted by triumphant majorities. West Australia did not put it to the vote, as the Enabling Act of that colony only provided for joining a federation of which New South Wales should form a part. The existence of such a strong opposition to the bill in the mother colony convinced even its most zealous advocates that some changes would have to be made in the constitution before it could be accepted by the people; consequently, although the general election in New South Wales, held six or seven weeks later, was fought on the federal issue, yet the opposing parties seemed to occupy somewhat the same ground, and the question narrowed itself down to one as to which party should be entrusted with the negotiations to be conducted on behalf of the colony, with a view to securing a modification of the objectionable features of the bill. The new parliament decided to adopt the procedure of again sending the premier, Mr. Reid, in conference, armed with a series of resolutions affirming its desire to bring about the completion of federal union, but asking the other colonies to agree to the reconsideration of the provisions which were most generally objected to in New South Wales. The other colonies interested were anxious to bring the matter to a speedy termination, and readily agreed. Accordingly a premiers' conference was held in Melbourne at the end of January, 1899, at which Queensland was for the first time represented. At this conference a compromise was effected; something was conceded to the claims of New South Wales, but the main principles of the bill remained intact. The bill as amended was submitted to the electors of each colony and again triumphantly carried in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. In New South Wales and Queensland there were still a large number of persons opposed to the measure, which was nevertheless carried in both colonies. New South Wales having decided in favour of federation, the way was clear for a decision on the part of West Australia. The Enabling Bill passed the various stages in the parliament of that colony, and the question was then submitted by way of referendum to the electors. The result of the voting (in five colonies in 1899, and in West Australia in 1900) was as follows:—

New South Wales, for 107,420 against 82,741; Victoria, for 152,653 against 9,804; Queensland, for 35,181 against 28,965; South Australia, for 65,990 against 17,053; West Australia (1900), for 44,704 against 19,691; Tasmania, for 13,437 against 791.

In accordance with this verdict, the Colonial Draft Bill was submitted to the imperial government for legislation as an imperial act.

Under an act of the British parliament, dated July 9th, 1900, passed under the auspices of Mr. Chamberlain, secretary of state for the colonies, a proclamation was issued, September 17th of the same year, declaring that, on and after the 1st of January, 1901, the people of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and West Australia should be united in a federal commonwealth under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia. The act which gave authority for the issue of this proclamation embodied and established (with such variations as had been accepted on behalf of the colonies) the constitution agreed to at the premiers' conference of 1899. It was cordially welcomed in the mother country, and finally became law amid signs of general approval. The difficulties arose with regard to the right of appeal to the queen in council. By clause 74 of the original bill this right was very seriously curtailed; Mr. Chamberlain wished to preserve it as in the case of Canada, while, in order to disarm colonial opposition, he suggested that the judicial committee of the privy council should be

[1901-1906 A.D.]

strengthened by the appointment of four colonial members with the rank of lords of appeal.<sup>d</sup> A compromise was, however, ultimately agreed upon by which in cases involving non-Australian interests the right of appeal should be fully maintained, while, in questions between the commonwealth and a single state, or between two states, leave to appeal might be given by the high court of Australia. The commonwealth was successfully inaugurated in 1901 with Lord Hopetoun, who had won golden opinions as governor of Victoria a few years before, as governor-general, and with Mr. Barton, who had taken the lead among the Australian delegates in making the constitution, as prime minister. Lord Hopetoun was succeeded in 1903 by Lord Tennyson, and he in turn in 1904 by Lord Northcote. Mr. Barton remained prime minister until 1903, when he resigned to become a judge of the high court. He was succeeded by Mr. Deakin. In April, 1904, a labour ministry under Mr. Watson came into power, but in August gave way to a liberal ministry under Mr. Reid. In the following July Mr. Deakin again became prime minister. The new system has not always given satisfaction, but it seems to work more smoothly as time goes on.<sup>a</sup>

### *Provisions of the Commonwealth Act*

The provisions of the Commonwealth Act passed in 1900 were as follows: The six colonies entering the commonwealth were denominated original states, and new states might be admitted, or might be formed by separation from or union of two or more states or parts of states; and territories (as distinguished from states) might be taken over and governed under the legislative power of the commonwealth. The legislative power is vested in a federal parliament, consisting of the sovereign, a senate, and a house of representatives, the sovereign being represented by a governor-general. The senate was to consist of the same number of members (not less than six) for each state, the term of service being six years, but subject to an arrangement that half the number would retire every three years. The house of representatives was to consist of members chosen in the different states in numbers proportioned to their population, but never fewer than five. The first house of representatives was to contain seventy-five members. For elections to the senate the governors of states, and for general elections of the house of representatives the governor-general, would cause writs to be issued. The senate would choose its own president, and the house of representatives its speaker; each house would make its own rules of procedure; in each, one-third of the number of members would form a quorum; the members of each must take oath, or make affirmation of allegiance; and all alike would receive an allowance of £400 a year. The legislative powers of the parliament have a wide range, many matters being transferred to it from the colonial parliaments. The more important subjects with which it deals are trade, shipping, and railways; taxation, bounties, the borrowing of money on the credit of the commonwealth; the postal and telegraphic services; defence, census, and statistics; currency, coinage, banking, bankruptcy; weights and measures; copyright, patents, and trade marks; marriage and divorce; immigration and emigration; conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. Bills imposing taxation or appropriating revenue must not originate in the senate, and neither taxation bills nor bills appropriating revenue for the annual service of the government may be amended in the senate, but the senate may return such bills to the house of representatives with a request for their amendment. Appropriation laws must not deal with other matters.

[1642-1814 A.D.]

Taxation laws must deal with only one subject of taxation; but customs and excise duties may, respectively, be dealt with together. Votes for the appropriation of the revenue shall not pass unless recommended by the governor-general. The constitution provides means for the settlement of disputes between the houses and requires the assent of the sovereign to all laws. The executive power is vested in the governor-general, assisted by an executive council appointed by himself. He has command of the army and navy, and appoints federal ministers and judges. The ministers are members of the executive council, and must be, or within three months of their appointment must become, members of the parliament. The judicial powers are vested in a high court and other federal courts, and the federal judges hold office for life or during good behaviour. The high court has appellate jurisdiction in cases from other federal courts and from the supreme courts of the states, and it has original jurisdiction in matters arising under laws made by the federal parliament, in disputes between states, or residents in different states, and in matters affecting the representatives of foreign powers. Special provisions were made respecting appeals from the high court to the sovereign in council. The constitution set forth elaborate arrangements for the administration of finance and trade during the transition period following the transference of departments to the commonwealth. Within two years uniform customs duties were to be imposed; thereafter the parliament of the commonwealth had exclusive power to impose customs and excise duties, or to grant bounties; and trade within the commonwealth was to be absolutely free. Exceptions were made permitting the states to grant bounties on mining and (with the consent of the parliament) on exports of produce or manufactures—West Australia being for a time partially exempted from the prohibition to impose import duties.

The constitution, parliament, and laws of each state, subject to the federal constitution, retained their authority; state rights were carefully safeguarded, and an inter-state commission was given powers of adjudication and of administration of the laws relating to trade, transport, and other matters. Provision was made for necessary alteration of the constitution of the commonwealth, but so that no alteration could be effected unless the question had been directly submitted to, and the change accepted by, the electorate in the states. The seat of government was to be within New South Wales, not less than 100 miles distant from Sydney, and of an area not less than 100 square miles. Until other provision was made, the governor-general was to have a salary of £10,000, paid by the commonwealth. Respecting the salaries of the governors of states, the constitution made no provision.<sup>d</sup>

#### NEW ZEALAND

The first European discoverer of New Zealand was the famous Dutch navigator, Tasman, who sailed about the islands in 1642, but it remained practically unknown until 1769, when Captain Cook made a careful examination of its coast. He visited the islands several times, and introduced pigs, fowls, and several European vegetables. From Cook's final voyage in 1777 to 1814 little is known of it, but during this period a few white men, mostly shipwrecked sailors and runaway convicts from Australia, settled along its coasts. In 1814 Rev. Samuel Marsden, colonial chaplain of New South Wales, established the first mission in the islands at the Bay of Islands. Other missions, both Catholic and Protestant, were soon formed, and in thirty years a great

[1837-1882 A.D.]

part of the native Maori population had at least nominally accepted Christianity.

The country had been officially declared a possession of Great Britain as early as 1787, but fifty years elapsed before a systematic attempt at colonisation was made. In 1837 the New Zealand Association was formed under the auspices of Lord Durham, and largely through the exertion of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, upon whose "system" South Australia was established. This



JAMES COOK  
(1728-1779)

association failed in obtaining a charter for colonising because of the hesitating policy of the ministry, but it awakened interest in the colonisation movement. A second organisation was formed by the resourceful Wakefield in 1839, known as the New Zealand Land Company, with Lord Durham as governor. Wakefield determined not to risk another failure, therefore, in the name of the new company the ship *Tory* was secretly despatched to the islands with a company of colonists under Col. Wm. Wakefield, a brother of the promoter. By him the settlement of Wellington was formed. The colony of New Zealand thus came into existence independent of crown authority. The hands of the government being forced it proceeded to attach the settlements in New Zealand to the colony of New South Wales with Captain William Hobson as resident lieutenant-governor. There was some conflict between the land company's settlers and Governor Hobson, but they ultimately recognised his authority. In February,

1840, an assembly of Maori chiefs at Waitangi acknowledged their submission to the British crown. In the following September, Governor Hobson hoisted the British flag over the newly founded town of Auckland, which in 1841 became the capital of the colony.

May 3, 1841, New Zealand was proclaimed a separate crown colony. The early history of the colony is a long and tedious tale of quarrels over land titles between the land company, later settlers, and Maori chiefs. Hostilities between the settlers and natives were inevitable. One of the most serious wars was that led by Hone Heke in 1845. Other and more serious revolts occurred in 1863 and 1864, the suppression of which was accomplished only by the aid of several regiments of British troops and the co-operation of warships. An imperial act granted the colony representative government in 1852. Gold was discovered in 1862 and the colony grew rapidly. A new immigration policy adopted in 1870 still further stimulated the growth. The population leaped from 267,000 in 1871 to 501,000 in 1881.<sup>a</sup>

#### HISTORY, 1882-1902

Between 1882 and 1902 five governors represented the crown in New Zealand. Of these Sir Arthur Gordon quitted the colony in June, 1882. His

[1833-1895 A.D.]

successor, Sir William Drummond Jervois, arrived in January, 1883, and held office until March, 1889. The earl of Onslow, who followed, landed in June, 1889, and resigned in February, 1892. The next governor, the earl of Glasgow, remained in the colony from June, 1892, to February, 1897, and was succeeded in August of the last-mentioned year by the earl of Ranfurly. The cabinets which administered the affairs of the colony during these years were those of Sir Frederick Whitaker, Sir Harry Atkinson (3), Sir Robert Stout (2), Mr. Ballance, and Mr. Seddon. Except in one disturbed month, August, 1884, when there were three changes of ministry in eighteen days, executives were more stable than in the colony's earlier years. The party headed by Mr. Ballance and Mr. Seddon held office without a break for more than eleven years, a result mainly due to the general support given to its agrarian and labour policy by the smaller farmers and the working classes.

The industrial history of New Zealand during these two decades may be divided into two unequal periods. Thirteen lean years—marked, some of them by great depression—were followed by seven years of prosperity. The colony, which in 1882 was under a cloud, has not often been busier and more self-confident than in 1902. A division into two periods also marks the political history of the same time; but here the dividing line is drawn in a different year. Up to December, 1890, the conservative forces which overthrew Sir George Grey in 1879, controlled parliament in effect, though not always in name; and for ten years progressive legislation was confined to a mild experiment in offering crown lands on perpetual lease, with a right of purchase (1882), and a still milder instalment of local option (1881). In September, 1889, however, Sir George Grey succeeded in getting parliament to abolish the last remnant of plural voting. Finance otherwise absorbed attention; the task of successive ministries was to make the colony's accounts balance, and search for some means of restoring prosperity. The years 1884, 1887, and 1888 were notable for heavy deficits in the treasury. Taxation, direct and indirect, had to be increased, and as a means of gaining support for this, in 1888 Sir Harry Atkinson gave the customs tariff a distinctly protectionist complexion. The commercial revival came but slowly. The heavy borrowing and feverish speculation of the seven years 1872-79 must in any case have been paid for by reaction. The failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1879 precipitated this, and the almost continuous fall in the price of wool and wheat, together with the dwindling of the output of alluvial gold, postponed recovery. The principal local bank—the Bank of New Zealand—was in an unsound condition, and until in 1895 it was taken under control and guaranteed by the colony, the fear of its collapse overshadowed the community. The financial and commercial improvement which began in 1895 was doubtless to some extent connected with this venturesome but apparently successful stroke of policy.

## SOCIALISTIC NEW ZEALAND

During the years 1882-90 the leading political personage was Sir Harry Atkinson. In December, 1890, he was overthrown by the progressives under John Ballance. Atkinson's party never rallied from this defeat, and a striking change came over public life, though Ballance, until his death in April, 1893, continued the prudent financial policy of his predecessor. The change was emphasised by the active intervention in politics of the trade unions. These bodies, impelled by a socialistic movement felt throughout Australia and New Zealand, decided in 1889 and 1890 to exert their influence in returning work-

men to parliament, and where this was impossible, to secure pledges from middle class candidates. This plan was first put into execution at the general election of 1890. The number of labour members thus elected to the general assembly was small, never more than six, and no independent labour party was formed. But the influence of labour in the progressive or, as it preferred to be called, liberal party, was considerable, and the legislative results noteworthy. These did not interfere with the general lines of Atkinson's strong and cautious finance, though the first of them was the abolition of his direct tax upon all property, personal as well as real, and the substitution therefor of a graduated tax upon unimproved land values, and an income-tax also graduated, though less elaborately. The income-tax is not levied on incomes drawn from land. In 1891 the tenure of members of the legislative council or nominated upper house, which had hitherto been for life, was altered to seven years. In 1892 a new form of land tenure was introduced, under which large areas of crown lands have since been leased for 999 years. In the same year a law was also passed authorising government to repurchase private land for closer settlement. At first the owner's consent to the sale was necessary, but in 1894 power was taken to buy land compulsorily. So energetically was the law administered by John Mackenzie, minister of lands from 1891 to 1900, that in March, 1901, more than a million acres had been repurchased and subdivided, and over 6,000 souls were living thereon.

On Ballance's sudden death his place was taken by Richard Seddon, minister of mines in the Ballance cabinet, whose first task was to pass the Electoral Bill of his predecessor, which provided for granting the franchise to all adult women. This was adopted in September, 1893. In 1893 was also enacted the Alcoholic Liquor Control Act, greatly extending local option. In 1894 the Advances to Settlers Act authorised state loans on mortgage to farmers at 5 per cent., and about £2,500,000 has been lent in this way, causing a general decline in the rate of interest. The same year also saw the climax of a series of laws passed by the progressives affecting the relations of employers and workmen.

Meanwhile the keystone of the regulative system had been laid by the passing of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, under which disputes between employers and unions of workers are compulsorily settled by state tribunals; strikes and lock-outs are virtually prohibited in the case of organised work-people, and the conditions of employment in industries may be, and in many cases are, regulated by the awards of public boards and courts. The Arbitration Act, consolidated and extended in 1900, was soon in constant use. The Old Age Pensions Bill, which became law in November, 1898, by 1902 had become the means of conferring a free pension of £18 a year, or less, upon 12,300 men and women of 65 years of age and upwards whose private income was less than £1 a week. About 1,000 of these pensioners were Maori. The total cost to the colony was about £205,000 annually. In 1900 the English system of compensation to workmen for accidents suffered in their trade was adopted with some changes. In 1895 borrowing on a large scale was begun, and in seven years as many millions were added to the public debt. Before this the Ballance ministry had organised two new departments, those of labour and agriculture. The former supervises the labour laws, and endeavours to deal with unemployment; the latter has done much practical teaching and inspecting work, manages experimental farms, and is active in stamping out diseases of live stock, noxious weeds, and adulteration.<sup>1</sup>

Blessed with a climate resembling that of England, New Zealand has been

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properly regarded as the future Britain of the southern hemisphere, says Walpole,<sup>j</sup> who goes on to point out, however, that most people are profoundly ignorant as to the topographical position of New Zealand. He quotes Sir Charles Dilke<sup>m</sup> to the effect that though the inevitably brilliant future of the Pacific shores will not bring to New Zealand, situated as it is in the centre of the hemisphere of water, a political and economic position comparable to that of England, that pre-eminence will be reserved, it is held, for "some country such as Japan or Vancouver, jutting out into the ocean from Asia or America, as England juts out from Europe." This prediction is based on the fact that New Zealand is separated from Australia by more than a thousand miles of water, a fact that is very commonly overlooked. Once this geographical relation is clearly apprehended, however, it is obvious that New Zealand must take a position by itself, based upon its inherent advantages of soil and climate, its position of isolation making it practically independent of Australia.

### *The Maoris*

Wallace<sup>k</sup> notes that the Maoris are "one of the most important families of the brown Polynesian stock," and he ascribes their relatively high development to the fact that they lived in a less favourable climate than their fellows of the tropical islands. They are not only skillful hunters and fishers, but they have learnt to till the soil, and they built houses and canoes and manufactured weapons and implements of stone, wood, and shell. They had thus attained a relatively high stage of barbarism.<sup>a</sup>



LIGHT HOUSE ON THE COAST OF NEW SOUTH WALES

Generally, Maoris are in form middle-sized and well-made. They show great aptitude for European habits. The Maoris are of Polynesian race; and the probability is that they migrated from the Navigators' Islands to Rarotonga, and thence to New Zealand. Their tradition is that they came originally from "Hawaiki." This may be the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands; but there is also "Savii," which is a dialectical form of the other name, in the Navigators' Islands. Dr. Thomson, in his *Story of New Zealand*, quoted a Maori tradition, among those published by Sir George Grey, that certain islands, among which it names Rarotonga, Parima, and Manono, are islands near Hawaiki. The natives of Rarotonga state that their ancestors came from Hawaiki; and Parima and Manono are the native names of two islands in the Navigators' group. The almost identical languages of the Rarotonga natives and the Maoris, as well as other circumstantial evidence, strengthen the supposition. The distance from Rarotonga is about 3000 miles; and, with the aid of the trade wind, large canoes could traverse the distance within a month. A comparison of genealogies of Maori chiefs of different tribes shows that about eighteen generations have passed since the first migration. The origin and distribution of the Polynesian race cannot be discussed here, but there is, in some respects, a remarkable likeness in the customs, appearance, and character of Maoris and of Malays.

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The Maoris, before their conversion, had no idea of a Supreme Being. Their notion was that all things had been produced by process of generation from darkness and nothingness. They believed that the spirit survives the body, and retires to some place under the earth, whence it occasionally returns to advise and sometimes punish the living. The Maoris are divided into tribes, which respectively had their chiefs and priests. Land was held by tribal tenure, and small plots were cultivated. Each tribe had its unwritten laws regarding land, cultivation, and other social matters. "Tapu," or the practice of making things sacred—a rule, the breach of which was severely punished by spirits and man—was an essential element in their code of law. Tribes were constantly fighting with each other; and their chief causes of strife arose from alleged wrongs to property and person. Cannibalism was practised from vindictive feelings. Slaves were captives in war. The dead bodies of chiefs were put away on stages; and in course of time the bones were collected and hidden in secret places. The Maoris have a genius for war, and show great ability in building, fortifying, and defending stockades.<sup>p</sup>

The rapid decrease of the Maori population for many years seemed to foretell its early extinction as a race, but in very recent years there appears to have been a slight increase in numbers. In 1840 estimates placed the native population at over 100,000, which had decreased to 65,000 in 1856 and to 45,740 in 1874. By 1896 the Maori population was only 39,800, but in 1901 it had risen again to 43,143.<sup>a</sup>





## CHAPTER II

### THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

#### THE DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE

THE Cape of Good Hope was discovered by Bartholomeu Dias, the Portuguese navigator, in 1487. He first landed at Algoa Bay, having, after exploring the west coast, been driven out to sea by a storm. Thus accidentally doubling the Cape, he saw it on his way back, and gave it the name of the Cape of Storms (*Cabo Tormentoso*). The king of Portugal, however, gave it the more auspicious name it now bears, as its discovery afforded a hope of a new and easier way of reaching India, the great object of all the maritime expeditions of that age.

The great navigator Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape in 1497, and carried the Portuguese flag into the Indian seas. His countrymen, however, attracted by the riches of the East, made no permanent settlement at the Cape, although they frequently touched there on the voyage to India. But the Dutch, who, on the decline of the Portuguese power, established themselves in the East, early saw the importance of the place as a station where their vessels might take in water and provisions. They did not, however, colonise it till 1652, when the Dutch East India Company directed Jan van Riebeeck, with a small party of colonists, to form a settlement there. The country was at that time inhabited by a people called Quæquæ, but to whom the Dutch seem to have given the name of Hottentots. The Riebeeck settlers had at first great difficulties and hardships to endure, and their territory did not extend beyond a few miles round the site of the present Cape Town, where they first fixed their abode. They gradually, however, extended their limits, by driving the natives back or reducing them to serfdom. These colonists, although under Dutch authority, were not wholly of that nation, but consisted partly of persons of various nations, especially Germans and Flemings, with a few

Poles and Portuguese. They were for the most part people of low station or indifferent character; there was, however, a small number of a higher class, from whom was selected a council to assist the governor. About the year 1686 the European population was increased by a number of the French refugees who left their country on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Our limits forbid our attempting to trace the history of the Cape Colony during the lengthened period it remained under the Dutch government. We may, however, mention some of its prominent incidents, the effects of which are visible in the colony to this hour.

The Dutch, partly by so-called contracts, partly by force, gradually deprived the Hottentots of their country. They reduced to slavery a large part of that unfortunate people whom they did not destroy. They introduced a number of Malays and negroes as slaves. They established that narrow and tyrannical system of policy which they adopted in other colonies, prescribing to the farmers the nature of the crops they were to grow, demanding from them a large part of their produce, and harassing them with other exactions tending to discourage industry and enterprise. There is no doubt that to this mischievous policy is due the origin of those unsettled habits, that dislike to orderly government, and that desire to escape from its control, which characterise a considerable part of the so-called Dutch Boers of the present day — qualities utterly at variance with the character of the Dutch in their native country, which were strongly manifested at the Cape, long before they came under British rule and under those influences to which some exclusively attribute the insubordination of those men. The attempts of the Boers to escape from the Dutch power, and so form an independent government beyond the borders of the colony, especially in the district since called Graaf-Reinet, are strikingly similar to their proceedings at a later date under the British government. The Gumti river formed the boundary between the Hottentot and Kaffir races, and was early adopted by the Dutch as their eastern limit; but about the year 1740 they began to pass this river, and came into collision with the Kaffirs, and in 1780 they extended their frontier to the Great Fish river.

In 1795 the colonists, having imbibed the revolutionary principles then prevailing in Europe, attempted to throw off the yoke of the Dutch, upon which the British sent a fleet to support the authority of the prince of Orange, and took possession of the country in his name. As, however, it was evident that Holland would not be able to hold it, and that at a general peace it would be made over to England, it was ruled by British governors till the year 1802, when, at the Peace of Amiens, it was again restored to Holland. In 1806, on the renewal of the war, it was again taken by the British under Sir David Baird, and has since remained in their possession, having been finally ceded by the king of the Netherlands at the peace of 1815. At this time the limit of the colony was formed by the Great Fish river and the line of the mountains south of Bushman Land to the Buffals river and the Atlantic, the area being about one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and the population little over sixty thousand. A summary may be given of the chief events which have taken place since 1806.

#### KAFFIR WARS AND THE GREAT TREK

The first of these wars took place in 1811-1812, and the second in 1819, when the boundary of the colony was extended to the Keiskamma. The third occurred in 1835, under Sir Benjamin d'Urban, when the boundary was

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advanced to the Kei; but on the recall of that officer the country between the Kei and Keiskamma rivers was restored to the Kaffirs. The fourth Kaffir War took place in 1846, and after being conducted by governors Maitland and Pottinger, it was terminated by Sir Harry Smith in 1848. The fifth war broke out at the end of 1850, and after being carried on for some time by Governor Sir H. Smith, it was conducted in 1852 by Governor Cathcart, and brought to a conclusion only in March, 1853. During its progress an armed police had been organised for the protection of the frontier, and British Kaffraria was subsequently formed into a crown colony, reserved at first for occupation by Kaffirs.

In 1820, British emigrants, to the number of five thousand, arrived at Algoa Bay, and laid the foundation of the settlements on the eastern frontier which have since become the most thriving part of the colony, including the important towns of Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth. In 1834 the great measure of slave-emancipation took effect in the Cape Colony. It has been of immense service in raising the character and condition of the Hottentots and other races before held in bondage, though many of the vices begotten by the state of slavery still adhere to them. This measure gave great offence to the Dutch Boers of the colony, and completed their already existing disaffection to the British rule.

In 1835-1836 a large number of these people resolved to free themselves from the British government by removing with their families beyond the limits of the colony. With this object they sold their farms, mostly at a great sacrifice, and crossed the Orange river into territories inhabited chiefly by tribes of the Kaffir race. After meeting with great hardships and varied success in their contests with the natives, a part of their number, under one Peter Retief, crossed the Drakenberge and took possession of the district of Natal, where they established a republican government, and maintained their ground against powerful nations of Zulu Kaffirs till 1842, when they were forced to yield to the authority of the British government, which took possession of Natal.

The Boers beyond the Orange river and west of the Drakenberge still, however, retained a sort of independence till 1848, when, in consequence of the lawless state of the country, and the solicitation of part of the inhabitants, the governor, Sir Harry Smith, declared the supremacy of the crown over the territory, which was thenceforth called the Orange River Sovereignty. Shortly after this, in consequence, it was alleged, of certain acts of the British government in Natal, Andrew Pretorius, an intelligent Boer of that district, crossed the Drakenberge mountains with his followers, and after being joined on the western side by large numbers of disaffected Boers, raised the standard of rebellion. Upon this the governor, Sir H. Smith, crossed the Orange river at the head of a detachment of troops, and encountered and defeated the rebels in a short but brilliant skirmish at Boern Plaats. After this Pretorius and the most disaffected part of the Boers retreated to beyond the Vaal river (the northern limit of the sovereignty), where they established a government of their own. They were subsequently, in 1852, absolved from their allegiance to the British crown by treaty with the governors and her majesty's commissioners for settling frontier affairs.

In 1853-1854, in consequence of the troubled state of the Orange River Sovereignty, and the difficulty of maintaining with becoming dignity the authority of her majesty there, it was resolved to abandon the country to the settlers, mostly Dutch Boers. This was carried into effect by a special commissioner, Sir George Clerk, sent from England for the purpose; and the

country, under the name of the Orange Free State, was constituted a republic, with a president at its head, assisted or controlled by an assembly called the *volksraad* (people's council), elected by nearly universal suffrage.

### THE CONVICT AGITATION

After the British government had felt itself compelled to discontinue the sending of convicts to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the subject of transportation became one of great difficulty, the more so that an unusually large number of prisoners was then on its hands in consequence of the prosecutions arising out of the disturbed state of Ireland. Under these circumstances an order in council was passed in 1848, under authority of the Act of 5, George IV, authorising the secretary of state to send certain convicts to such colonies as he might think proper. A circular was sent by Earl Grey, then colonial secretary, to the governor of the Cape (among other colonial governors), requesting him to ascertain the feelings of the colonists regarding the reception of a certain class of convicts.

Unfortunately, owing to some misunderstanding, a vessel, the *Neptune*, was despatched to the Cape before the opinion of the colonists had been received, having on board 289 convicts, among whom were John Mitchell, the Irish rebel, and his colleagues. When the news reached the Cape that this vessel was on her way, the people of the colony became violently excited; and goaded to fury by the inflammatory articles in the local newspapers, and guided by a few demagogues, they established what was called the Anti-Convict Association, by which they bound themselves by a pledge to cease from all intercourse of every kind with persons in any way connected "with the landing, supplying, or employing of convicts." On the 19th of September, 1849, the *Neptune* arrived in Simon's Bay; and when the intelligence reached Cape Town, the people assembled in masses, and their behaviour was violent and outrageous in the extreme. The governor, after adopting several resolutions, and again abandoning them under the pressure of popular agitation, agreed not to land the convicts, but to keep them on board ship in Simon's Bay till he received orders to send them elsewhere. Even this concession did not satisfy any but a small number of more moderate men. The mass of the population, under the guidance or domination of a few agitators, continued to do all in their power to prevent the convicts and all the officers of the government from obtaining supplies. When the home government became aware of the state of affairs it immediately sent orders directing the *Neptune* to proceed to Van Diemen's Land, and the agitation ceased. This agitation did not, however, pass away without important results, since it led to another movement, the object of which was to obtain a free representative government for the colony. This concession, which had been previously promised by Lord Grey, was granted by her majesty's government, and, in 1853, a constitution was established of almost unexampled liberality.

In 1857 an almost incredible delusion arose in the Amaxosa tribe of British Kaffraria. It was predicted among them that, on condition of a complete sacrifice of their lives and property, a resurrection would take place on a certain day, in which all the dead warriors and great men of the nation would arise in new strength; and acting upon this faith nearly a third of the tribe or about fifty thousand, perished in a national suicide. The tracts thus depopulated were afterwards peopled by European settlers, among whom were many of the German legion which had served with the English army in

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the Crimea, and a body of upwards of two thousand industrious North German emigrants, who proved to be a valuable acquisition to the colony.

Public works in the colony marked an era in the opening, in November, 1863, of the railway from Cape Town to Wellington, begun in 1859, and, in 1860, of the great breakwater in Table Bay, long needed on that perilous coast. In 1865 the province of British Kaffraria was incorporated with the colony, under the title of the Electoral Divisions of King William's Town and East London. In the same year several important modifications of the constitution were adopted.

The discovery of diamonds in the districts north of the Orange river in 1867 drew the attention of the whole world to the colony, and gave new life and impetus to every branch of industry, leading to the annexation of the large territory of Griqualand west to the British crown. The Basutos, a division of the Bechuana Kaffirs, occupying the upper valleys of the Orange river, had subsisted under a semi-protectorate of the British government from 1848 to 1854; but having been left to their own resources on the abandonment of the Orange Sovereignty, they fell into a long exhaustive warfare with the Boers of the Free State. On the urgent petition of their chief Moshesh they were proclaimed British subjects in 1868, and their territory became part of the colony by act of government of 1871.<sup>i</sup>

The year 1870 marks the dawn of a new era in South Africa. From that date the development of modern South Africa may be said to have fairly started, and in spite of political complications, arising from time to time, the progress of Cape Colony down to the outbreak of the Transvaal War of 1899 was steadily forward. The discovery of diamonds on the Orange river in 1867, followed immediately afterwards by the discovery of diamonds on the Vaal river, led to the rapid occupation and development of a tract of country which had hitherto been but sparsely inhabited. In 1870 Dutoitspan and Bultfontein diamond mines were discovered, and in 1871 the still richer mines of Kimberley and De Beers. These four great deposits of mineral wealth are still richly productive, and although not technically within the confines of Cape Colony till 1880, to-day they constitute the greatest industrial asset which the colony possesses.

At the time of the beginning of the diamond industry, both Cape Colony and the Boer republics, as well as all the rest of the colonies of South Africa, were in a very depressed condition. Ostrich-farming was in its infancy, and agriculture but little developed. The Boers, except in the immediate vicinity of Cape Town, were a primitive people. Their wants were few, they lacked enterprise, and the trade of the colony was restricted. Even the British colonists at that time were far from rich. The diamond industry therefore offered considerable attractions, especially to colonists of British origin. It was also the means at length of demonstrating the fact that South Africa, barren and poor on the surface, was rich below the surface. It takes ten acres of Karroo to feed a sheep, but it was now seen that a few square yards of diamondiferous blue ground would feed a dozen families. By the end of 1871 a large population had already gathered at the diamond fields, and immigration continued steadily, bringing new-comers to the rich fields. Among those who emigrated to South Africa at that time was Mr. Cecil Rhodes.

So far back in the history of the colony as 1858, the then governor, Sir George Grey, had prepared for the home authorities a scheme for the federation of the various colonies and states of South Africa, but this proposition was not entertained at the time. In 1875, Lord Carnarvon, who was secretary of state for the colonies, and who had been successful in aiding to bring about

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the federation of Canada, turned his attention to a similar scheme for the confederation of South Africa. The new parliament at Cape Town, which had received its privileges of self government in 1872 appears to have resented the despatch in which he propounded his suggestions, and passed a resolution stating that any scheme in favour of confederation must in their opinion originate within South Africa itself. James Anthony Froude, the distinguished historian, was sent out by Lord Carnarvon to further his policy in South Africa. As a diplomatist and a representative of the British government, the general opinion in South Africa was that Froude was not a success, and he entirely failed to induce the colonists to adopt Lord Carnarvon's views. Lord Carnarvon, still bent on confederation, now appointed Sir Bartle Frere governor of Cape Colony and high commissioner of South Africa.

Frere had no sooner taken office as high commissioner, than he found himself confronted with serious native troubles in Zululand and on the Kaffir frontier of Cape Colony. In 1877 there occurred an outbreak on the part of the Galekas and the Gaikas. A considerable force of imperial and colonial troops was employed to put down this rising, and the war was subsequently known as the Ninth Kaffir War. This war was the last of a long series which the colonists waged on the eastern frontier ever since the colony came into existence. At its conclusion the Transkei, the territory of the Galeka tribe, under Krelli, was annexed by the British. In the meantime Lord Carnarvon had resigned his position in the British cabinet, and the scheme for confederation which he had been pushing forward was abandoned. As a matter of fact, at that time Cape Colony was too fully occupied with native troubles to take into consideration very seriously so great a question as confederation. A wave of feeling spread amongst the different Kaffir tribes on the colonial frontier, and after the Gaika-Galeka War there followed in 1879 a rising in Basutoland under Moirosi, whose cattle-raiding had for some time past caused considerable trouble. His stronghold was taken after very severe fighting by a colonial force, but, their defeat notwithstanding, the Basutos remained in a restless and aggressive condition for several years.

In 1880 the colonial authorities endeavoured to extend to Basutoland the Peace Preservation Act of 1878, under which a general disarmament of the Basutos was attempted. Further fighting followed on this proclamation, which was by no means successful, and although peace was declared in the country in 1883, the colonial authorities were very glad in 1884 to be relieved of the administration of a country which had already cost them £3,000,000. The imperial government then took over Basutoland as a crown colony, on the understanding that Cape Colony should contribute for administrative purposes £18,000 annually. In 1880, Sir Bartle Frere, who by his energetic and statesmanlike attitude on the relations with the native states, as well as on all other questions, had won the esteem and regard of loyal South African colonists, was recalled by Lord Kimberley, the liberal secretary of state for the colonies, and was succeeded by Sir Hercules Robinson. Griqualand West, which included the diamond fields, was now incorporated as a portion of Cape Colony.

#### THE AFRIKANDER BOND

The Boer War of 1881, with its disastrous termination, naturally reacted throughout South Africa; and as one of the most important results, in the year 1882 the first Afrikaner Bond congress was held at Graaf-Reinet. The organisation of the Bond developed into one embracing the Transvaal, the

[1881-1884 A.D.]

Orange Free State, and Cape Colony. Each country had a provincial committee with district committees, and branches were distributed throughout the whole of South Africa. At a later date the Bond in the Cape Colony dissociated itself from its republican branches. The general lines of policy which this organisation endeavoured to promote may best be gathered from *De Patriot*, a paper published in the colony, and an avowed supporter of the organisation. "The Afrikaner Bond," it said, "has for its object the establishment of a South African nationality by spreading a true love for what is really our fatherland. The British government keep on talking about a confederation under the British flag, but that will never be brought about. They can be quite certain of that. There is just one obstacle in the way of confederation, and that is the British flag. Let them remove that, and in less than a year the confederation would be established under the free Afrikaner flag."

The fact is that, from 1881 onwards, two great rival ideas came into being, each strongly opposed to the other. One was that of imperialism — full civil rights for every civilised man, whatever his race might be, under the supremacy and protection of Great Britain. The other was nominally republican, but in fact exclusively oligarchical and Dutch. The policy of the extremists of this last party was summed up in the appeal which President Kruger made to the Free State in February, 1881, when he bade them "Come and help us. God is with us. It is his will to unite us as a people — to make a united South Africa free from British authority." The two actual founders of the Bond party were Mr. Borekenhagen, a German who was residing in Bloemfontein, and Mr. Reitz, afterwards state secretary of the Transvaal.

In 1882 an act was passed in the Cape legislative assembly, empowering members to speak in the Dutch language on the floor of the house, if they so desired. By this act an increase of influence was given to the Dutch leaders. The head of the Afrikaner Bond at this time in Cape Colony, and the leader of Dutch opinion, was Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, a man of undoubted ability and astuteness. His influence over the Dutch members was supreme, and in addition to directing the policy of the Bond within the Cape Colony, he supported and defended the aggressive expansion policy of President Kruger and the Transvaal Boers. In 1884 Mr. Hofmeyr led the Bond in strongly supporting the Transvaal Boer raiders in Bechuanaland.

Fortunately, however, for the peace of Cape Colony at that time, Sir Charles Warren removed the invading Boers from Stellaland and no rebellion occurred. Nevertheless the Bond party was so strong in the house that they compelled the ministry under Sir Thomas Scanlen to resign in 1884. The logical and constitutional course for Mr. Hofmeyr to have followed in these circumstances would have been to accept office and himself form a government. This he refused to do. He preferred to put in a nominee of his own who should be entirely dependent on him. Mr. Upington, a clever Irish barrister, was the man he selected, and under him was formed in 1884 what will always be known in Cape history as the Warming-pan ministry. This action was denounced by many British colonists, who were sufficiently loyal, not only to Great Britain, but also to that constitution which had been conferred by Great Britain upon the Cape Colony, to desire to see the man who really wielded political power also enacting as the responsible head of the party. It was Mr. Hofmeyr's refusal to accept this responsibility, as well as the nature of his Bond policy, which won for him the political sobriquet of the "Mole."

Open and responsible exercise of a power conferred under the constitution of the country, Englishmen and English colonists would have accepted and

even welcomed. But that subterranean method of Dutch policy which found its strongest expression in Pretoria, and which operated from Pretoria to Cape Town, could not but be resented by loyal colonists. From 1881 down to 1898, Mr. Hofmeyr practically determined how Dutch members should vote, and also what policy the Bond should adopt at every juncture in its history. The influence of this action on Cape politics was a demoralising one. Other well-known politicians at the Cape subsequently found it convenient to adapt their views a good deal too readily to those held by the Bond. In justice to Mr. Hofmeyr, however, it is only fair to say that after the Warren expedition in 1884, which was at least evidence that Great Britain did not intend to renounce her supremacy in South Africa altogether, he adopted a less hostile or anti-British attitude.

Recognising the difficulties of the position, Mr. Rhodes from the outset of his political career showed his desire to conciliate Dutch sentiment by considerate treatment and regard for Dutch prejudices. Mr. Rhodes was first returned as member of the house of assembly for Barkly West in 1880, and in spite of all vicissitudes this constituency remained loyal to him. He supported the bill permitting Dutch to be used in the house of assembly in 1882, and early in 1884 he first took office, as treasurer-general, under Sir Thomas Scanlen. Mr. Rhodes had only held this position for six weeks when Sir Thomas Scanlen resigned, and later in the same year he was persuaded by Sir Hercules Robinson to proceed to British Bechuanaland as special commissioner in succession to Mr. Mackenzie. In 1885 the territories of Cape Colony were further extended, and Tembuland, Bomvaniland, and Galekaland were formally added to the colony. In 1886 Sir Gordon Sprigg succeeded Sir Thomas Uppington as prime minister.

The period from 1878 to 1885 in Cape Colony had been one of considerable unrest. In this short time there occurred a series of native disturbances which were followed by the Boer War of 1881, and the Bechuanaland disturbances of 1884. In spite, however, of these drawbacks, the development of the country proceeded. The diamond industry was flourishing. In the year 1888, a Customs Union Bill was passed by the Cape parliament, and this in itself constituted a considerable development of the idea of federation. Shortly after the passing of the bill the Orange Free State entered the union. An endeavour was also made then, and for many years afterwards, to get the Transvaal to join. But President Kruger, consistently pursuing his own policy, hoped through the Delagoa Bay railway to make the South African Republic entirely independent of Cape Colony.

Another event of considerable commercial importance to the Cape Colony, and indeed to South Africa, was the amalgamation of the diamond-mining companies, chiefly brought about by Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Alfred Beit, and Mr. Barnato in 1889. One of the principal and most beneficent results of the discovery and development of the diamond mines was the great impetus which it gave to railway extension. Lines were opened up to Worcester and West Beaufort, to Grahamstown, Graaf-Reinet, and Queenstown. Kimberley was reached in 1885. In 1890 the line was extended northwards on the western frontier of the Transvaal as far as Vryburg in Bechuanaland. In 1889 the Free State entered into an arrangement with the Cape Colony whereby the main trunk railway was extended to Bloemfontein, the Free State receiving half the profits. Subsequently the Free State bought at cost price the portion of the railway in its own territory. In 1891 the Free State railway was still further extended to Viljoen's Drift on the Vaal river, and in 1892 it reached Pretoria and Johannesburg.

[1889-1895 A.D.]

## THE RHODES ADMINISTRATION

In 1889 Sir Henry Loch was appointed high commissioner and governor of Cape Colony in succession to Sir Hercules Robinson. In 1890 Sir Gordon Sprigg, the premier of the colony, resigned, and a government was formed under Cecil Rhodes. Prior to the formation of this ministry, and while Sir Gordon Sprigg was still in office, Mr. Hofmeyr approached Mr. Rhodes and offered to put him in office as a Bond nominee. This offer Mr. Rhodes declined. When, however, he was invited to take office after the downfall of the Sprigg ministry, he asked the Bond leaders to meet him and discuss the situation. His policy of customs union and railway union between the various states, added to the personal esteem in which he was at this time held by many of the Dutchmen, enabled him to undertake and to carry on successfully the business of government.

The colonies of British Bechuanaland and Basutoland were now taken into the customs union existing between the Orange Free State and Cape Colony. Pondoland, another native territory, was added to the colony in 1894, and the year was marked by the passage of the Glen Grey Act, a departure in native policy for which Mr. Rhodes was chiefly responsible. It dealt with the natives residing in certain native reserves, and in addition to providing for their interests and holdings, the principle of the duty of some degree of labour devolving upon every able-bodied native enjoying these privileges was asserted and a small labour tax was levied. In the session of 1895 Mr. Rhodes was able to report to the Cape parliament that the act then applied to one hundred and sixty thousand natives.

During 1895 Sir Hercules Robinson was reappointed governor and high commissioner of South Africa in succession to Sir Henry Loch, and in the same year Mr. Chamberlain became her majesty's secretary of state for the colonies.

With the development of railways, and the extension of trade between Cape Colony and the Transvaal, there had grown up a closer relationship of political questions. Whilst premier of Cape Colony, by means of the customs union and in every other way, Mr. Rhodes endeavoured to bring about a friendly measure of at least commercial federation among the states and colonies of South Africa. He hoped to establish both a commercial and a railway union. To this policy President Kruger and his government offered every possible opposition.

In the year 1895 the Jameson raid occurred, and Mr. Rhodes' complicity in this movement compelled him to resign the premiership of Cape Colony in January, 1896. [Sir Gordon Sprigg thereupon became premier for the third time.] As Mr. Rhodes' complicity in the raid became known, there naturally arose a strong feeling of resentment and astonishment among his colleagues in the Cape ministry, who had been kept in complete ignorance of his connection with any such scheme. Mr. Hofmeyr and the Bond were loud in their denunciation of him. After his resignation, Mr. Rhodes was proceeding to the north, when he received a summons from the chartered company to go to London; but after interviews with the directors in London, he went back to Rhodesia, and was present in the country during the Matabele rebellion. While hostilities were still proceeding in Matabeleland, Mr. Rhodes went unarmed to a meeting of Matabele *indunas* (chiefs) in the heart of the Matoppo hills. The result was not a massacre of the great white chief, as was foretold at the time, and as has occurred on similar occasions in attempted

negotiations with Bantu tribes, but a peace which terminated the rebellion. It was a master-stroke of diplomacy and courage.

In 1897 Sir Alfred Milner was appointed high commissioner of South Africa and governor of Cape Colony in succession to Sir Hercules Robinson, who was created a peer under the title of Baron Rosmead. In 1898 commercial federation in South Africa advanced another stage, Natal entering the customs union.

#### THE MINISTRY OF W. P. SCHREINER

In the following year the Cape parliamentary election occurred, and the result was the return to power of a Bond ministry under Mr. W. P. Schreiner. From this time until June, 1900, Mr. Schreiner remained in office as head of the Cape government. During the negotiations which preceded the war in 1899, feeling at the Cape ran very high, and Mr. Schreiner's attitude has been freely discussed. As head of a party, dependent for its position in power on the Bond's support, his position was undoubtedly a trying one. At the same time, as prime minister of a British colony, it was strongly felt by loyal colonists that he should at least have refrained from openly interfering between the Transvaal and the imperial government during the course of most difficult negotiations. But however excellent his intentions, his publicly expressed disapproval of the Chamberlain-Milner policy probably did more harm than his private influence with Mr. Kruger could possibly do good.

Early in June, 1899, the Cape Dutch politicians began to realise that President Kruger's attitude was not so reasonable as they had endeavoured to persuade themselves, and Mr. Hofmeyr, accompanied by Mr. Herholdt, the Cape minister of agriculture, visited Pretoria. If any emissary could accomplish anything in the way of persuading Mr. Kruger, it was assuredly Mr. Hofmeyr. Much was looked for from his mission by moderate men of all parties, and by none more so, it is fair to believe, than by Mr. Schreiner. But Mr. Hofmeyr's mission, like every other mission to Mr. Kruger to induce him to take a reasonable and equitable course, proved entirely fruitless. He returned to Cape Town disappointed, but probably not altogether surprised at the failure of his mission.

On July 11th, after seeing Mr. Hofmeyr on his return, Mr. Schreiner made a personal appeal to President Kruger to approach the imperial government in a friendly spirit. At this time an incident occurred which raised the feeling against Mr. Schreiner to a very high pitch. On July 7th five hundred rifles and one million rounds of ammunition were landed at Port Elizabeth, consigned to the Free State government, and forwarded to Bloemfontein. Mr. Schreiner's attention was called to this consignment at the time, but he refused to stop it, alleging as his reason that, inasmuch as Great Britain was at peace with the Free State, he had no right to interdict the passage of arms through the Cape Colony. The British colonist is as capable of a grim jest as the Transvaal Boer, and this action of Mr. Schreiner's won for him the nickname Ammunition Bill. At a later date he was accused of delay in forwarding artillery and rifles for the defence of Kimberley, Mafeking, and other towns of the colony. The reason he gave for delay was that he did not anticipate war; and that he did not wish to excite unwarrantable suspicions in the minds of the Free State. His conduct in both instances may have been technically correct, but it was much resented by loyal colonists.

On August 28th, Sir Gordon Sprigg in the Cape house of assembly moved the adjournment of the debate, to discuss the removal of arms to the Free

[1899-1900 A.D.]

State. Mr. Schreiner, in reply, used expressions which called down upon him the severest censure and indignation, both in the colony and in Great Britain. He stated that, should the storm burst, he would keep the colony aloof with regard both to its forces and its people. In the course of the speech he also read a telegram from President Steyn, in which the President repudiated all contemplated aggressive action on the part of the Free State as absurd. The speech created a great sensation in the British press. Actual experience taught Mr. Schreiner that President Kruger was beyond an appeal to reason, and that the protestations of President Steyn were insincere. War had no sooner commenced with the ultimatum of the Transvaal Republic on October 9th, 1899, than Mr. Schreiner found himself called upon to deal with the conduct of Cape rebels. The rebels joined the invading forces of President Steyn, whose false assurances Mr. Schreiner had offered to an indignant house of assembly only a few months before. Mr. Schreiner ultimately addressed, as prime minister, a sharp remonstrance to President Steyn for allowing his burghers to invade the colony. He also co-operated with Sir Alfred Milner, and used his influence to restrain the Bond.

## CAPE COLONY DURING THE WAR

Proclamations by the Transvaal and Free State annexing portions of Cape Colony were actually issued on October 18th, and included British Bechuanaland and Griqualand West, with the diamond fields. On October 28th Mr. Schreiner signed a proclamation issued by Sir Alfred Milner as high commissioner, declaring the Boer annexations of territory within Cape Colony to be null and void. The battles of Belmont, Graspan, and Modder river were all fought by Lord Methuen in November, on colonial soil, in his endeavour to force a passage through to the relief of Kimberley. The heavy British losses at Modderfontein on November 29th were followed by a reverse in Cape Colony at Stormberg, where an expedition under General Gatacre from Queenstown marched into a Boer ambush and was defeated. On the following day Lord Methuen suffered a severe check and heavy losses at Magersfontein. The effect of these engagements at the very outset of the war, occurring as they did within Cape Colony, was to offer every inducement to a number of the frontier colonial Boers to join their kinsmen of the republics. The Boers are prolific, and their families large. Many younger sons from the colony, with nothing to lose, left their homes with horse and rifle to join the republican forces.

Meanwhile the loyal Cape colonists were chafing at the tardy manner in which they were enrolled by the imperial authorities. It was not until after the arrival of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener at Cape Town on January 10th, 1900, that these invaluable and many of them experienced men were freely invited to come forward. So strongly did Lord Roberts feel on the subject, that he at once made Colonel Brabant, a well-known and respected colonial veteran and member of the house of assembly, a brigadier-general, and started recruiting loyal colonists in earnest. On February 15th Kimberley was relieved by General French, and the Boer general, Cronje, evacuated Magersfontein, and retreated towards Bloemfontein. Mr. Cecil Rhodes was shut up in Kimberley during the whole of the siege, and his presence there undoubtedly offered an additional incentive to the Boers to endeavour to capture the town, but his unique position and influence with the De Beers workmen enabled him to render yeoman service, and infused enthusiasm and courage into the inhabitants. Mafeking, where the beleaguered garrison

[1824-1905 A.D.]

maintained their gallant defence under Colonel Baden-Powell till May 17th, was relieved by a force, chiefly colonial, sent up from Kimberley. With this incident the Cape rebellion ended, and the colony was at least for a time delivered of the presence of hostile forces.

In June, 1900, Mr. Schreiner, whose recent support of Sir Alfred Milner had incensed many of his Bond followers, resigned in consequence of the refusal of some of his colleagues to support the Disfranchisement Bill which he was prepared, in accordance with the views of the home government, to introduce for the punishment of Cape rebels. The bill certainly did not err on the side of severity, but disfranchisement for their supporters in large numbers was more distasteful to the Bond extremists than any stringency towards individuals. Sir Gordon Sprigg, who after a political crisis of considerable delicacy succeeded Mr. Schreiner, and for the fourth time became prime minister, was able to pass the bill with the co-operation of Mr. Schreiner and his section. Towards the end of the year 1900 the war entered on a new phase, and took the form of guerilla skirmishes with scattered forces of marauding Boers. In December some of these bands entered the Cape Colony and endeavoured to induce colonial Boers to join them. In this endeavour they met at first with little or no success; but as the year 1901 progressed and the Boers still managed to keep the various districts in a ferment, it was deemed necessary by the authorities to proclaim martial law over the whole colony, and this was done on the 9th of October, 1901. On January 4th, 1901, Sir Alfred Milner was gazetted governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, being shortly afterwards created a peer as Lord Milner; and Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, governor of Natal, was appointed his successor as governor of the Cape Colony.

In February, 1904, after being defeated in the elections, Sir Gordon Sprigg's ministry resigned; it was succeeded by a "progressive" ministry under Dr. Jameson, of Jameson raid fame. In the following year the prisoners who had been connected with the rebellion were released, and prosecutions were discontinued.<sup>a</sup>

#### THE ORANGE RIVER SETTLEMENT

At the commencement of the last century the Orange river country was inhabited by sections of aboriginal tribes — Bushmen, Korannas, and Bechuanas; and soon afterwards a number of Griquas from the northwest of the Cape Colony came in among them. A chronic state of warfare prevailed between these races. In 1824 nomad farmers from the colony, seeking pastures for their flocks, crossed the Orange river and settled in the territory. These were followed in 1835-1836 by large bodies of Dutch Boer emigrants who left the colony in order to be beyond British control. They formed a rude government for themselves, and in attempting to exercise authority came into collision with the Griquas, who claimed protection from the colony, with which they were allied by treaty. The British governor, Sir P. Maitland, intervened in 1845, assisting the Griquas with troops, and defeating the Boers at Zwart Kop; and, to prevent further collisions, a resident was appointed. In 1848 Governor Sir H. Smith visited the territory, and came to the conclusion that peace could not be maintained among the mixed elements forming the population without the establishment of a regular government. He therefore issued a proclamation, afterwards confirmed by the crown, annexing the territory to the empire under the name of the Orange River British Sovereignty. Thereupon some of the Boers, under their leader Andries Pretorius, took up arms and expelled the British magistrates; but a military force was brought against

[1853-1858 A.D.]

them by Sir H. Smith in person, and, after a short but sharp encounter at Boomplaats, the Boers were defeated, and the crown authority re-established and maintained from that time until towards the close of 1853. During this period many Europeans and colonists of European descent took up their abode in the sovereignty. But disturbances again occurred, arising from long-standing disputes between the native tribes; and, in order to chastise the most powerful of them — the Basutos — for certain acts of outrage, Governor Cathcart in 1852 moved a large military expedition against their chief, Moshesh and the battle of the Berea was fought, after which the chief, on behalf of the tribe, gave in his submission. After this expedition the British government resolved to withdraw from the territory.<sup>c</sup>

## THE REPUBLIC ORGANISED

In 1853 a convention was entered into between representatives of the Free State and the British government for transferring the government of the Orange River Sovereignty to representatives delegated by the inhabitants to receive it. By means of this transfer the imperial government established the future independence of the country, and further stated that the British government had no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the north of the Orange river, with the exception of the Griqua chief, Adam Kok. It was also stipulated that the Orange river government should, as hitherto, permit no slavery or trade in slaves in their territory north of the Orange river. At the time of this transfer some Boers, leading residents of the Free State, protested against the abandonment, but the duke of Newcastle, who was then British colonial secretary, stated that, in his opinion, imperial authority had already been extended too far in South Africa.

The new state of things had only been one year in existence when the Free State government found themselves victims to an intrigue of Messrs. Pretorius and Kruger, within the Transvaal, to bring about, by force if necessary, a confederation between the two countries. In the first instance, peaceful overtures were made, but the Free Staters declined to accept the proposal. Thereupon Pretorius, aided by Paul Kruger, organised and conducted a raid into the Free State territory, in the hope of overawing the Free State government, and compelling it to fall in with the views of the minority of the Free Staters, who were co-operating with Pretorius. On learning of the invasion Boshof, president of the Free State, proclaimed martial law throughout the country, and called out his burghers. The majority of the burghers rallied to his support, and in a very short time a formidable force was got together to oppose the invaders. On the 25th of May, 1854, the two opposing forces faced one another on the banks of the Rhenoster. President Boshof not only managed to get together a considerable force within the Free State, but he received an offer of support from General Schoeman, the Transvaal leader in the Zoutpansberg district. Pretorius and Kruger, when they learned what had occurred, realised that they would have to sustain attack from both north and south, and abandoned their enterprise. Before leaving, a treaty was signed, which amounted to an apology on the part of Pretorius.

In 1858 the volksraad of the Free State were so tired of the responsibilities of independence, that they passed a resolution in favour of a confederation in some shape or form with the Cape Colony. This proposition received the strong support of Sir George Grey, at that time governor of Cape Colony, but his view did not commend itself to the home authorities, and was not adopted.

## BORDER DISPUTES

From the date of their first settlement in the Orange river territories, the Boers were continually at feud with their Basuto neighbours on the eastern border. In 1866 they organised a powerful expedition, and attacked Moshesh. The expedition was successful, Moshesh was defeated, and a treaty was arrived at, by which he gave up possession of a portion of Basutoland, and acknowledged himself the subject of the Free State. This treaty did not, however, by any means terminate the strife; a period of feud continued, in the course of which Moshesh and his followers were reduced to very dire straits. They appealed to Great Britain for assistance, and in 1869 a treaty was agreed to between the high commissioner and the Orange Free State, defining the borders between the Orange Free State and Basutoland. All the fertile tract of country lying to the north of the Orange river and west of the Caledon, originally a part of Basutoland, was ceded to the Free State.

The Basutoland difficulties were no sooner arranged than the Free Staters found themselves confronted with a serious difficulty on their western border. In the years 1870-1871 a large number of diggers had settled on the diamond fields, which were situated on the boundary between the Griqua chief Waterboer and the Free State. At the time both the Free State and Waterboer claimed the district, and the Free State established a temporary government over the diamond fields, but the administration of this body was satisfactory neither to the Free State nor to the diggers. At this juncture Waterboer offered to place the territory under the administration of Queen Victoria. The offer was accepted, and on October 27th, 1870, the district was proclaimed, under the name of Griqualand West, British territory. President Brand contended at the time that Waterboer's title was a bad one. The matter involved much correspondence and no little irritation between the British government and the Free State until 1876.

It was then finally disposed of by Lord Carnarvon, who granted to the Free State £90,000 in compensation for any possible harm or wrong which the Free State might have sustained from the annexation. In making this concession, it is right to state that Lord Carnarvon, having gone into the question, declined to acknowledge any validity in the Free State claim to the territory in question. One thing at least is certain with regard to the diamond fields — they were the means of restoring the credit and prosperity of the Free State. In the opinion, moreover, of Doctor Theal, who has written the history of the Boer republics and has been a consistent supporter of the Boers, the annexation of Griqualand West was probably in the best interests of the Free State. Fortunately at the time the Free State had an enlightened and liberal-minded ruler in President Brand, who avoided collisions and encouraged amicable relations with the British authorities.

In spite of the troubles on her borders, the Free State, under Brand's beneficent and tactful guidance, made progress in various directions. Villages sprang up, roads were constructed, and a postal service was established. Tea-planting was encouraged by the government. At the same time the Free State Boers, like their Transvaal neighbours, had drifted into financial straits. A paper currency had been instituted, and the notes — currently known as "bluebacks" — soon dropped to less than half their normal value. Commerce was largely carried on by barter, and many cases of bankruptcy occurred in the state. But as British annexation in 1877 saved the Transvaal from bankruptcy, so did the influx of British and other immigrants to the diamond fields, in the early seventies, restore public credit and individual

[1880-1895 A.D.]

prosperity to the Boers of the Free State. The diamond fields offered a ready market for stock and other agricultural produce. Money flowed into the pockets of the farmers. Public credit was restored. "Bluebacks" recovered par value, and were duly called in and redeemed by the government. At a later date valuable diamond mines were discovered within the Free State, of which the one at Jagersfontein is the richest. Capital from Kimberley and London were soon provided with which to work them. The relations between the diggers and the Free State Boers, after the question of the boundary was once settled, remained perfectly amicable down to the outbreak of the Boer war in 1899.

In 1880, when a rising of the Boers in the Transvaal against Sir Owen Lanyon was threatening, President Brand showed every desire to avert the conflict. He suggested to the authorities at Cape Town that Sir Henry de Villiers, chief justice of Cape Colony, should be sent into the Transvaal to endeavour to gauge the true state of affairs in that country. This suggestion was not acted upon, but when, in 1881, the Boers in the Transvaal broke out into open rebellion and war followed, Brand declined to take any part in the struggle. At a later date he urged that peace should be brought about, and expressed his friendly sentiments towards the British government. In spite of the neutral attitude taken by Brand during this period, there can be no question that a certain number of the Free State Boers, living in the northern part of the Free State, went to the Transvaal and joined their brethren then in arms against the British government. In 1888 Sir John Brand died. He had been president of the country since 1863, and in him the Boers, not only in the Free State but in the whole of South Africa, lost one of the most enlightened and most upright rulers and leaders they have ever had. Throughout his long official career he remained on cordial terms of friendship with Great Britain.

#### THE NEW RÉGIME

In 1889 an agreement was come to between the Free State and the Cape Colony government, whereby the latter were empowered to extend, at their own cost, their railway system to Bloemfontein. The Free State retained the right to purchase this extension at cost, a right which they exercised within the course of a few years. In the same year Mr. Reitz was elected president of the Free State. His accession to the presidency marked the commencement of a new and disastrous line of policy in the public affairs of the country. Mr. Reitz had no sooner got into office than a meeting was arranged with President Kruger, at which various terms of the agreement dealing with the railways, terms of a treaty of amity and commerce, and what was called a political treaty, were discussed and decided upon. The political treaty referred in general terms to a federal union between the two states, and bound each of them to help the other, whenever the independence of either should be assailed or threatened from without, unless the state so called upon for assistance should be able to show the injustice of the cause of quarrel in which the other state had engaged. In 1889 the Free State, having accepted the assistance of the Cape government in constructing its railway, entered into a customs union convention with them. In 1895 the Free State volksraad passed a resolution, in which they declared their readiness to entertain a proposition from the Transvaal in favour of some form of federal union. In the same year President Reitz retired from the presidency of the Free State on the ground of ill-health, and was succeeded by Judge Steyn. In 1896

[1897-1900 A.D.]

a further offensive and defensive alliance between the two republics was entered into, under which the Free State took up arms on the outbreak of hostilities with the Transvaal in 1899.

In 1897 President Kruger, being bent on still further cementing the union with the Free State, himself visited Bloemfontein. It was on this occasion that President Kruger, referring to the London convention, spoke of Queen Victoria as a *kwaaje Frau*, an expression which caused a good deal of offence in England at the time, but which, to any one familiar with the homely phraseology of the Boers, obviously was not meant by President Kruger as insulting. In order to understand the attitude which the Free State took at this time in relation to the Transvaal, it is necessary to review the history of Mr. Reitz from an earlier date. Previous to his becoming president of the Free State he had acted as its chief justice, and still earlier in life had practised as an advocate in Cape Colony. In 1881 Mr. Reitz had, with his successor President Steyn, come under the influence of a clever German named Borekenhagen, the editor of the *Bloemfontein Express*. These three men were principally responsible for the formation of the Afrikaner Bond. From 1881 onwards there is no doubt that they cherished the one idea of an independent South Africa, in which a monopoly of independence was to be held by the Boers.

Brand during his lifetime had been far too sagacious to be led away by this pseudo-nationalist dream. He did his utmost to discountenance the Bond when it was started by Mr. Reitz and Mr. Borekenhagen, inasmuch as he saw full well that it was calculated to cause mischief in the future. At the same time his policy was guided by a sincere patriotism, which looked to the true prosperity of the Free State as well as to that of the whole of South Africa. It was only after his death that the fatal development of an exclusively Dutch policy arose in the Free State. From his death may be dated the disastrous line of policy which led to the extinction of the state as a republic. The one prominent member of the volksraad who inherited the traditions and enlightened views of President Brand with regard to the future of the Free State was Mr. G. J. Fraser, the son of a Presbyterian minister, who had acted as a minister in the Dutch Reformed church since the middle of the century.

The economic progress of the Free State, which began with the discovery of the diamond fields, has been redoubled since the construction of the railway through its territory to Johannesburg, thus fully justifying the forward commercial policy adopted in the teeth of Transvaal opposition. In illustration of this we have only to cite the fact that, in 1898-1899, out of a total revenue of about £650,000, more than half represented the earnings of the railway.

#### THE FREE STATE AND PRESIDENT KRUGER

On entering Bloemfontein in 1900 the British obtained possession of certain state papers which contained records of negotiations between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The evidence contained in these state records so clearly marks the difference between the policy of Mr. Kruger and the pacific, commercial policy of President Brand and his followers, that the documents call for careful consideration. From these papers it was found that, in 1887, two secret conferences had taken place between the republics. At the first of these conferences, held in Pretoria, there were present President Kruger, with his state secretary and state attorney, Messrs. Bok and Leyds and a commission of the Transvaal volksraad. On the other side the deputa-

[1896-1897 A.D.]

tion from the Free State volksraad was composed of Messrs. Fraser, Klynveld, and Myburgh.

The result of this conference was a secret session of the Transvaal volksraad and the proposition of a secret treaty with the Free State, by which each state should bind itself not to build railways to its frontier without the consent of the other, the eastern and northern frontiers of the Transvaal being excepted. The railway from Pretoria to Bloemfontein was to be proceeded with; neither party was to enter the customs union without the consent of the other. The Transvaal was to pay £20,000 annually to the Free State for loss incurred for not having the railway to Cape Colony. Such a treaty as the one proposed would simply have enslaved the Free State to the Transvaal. It was rejected by the Free State volksraad in due course, but President Kruger determined on a still more active measure, and proceeded to interview President Brand at Bloemfontein. A series of meetings took place in October of the same year (1887). President Brand opened the proceedings by proposing a treaty of friendship and free trade between the two republics. President Kruger, however, soon brushed these propositions aside, and responded by stating that, in consideration of the common enemy and the dangers which threatened the republic, an offensive and defensive alliance must be preliminary to any closer union. Brand refused to allow the Free State to be committed to a suicidal treaty, or dragged into any wild policy, which the Transvaal might deem it expedient to adopt. The result of the whole conference was that Kruger returned to Pretoria completely baffled, and for a time the Free State was saved from being a party to the fatal policy into which others subsequently drew it. Independent power of action was retained by Brand for the Free State in both the railway and customs union questions.

#### THE BREAK WITH GREAT BRITAIN

After Sir John Brand's death, as already stated, Mr. Reitz became president, and consistently followed out that policy which, as one of the founders of the Bond, he had endeavoured to inaugurate throughout Dutch South Africa. A series of agreements and measures in the volksraad gradually subordinated those true Free State interests which Brand had always protected to the mistaken ambition and narrow views of the Transvaal. Mr. Fraser in vain tried to stem the tide of Krugerism within the Free State, but the extent to which it had travelled after Brand's death was evidenced by the election for president in February, 1896, when Mr. Steyn was elected against Mr. Fraser by forty-one votes to nineteen. That this election should have taken place immediately after the Jameson raid probably increased President Steyn's majority. At the same time the history of the state after Brand's death renders it probable that Mr. Fraser's defeat was only a question of degree. Mr. Fraser continued, down to the outbreak of the war of 1899, consistently to denounce the policy on which the Free State had embarked, warning his countrymen continually that this policy could have but one end — the loss of their independence. Underlying the state policy there was undoubtedly the belief, if not with President Steyn himself, at least with his followers, that the two republics combined would be more than a match for the power of Great Britain should hostilities eventually occur.

In December, 1897, the Free State revised its constitution in reference to the franchise law, and the process of naturalisation was reduced from five to three years. The oath of allegiance to the state was alone required, and no

[1833-1838 A.D.]

renunciation of nationality was insisted upon. In 1898 the Free State also acquiesced in the fresh convention arranged with regard to the customs unions between the Cape Colony, Basutoland, and the Bechuanaland protectorate. These measures suggest that already a slight reaction against the extreme policy of President Kruger had set in. But events were moving rapidly in the Transvaal, and matters had proceeded too far for the Free State to turn back. In 1899 President Steyn suggested the conference at Bloemfontein between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, but this act, if it expressed at all a genuine desire for reconciliation, was too late. President Kruger had got the Free State ensnared in his meshes. The Free Staters were bound practically hand and foot, under the offensive and defensive alliance, in case hostilities arose with Great Britain, either to denounce the policy to which they had so unwisely been secretly party, or to throw in their lot with the Transvaal. War occurred, and they accepted the inevitable consequence. In September, 1899, Sir Alfred Milner sent a despatch to President Steyn, informing him that the exigencies of the situation demanded that he should take some steps to protect his line of communications, and that he was stationing a force near the Orange Free State frontier. Sir Alfred Milner at the same time expressed the hope that the difference between the British government and the Transvaal might still be adjusted, but if this hope were disappointed, he should look to the Free State to preserve strict neutrality, in which case the integrity of their territory would in all circumstances be respected. In similar circumstances Sir John Brand had remained neutral in 1881, but he was unfettered by any treaty with the Transvaal. For President Steyn and the Free State of 1899, in the light of the negotiations we have recorded, neutrality was impossible. Before war had actually broken out the Free State began to expel British subjects, and the very first act of war was committed by Free State Boers, who, on the 11th of October, seized a train upon the border belonging to Natal.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE TRANSVAAL

The historic life of the Transvaal begins with the Great Trek, or general exodus of the Cape Colony Boers, who, being dissatisfied, especially with the liberal policy of the British government towards the natives, removed northwards in large numbers between the years 1833 and 1837. By 1836 some thousands had already crossed the Vaal, that is, had reached the "Transvaal" country, which at that time was mostly under the sway of the powerful refugee Zulu chief Moselekatse, whose principal kraal was at Mosega in the present Marico district on the west frontier. To avenge the massacre of some emigrant bands, the Boers under Maritz and Potgieter attacked and utterly defeated Moselekatse at this place in 1837. Next year the Zulu chief withdrew beyond the Limpopo, where he founded the present Matabele state between that river and the Zambesi, thus leaving the region between the Vaal and Limpopo virtually in the hands of the trekkers. But their position was rendered insecure on the east side by the military despotism of the fierce Zulu chief Dingaan, who, after the murder of his brother Chaka, had asserted his authority over the whole of Zululand and most of the present Natal. The situation was rendered almost desperate by the complete route and wholesale massacre (1838) of the right division of the emigrant Boers, who had ventured to cross the Buffalo under Peter Retief, and who were defeated by Dingaan, first at Umkongloof (Aceldama), then at Weenen

[1838-1856 A.D.]

(Weeping), and again soon after under Uys, Maritz, and Potgieter, when as many as eight hundred fell before the irresistible onslaught of the disciplined Zulu warriors.

At this critical juncture the trekkers were saved from utter extermination by Andries Pretorius of Graaf-Reinet, by whom Dingaan met with a first check before the close of 1838, followed in January, 1840, by a still more crushing defeat. Dingaan having been soon after murdered, the friendly Panda was set up in his place, and Natal proclaimed a Boer republic. But the British occupation of that territory in 1843 induced the Boers to retire in two bands across the Drakensberg, the southern division settling in the present Orange Free State, the northern again passing into the Transvaal. But, owing to internal dissensions, and the perpetual bickerings of the two most prominent personalities, Pretorius and Potgieter, all attempts at establishing an organised system of government throughout the Transvaal ended in failure, till Pretorius induced the British government to sign the Sand River Convention (January 17th, 1852), which virtually established the political independence of that region. The death both of Pretorius and Potgieter in 1853 prepared the way for a period of internal peace under Pretorius' eldest son Marthinus Wessels Pretorius, first president of the Dutch African Republic, whose title was afterwards altered (1858) to that of the South African Republic. But a fatal element of weakness lay in the persistent refusal of the Boers to treat the natives on a footing of equality, or even with common justice. The murder of Hermann Potgieter and family (1854), avenged by Pretorius at Makapan's Cave, was followed (1856) by the Apprentice Law, establishing a system of disguised slavery, which was further strengthened by the sanction (1858) of the *Grond wet*, or Fundamental Law, declaring that the "people will admit of no equality of persons of colour with the white inhabitants either in state or church." Owing to this policy opposition was constantly shown both to the English traders, disposed to deal fairly with all, and to the missionaries, preachers of universal equality, as illustrated by the plunder of Livingstone's house by the commando sent against the native chief Secheli in 1852.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the trek Boers' attitude towards the natives, their history in the Transvaal until 1877 shows that they carried with them to their new home a spirit hostile not merely, as has been represented by many writers, to British rule, but to civilised rule in any shape or form. They and their fathers had, while still resident in the frontier districts of the colony, rebelled first of all against the government of the Dutch East India Company, and at a later date against the British government, because they resented in both cases any interference with their relations either to the natives or to one another. Governments within the Transvaal appointed by themselves, as a review of their history will show, fared no better, but even worse than those from the rule of which the Boers had withdrawn.

In 1856 a series of public meetings among the Boers, summoned by Commandant-General Matthias Wessels Pretorius, was held at different districts in the Transvaal for the purpose of discussing and deciding whether the time had not arrived for abolishing the system of petty district governments which had hitherto existed. The result was that a representative assembly of delegates was elected, empowered to draft a constitution. In December this assembly met at Potchefstroom, and for three weeks was engaged in modelling the constitution of the country. The new constitution made provision for a volksraad to which members were to be elected by the people for a period of two years, and in which the legislative function was vested. The administrative authority was to be vested in a president, aided by an execu-

[1858-1860 A.D.]

tive council. It was stipulated that members both of assembly and council should be members of the Dutch Reformed church.

In reviewing an incident so important in the history of the Transvaal as the appointment of the Potchefstroom assembly, it is of interest to note the gist of the complaint among the Boers which led to this revolution in the government of the country as it had previously existed. In his *History of South Africa*, Theal says, "The community of Lydenburg" (the oldest district government) "was accused of attempting to domineer over the whole country, without any other right to pre-eminence than that of being composed of the earliest inhabitants, a right which it had forfeited by its opposition to the general weal." In later years this complaint was precisely that of the Uitlanders at Johannesburg. In order to endeavour to conciliate one of these district governments at Zoutpansberg, the new-born assembly at Potchefstroom appointed Mr. Schoeman, a commandant of the Zoutpansberg district, commandant-general. This offer was, however, declined by Schoeman, and both Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg indignantly repudiated the new assembly and its constitution. The executive council, which had been appointed by the Potchefstroom assembly with Pretorius as president, now took up a bolder attitude: they deposed Schoeman from all authority, declared Zoutpansberg in a state of blockade, and denounced Boers of the two northern districts as rebels.

In order further to strengthen their position, Pretorius and his party also endeavoured to bring about a union with the Free State. With this intention they sent emissaries to the Free State government to make overtures on the subject. These overtures were rejected. Nothing daunted, Pretorius determined to win by force what he had failed to obtain by persuasion. There was a certain number of Free State Boers prepared to accede to the proposals of Pretorius, and relying on their aid, Pretorius entered into an intrigue to overthrow the president of the Free State, Boshof, and his government. Pretorius placed himself at the head of a commando and crossed the Vaal, being joined by a certain number of Free State burghers. On learning of the invasion, President Boshof immediately took energetic measures to defend his country. He proclaimed martial law, called out his burghers, and marched towards Kroonstad to meet the invaders. At the same time Boshof received an offer from the outraged and deposed General Schoeman of Zoutpansberg to gather a force and come to his assistance.

The forces of Pretorius and Boshof at length faced each other on opposite banks of the Rhenoster river. Threatened from the north as well as the south, Pretorius now recognised that he was engaged in a dangerous enterprise. He had as his lieutenant on this occasion no less a personage than Mr. Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, and to Mr. Kruger was entrusted the task of bearing a flag of truce to the Free Staters, with an expression of hope that a peaceful settlement might be arrived at. A treaty, containing an apology from Pretorius, was agreed upon, and the invading force withdrew. By the year 1860, the foregoing events notwithstanding, Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg had become incorporated with the republic. Schoeman had accepted the post of commandant-general, and Pretoria was made the seat of government and capital of the country. The state was now apparently united, and the government founded on the will of the people. The Separatist church of Holland in the year 1858 sent out a young expositor of its doctrines, named Postma. This minister settled at Rustenburg and founded the first branch of the Dopper sect, a sect which has since become famous in the Transvaal, as well as in the Free State and even Cape Colony. The tenets

[1860-1864 A.D.]

of the Separatist Reformed (or Dopper) church do not call for close analysis here. It will be sufficient to say that they approached somewhat those held by the Scottish covenanters. They raised strong objection to the singing of hymns, other than paraphrases of Scripture, as part of the church service. Of this sect Paul Kruger, who resided near Rustenburg, became an adherent.

In 1860 a curious sequel to the invasion of the Free State by Pretorius occurred. Pretorius, while still president of the Transvaal, was elected president of the Free State. He thereupon obtained six months' leave of absence and repaired to Bloemfontein, in the hope of peacefully bringing about a union between the two republics. He had no sooner left the Transvaal than the old Lydenburg party, headed by Potgieter, landdrost of Lydenburg, protested that the union would be much more beneficial to the Free State than to the people of Lydenburg, and followed this up with the contention that it was illegal for any one to be president of the South African Republic and the Free State at the same time. Pretorius, apparently in disgust at the whole situation, resigned. Mr. J. H. Grobelaar, who had been appointed president during the temporary absence of Pretorius, was requested to remain in office. The immediate followers of Pretorius now became extremely incensed at the action of the Lydenburg party, and a mass meeting was held at Potchefstroom, where it was resolved that: (1) the volksraad no longer enjoyed its confidence; (2) that Pretorius should remain president of the South African Republic, and have a year's leave of absence to bring about union with the Free State; (3) that Schoeman should act as president during the absence of Pretorius; (4) that before the return of Pretorius to resume his duties a new volksraad should be elected.

The events of the year 1860, as well as of all the years that followed down to British annexation in 1877, show that licence rather than liberty, a narrow spirit of faction rather than patriotism, were the dominant instincts of the Boer. Had the fusion of the two little republics which Pretorius sought to bring about, and from which apparently the Free State was not averse, actually been accomplished in 1860, it is more than probable that a republican state on liberal lines, with some prospect of permanence and stability, might have been formed. But a narrow, distrustful, grasping policy on the part of whatever faction might be dominant at the time invariably prevented the state from acquiring stability and security at any stage of its history. On no less than three occasions, unique opportunities were afforded for consolidating and establishing this republic. The first of these occasions we have dealt with. The second occurred in 1887, and the third in 1895. Of these opportunities no advantage was taken.

The complications that ensued on the action of the Pretorius party subsequent to his resignation were interminable and complicated. Some of the new party were arraigned for treason and fined; and for several months there were once more two acting presidents and two rival governments within the Transvaal. At length Commandant Paul Kruger called out the burghers of his district and entered into the strife. In 1864, after a series of intestine quarrels, a conference was held lasting six days, followed by a new election for president, and once more Pretorius was called upon to fill that office. Kruger was appointed commandant-general.

Civil strife for a time was now at an end, but the injuries inflicted on the state were deep and lasting. The public funds were exhausted; taxes, always an abomination to the Transvaal Boer, were not only in arrear, but impossible to collect; and the natives on the borders of the country and in the mountains of the north, taking advantage of the anarchy that prevailed, had thrown off

[1865-1867 A.D.]

all allegiance to the state. The prestige of the country was practically gone, not only with the world outside, but, what was of still more moment, with her neighbour the Free State, which felt that a federation with the Transvaal, which the Free State once had sought but which it now definitely foreswore, was an evil avoided and not an advantage lost. A charge frequently laid at the door of the Boers, at that time and since, was that of enslaving the black races. It is true that laws prohibiting slavery were in existence, but the Boer who periodically took up arms against his own appointed government was not likely to be, nor was he, restrained by laws. Natives were openly transferred from one Boer to another, and the fact that they were described as apprentices by the farmers did not in the least alter the status of the native, who to all intents and purposes became the property of his master.

In 1865 an empty exchequer called for drastic measures, and the volksraad determined to endeavour to meet their liabilities and provide for further contingencies by the issue of notes. Paper money was thus introduced, and in a very short time fell to a considerable discount. In this same year the farmers of the Zoutpansberg district were driven into laagers by a native rising which for some considerable time they were unable to suppress. Schoemansdal, a village at the foot of the Zoutpansberg, was the most important settlement of the district, and the most advanced outpost in European occupation at that time in South Africa. At length a small relief party proceeded to the district, but they had no sooner arrived than dissensions arose between them and some of the more turbulent spirits of the Zoutpansberg. Ultimately Schoemansdal and a considerable portion of the district were abandoned, and Schoemansdal finally was burned to ashes by a party of natives.

Meanwhile the public credit and finances of the Transvaal went from bad to worse. The paper notes already issued had been constituted by the law legal tender for all debts, but in 1868 their power of actual purchase was only 30 per cent. compared with that of gold, and by 1870 it had fallen as low as 25 per cent. Civil servants, who were paid in this depreciated scrip, naturally suffered considerable distress. The revenue for 1869 was stated as £31,511; the expenditure at £30,836. The discovery of gold at Tati led President Pretorius in 1868 to issue a proclamation extending his territories on the west and north so as to embrace the gold field, and on the east so as to advance considerably over the Portuguese boundary. This proclamation was followed by protests on the part of her majesty's high commissioner, Sir Philip Wodehouse, as well as on the part of the consul-general for Portugal in South Africa. The boundary on the east was settled by a treaty with Portugal in 1870; that on the west was dealt with in 1871.

The Sand River Convention of 1852 had not clearly defined the western border of the state, and the discovery of gold at Tati to the northwest, together with the discovery of diamonds on the Vaal in 1867, doubtless offered Pretorius every inducement to extend his boundary. Although to-day the great diamond mines are south of the Vaal river, it so happened that the early discoveries of diamonds were made chiefly on the northern bank of the Vaal near the site of the town now known as Barkly West. This territory was claimed by the South African Republic, by some of the Batlaping tribe, and also by Mr. David Arnot, on behalf of Nicholas Waterboer, the chief of the Griquas, a race of bastards sprung from the illicit intercourse between Boers and native women, who had been settled north of the Orange since 1834. In order to settle the boundary question, an arbitration court was appointed, consisting of a Transvaal landdrost, Mr. O'Reilly, on behalf of the South

[1871-1877 A.D.]

African Republic, and Mr. John Campbell on behalf of the other claimants, with Lieutenant-Governor Keate of Natal as final referee. The two judges disagreed, and the final decision, afterwards known as the Keate award, was given by the referee. The decision was in favour of Waterboer, and conceded to him the boundary line to the north and northeast which his agent Arnott had claimed for him. Following on this decision, Waterboer offered his territory to Queen Victoria. The offer was accepted, and the territory became British under the title of Griqualand West. The Keate award practically brought Bechuanaland into existence as a separate state, and thus kept the great trade route to the north open to British enterprise.

The award caused a strong feeling of resentment among the Boers, and led to the resignation of President Pretorius and his executive. The Boers now cast about to find a man who should have the necessary ability, as they said, to negotiate on equal terms with the British authorities should any future question of dispute arise. With this view they approached Sir John Henry Brand, president of the Free State, and asked him to allow them to nominate him for the presidency of the South African Republic. To this Brand would not consent. The Boers then invited the reverend Thomas Francois Burgers, a member of a well-known Cape Colony family and a minister of the Dutch Reformed church, to allow himself to be nominated. Burgers accepted the offer, and in 1872 was duly elected president. In 1871 gold reefs were discovered in the Zoutpansberg district near Marabastad, and already a few gold-seekers from Europe and Cape Colony began to prospect the northern portions of the Transvaal. The miners and prospectors did not, however, exceed a few hundred in number for several years, and it was not until 1882 that they began to make themselves felt as a political and an important commercial factor in the development and future of the country.

The appointment of Burgers to the presidency in 1872 was a new departure, hitherto the Boers had always chosen one of their own number as president, but in Burgers they had selected a man from outside for the express purpose of securing an educated and capable leader. In a measure Burgers may be said to have fulfilled their choice. He was able, active, and enlightened, but he was unfortunately a visionary rather than a man of affairs or sound judgment. Instead of reducing chaos to order and concentrating his attention, as Brand had done so wisely in the Free State, on establishing security and promoting industry in the country, he took up with all its entanglements, the old misguided policy of intrigues with native chiefs beyond the border and the dream of indefinite expansion.

On his return to the Transvaal in 1876, after a trip to Europe in a futile endeavour to raise a loan of £300,000 for the construction of a railway to Delagoa Bay, Burgers found that the condition of affairs in the state was worse than ever. The acting president, Joubert, had, in his absence been granted leave by the volksraad to carry out various measures opposed to the public welfare; native lands had been indiscriminately allotted to adventurers, and a war with Secocoeni, a native chief on the eastern borders of the country, was imminent. A commando was called out, which the president himself led. The expedition was an ignominious failure, and many burghers did not hesitate to assign their non-success to the fact that Burgers' views on religious questions were not sound. Burgers then proceeded to levy taxes, which were never paid; to enroll troops, which never marched; and to continue the head of a government which had neither resources, credit, nor power of administration. In 1877 the Transvaal one-pound notes were valued at one shilling cash. Add to this condition of things the fact that the Zulus were threatening

the Transvaal on its western border, and the picture of utter collapse which existed in the state is complete. In 1877 the condition of the Transvaal appeared so menacing to the peace of South Africa that Sir Theophilus Shepstone was despatched to the country by the high commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly, to confer with President Burgers as to its future government.

By this time Burgers had had his eyes opened to the true state of things. He was no longer blinded by the foolish optimism of a visionary who had woven fine-spun theories of what an ideal republic might be. He had lived among the Boers and attempted to lead their government. He had found their idea of liberty to be anarchy, their native policy to be slavery, and their republic to be a sham. His was a bitter awakening, and the bitterness of it found expression in some remarkable words addressed to the volksraad: "I would rather," said Burgers in March, 1877, "be a policeman under a strong government than the president of such a state. It is you — you members of the raad and the Boers — who have lost the country, who have sold your independence for a drink. You have ill-treated the natives, you have shot them down, you have sold them into slavery, and now you have to pay the penalty. To-day a bill for £1,000 was laid before me for signature, but I would sooner have cut off my right hand than sign that paper, for I have not the slightest ground to expect that when that bill becomes due there will be a penny to pay it with."

#### BRITISH ANNEXATION (1877 A.D.)

After spending some months at Pretoria, Shepstone satisfied himself that annexation was the only possible salvation for the Transvaal. The treasury was empty, the Boers refused to pay their taxes, and there was no power to enforce them. A public debt of £215,000 existed, and government contractors were left unpaid. Out of a male population of less than nine thousand, three thousand had already signed a petition for annexation. Sir Theophilus Shepstone therefore, in April, 1877, issued a proclamation annexing the country. The proclamation stated: "It is the wish of her most gracious majesty that it [the state] shall enjoy the fullest legislative privileges compatible with the circumstances of the country and the intelligence of its people." The wisdom of the step taken by Shepstone has been called in question. No one who acquaints himself with the simple facts of the position will deny that Shepstone's task was an extremely difficult one, and that he acted with care and moderation. The best evidence in favour of the step is to be found in the publicly expressed views of the state's own president, Burgers, already quoted. Moreover, the menace of attack on the Zulu side was a pressing and serious one. Even before annexation had occurred, Shepstone felt the danger so acutely that he sent a message to Cetliwayo, the Zulu chief, warning him that British annexation was about to be proclaimed and that invasion of the Transvaal would not be tolerated. To this warning Cetliwayo, who, encouraged by the defeat of the Boers at Secocoeni's hands, had already gathered his warriors together, replied: "I thank my father Somtseu [Shepstone] for his message. I am glad that he has sent it, because the Dutch have tired me out, and I intended to fight with them and to drive them over the Vaal."

A still further reason for Shepstone's annexation, given by Sir Bartle Frere, was that Burgers had already sought alliance with continental powers, and Shepstone had no reason to doubt that if Great Britain refused to interfere, Germany would intervene. The only military force at Shepstone's

[1878-1879 A.D.]

command at the time of annexation was twenty-five policemen, and it is quite certain that, apart from the attitude of President Burgers, which cannot be said to have been one of active opposition, a large number, probably a majority of the Boers, accepted the annexation with complacency. Burgers himself left the Transvaal a disappointed, heart-broken man, and a deathbed statement published some time after his decease throws a lurid light on the intrigues which arose both before and after annexation. He shows how, for purely personal ends, Kruger allied himself with the British faction who were agitating for annexation, and in order to undermine him and endeavour to gain the presidency actually urged the Boers to pay no taxes. However this may be, Burgers was crushed, but as a consequence the British government and not Paul Kruger was, for a time at least, master of the Transvaal. In view of his attitude before annexation, it was not surprising that Kruger should be one of the first men to agitate against it afterwards. The work of destruction had gone too far. The plot had miscarried. And so Kruger and Jorissen were the first to approach Lord Carnarvon with an appeal for revocation of the proclamation. To this request Lord Carnarvon's reply was that the act of annexation was an irrevocable one. Unfortunately, the train of events in England favoured the intrigues of the party who were bent on getting the annexation cancelled. In 1878 Lord Carnarvon resigned, and there were other evidences of dissension in the British cabinet.

Kruger, who since the annexation had held a salaried appointment under the British government, became one of a deputation to England. On this occasion Sir T. Shepstone not unnaturally determined to dispense with his further services as a government servant. In the beginning of 1879 Shepstone was recalled and Colonel Owen Lanyon, an entire stranger to the Boers and their language, was appointed his successor as administrator in the Transvaal. In the meantime, the Zulu forces which threatened the Transvaal had been turned against the British, and the disaster of Isandhlwana occurred. Rumours of British defeat soon reached the Transvaal, and encouraged the disaffected party to become still bolder in their agitation against British rule.

In April, Sir Bartle Frere visited Pretoria and conferred with the Boers. He assured them that they might look forward to complete self government under the crown, and at the same time urged them to sink political differences and join hands with the British against their common enemy, the Zulus. The Boers, however, continued to agitate for complete independence, and with the honourable exception of Piet Uys, a gallant Boer leader, and a small band of followers, who assisted Colonel Evelyn Wood at Hlobani, the Boers held entirely aloof from the conflict with the Zulus, a campaign which cost Great Britain many lives and £5,000,000 before the Zulu power was finally broken. In June Sir Garnet Wolseley went to South Africa as commander of the forces against the Zulus, and as high commissioner "for a time," in place of Sir Bartle Frere, of the Transvaal and Natal. After the settlement of the Zulu question, Sir Garnet Wolseley proceeded to Pretoria and immediately organised an expedition against the old Transvaal enemy Secocoeni, who throughout the Zulu campaign had been acting under the advice of Cettwayo. Secocoeni's stronghold was captured and his forces disbanded.

It will be seen from this review of the events following annexation that the first work accomplished, over and above establishing a solvent and responsible government in the country, was the demolition by the British of the two native foes who for so long had harassed the Boers. In speaking, after the conclusion of the native wars, on the question of the revocation of the Act of Annexation, Sir Garnet Wolseley assured the Boers at a public gathering that

[1879-1880 A.D.]

so long as the sun shone the British flag would fly at Pretoria. In May, 1880, he returned to England. Meanwhile events in Great Britain had once more taken a turn which gave encouragement to the disaffected Boers. Already in November, 1879, Gladstone had conducted his Midlothian campaign. In his speeches he denounced in the strongest terms the annexation which had been carried out by the Beaconsfield government. Referring to Cyprus and the Transvaal, he went so far as to say, "If those acquisitions were as valuable as they are valueless, I would repudiate them, because they were obtained by means dishonourable to the character of our country." Expressions such as these were translated into Dutch and distributed among the Boers by some of their leaders, and it is impossible not to admit that they exercised a good deal of influence in fanning the agitation for retrocession already going on in the Transvaal. So keenly were the Midlothian speeches appreciated by the Boers that the Boer committee wrote a letter of thanks to Mr. Gladstone, and expressed the hope that, should a change in the government of Great Britain occur, "the injustice done to the Transvaal might find redress."

In April, 1880, this change in the British government did occur. Gladstone became prime minister, and shortly afterwards Frere was recalled. Could events be more auspicious for the party seeking retrocession? If words in the mouth of an ex-minister at election time meant anything, retrocession could only be a matter of time. The loyalists, not only in the Transvaal, but throughout South Africa, were disheartened and disgusted. The retrocession party in the Transvaal redoubled their efforts and their appeals. They were not destined to meet with such immediate success as the British premier's speeches, delivered during the heat of an election, very naturally led them to anticipate. On being directly appealed to by Kruger and Joubert, Mr. Gladstone replied that the liberty which they sought might be "most easily and promptly conceded to the Transvaal as a member of a South African confederation." This was not at all what was wanted, and the agitation continued. Meanwhile in the Transvaal itself, concurrently with the change of prime minister and high commissioner, the administrator, Colonel Lanyon, began vigorously to enforce taxation among the Boers. Men who would not pay taxes to their own appointed governments, and who were daily expecting to be allowed to return to that condition of anarchy which they had come to regard as the normal order of things, were not likely to respond willingly to the tax-gatherer's demands. That many of them refused payment in the circumstances which existed was natural.

#### THE FIRST BOER WAR (1880-1881 A.D.)

In November matters were brought to a head by some wagons being seized for the non-payment of taxes, and promptly retaken from the sheriff by a party of Boers. Lanyon began to recognise that the position was becoming grave, and wired to Sir George Colley, the high commissioner of Southeast Africa, for military aid. This, however, was not immediately available, and the Boers in public meeting at Paardekraal resolved once more to proclaim the South African Republic, and in the meantime to appoint a triumvirate, consisting of Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert, who were to act as a provisional government. Within three days of the Paardekraal meeting a letter was sent to the administrator demanding the keys of the government offices within forty-eight hours. Hostilities forthwith began, and then followed a series of the most disastrous skirmishes, the most contradictory and most vacillating changes of policy which have ever embarrassed a military force or discredited

[1881 A.D.]

a government. No outbreak or rebellion ever occurred under more anomalous conditions. While the administrator and high commissioner were endeavouring to carry out with very inadequate resources the declared policy of the British government and their own instructions, continual pressure was being put on the British prime minister, not only from the insurgent Boers but from his own followers, to carry out the policy he had avowed while out of office, and to grant the retrocession of the country. But it was not until Great Britain was suffering from the humiliation of defeat that the premier was convinced that the time for granting that retrocession had arrived. The first shots fired were outside Potchefstroom, which was then occupied by a small British garrison, who, aided by the loyal inhabitants of the town, successfully sustained a siege of the place until after the close of the war. On December 29th, a small body of some 240 men, chiefly belonging to the 94th regiment, while marching from Lydenburg to Pretoria, were surprised and cut up by the Boer forces. Half the men were killed and wounded, the other half, including some officers, were taken prisoners. Of the prisoners, captains Elliott and Lambert were subsequently treacherously shot by the Boers while crossing a stream after they had been released on parole. In the meantime Pretoria, Rustenburg, Lydenburg, and other small towns had been placed in a position of defence under the directions of Colonel Bellairs, who remained in command at Pretoria, the garrison consisting of a small number of troops and the loyal inhabitants. Sir George Colley, with about fourteen hundred men, marched towards the Transvaal frontier, but before reaching it he found, on January 24th, 1881, that the Boers had already invaded Natal and occupied Laing's Nek. He pitched his camp at Ingogo.<sup>a</sup>

Disaster followed disaster in rapid succession. On January 28th, with a battalion of the 58th infantry and a company of mounted infantry, he made a rash and desperate attempt to dislodge the forces of two thousand Boers who had firmly intrenched themselves on the heights of Laing's Nek. The result was disastrous and the British retired with a loss of 190 officers and men. On February 8th, while conducting a reconnoitring party of three hundred on the Newcastle road on Ingogo heights, Colley was surprised by a superior Boer force and only after the severest sort of fighting, in which he lost half his men, was he able to cut his way back to the main body of his troops.<sup>a</sup>

On February 27th came the crowning disaster of Majuba hill. Majuba is a flat topped mountain towering some two thousand feet over the western side of Laing's Nek. Colley conceived the idea of ascending it and thus turning the flank of the Boer position. With five hundred and fifty-four men selected, from various regiments, the ascent was made on the night of the 26th. In the morning the Boers saw the force on Majuba and for a moment thought of abandoning their position. On second thought they determined to make a bold attempt to drive Colley off the hill. Less than two hundred volunteers under General Nicholas Smit carried out the feat of actually storming the top of Majuba. Creeping up under cover of the steep hill-side they gradually worked their way up, shooting every man that exposed himself on the summit. No attempt had been made to occupy the lower slopes which commanded the approach, and the bayonet charge which might have saved the day at the last moment was never carried out. The British troops broke and rushed headlong down the hill. Sir G. Colley and ninety-one men were killed, one hundred and thirty-four wounded, and a number of prisoners taken. Of the Boers one man was killed outright and another died afterwards of his wounds.<sup>1</sup>

Ten days previous to the disaster at Majuba, Sir Evelyn Wood had arrived at Newcastle with reinforcements. On Colley's death he assumed command,

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and on March 6th concluded an armistice with Joubert at Laing's Nek. Lord Kimberley then telegraphed offering an amnesty to the Boers. Gladstone announced in parliament that an opportunity for a settlement of affairs in the Transvaal had arisen. On March 6th the terms of peace were arranged between the Boers and Sir Evelyn Wood. The most important of these terms were that the Transvaal should have complete self government under British suzerainty, and that a British resident should be stationed at Pretoria. The treaty of peace practically conceded all that the Boers demanded, and was never regarded as anything else than surrender either by the Boers or the loyalists in South Africa. It had hardly been concluded when Sir Frederick Roberts arrived at the Cape with ten thousand troops, and after spending forty-eight hours there returned to England.

In the meantime, while the English general was making a treaty under the instructions of British ministers on the frontier, the beleaguered garrisons of Pretoria, Potchefstroom, and other smaller towns were stoutly and gallantly holding their own. The news of the surrender reached Pretoria through Boer sources, and when first received there was laughed at by the garrison and inhabitants as a Boer joke. When the bitter truth was at length realised, the British flag was dragged through the dust of Pretoria streets by outraged Englishmen. At Potchefstroom the garrison under Colonel Winsloe were hard pressed. During the siege a third of their number had been killed and wounded. The Boer commander, Cronje, was duly informed of the armistice by his leaders, but in spite of this knowledge continued the siege for ten days afterwards, until Winsloe and his little band were compelled to surrender. In May the terms of settlement already agreed upon were drawn up at Pretoria in the form of a convention and signed. The preamble to the Pretoria Convention of 1881 contained in brief but explicit terms the grant of self government to the Boers, subject to British suzerainty. In later years, when the Boers desired to regard the whole of this convention (and not merely the articles) as cancelled by the London Convention of 1884, and with it the suzerainty which was only mentioned in the preamble, Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that if the preamble to this instrument were considered cancelled, so also would the grant of self government be cancelled. The Pretoria Convention contained thirty-three articles. The most important of these reserved to her majesty "the control of the external relations of the said state, including the conclusion of treaties and the conduct of diplomatic intercourse with foreign powers," and the right to march troops through the Transvaal. The boundaries of the state were defined, and to them the Transvaal was strictly to adhere.

The retrocession of the Transvaal was a terrible blow to the loyalists. The Boers on the other hand, found themselves in better plight than they had ever been before. Their native foes Cettiwayo and Seocoeni had been crushed by British forces; their liabilities were consolidated into a debt to Great Britain, to be repaid at convenience and leisure — as a matter of fact, not even interest was paid for some time. If ever a small state was well treated by a large one, the Transvaal was so in the retrocession of 1881. Unfortunately, this magnanimity was forthcoming after defeat. It appeared as though a virtue had been made of a necessity, and the Boers never could regard it in any other light.

The new volksraad had scarcely been returned, and Kruger elected president, before a system of government concessions to private individuals was started. These concessions, in so far as they prejudiced the commerce and general interests of the inhabitants, consisted chiefly in the granting of monop-

[1882-1884 A.D.]

olies. Among the first monopolies which were granted in 1882 was one for the manufacture of spirituous liquor. The system continued steadily down to 1899, by which time railways, dynamite, spirits, iron, sugar, wool, bricks, jam, paper, and a number of other things, were all of them articles of monopoly. In 1882 also began that alteration of the franchise law which subsequently developed into positive exclusion of all but the original Boer burghers of the country from the franchise. In 1881, on the retrocession, full franchise rights could be obtained after two years' residence; in 1882 the period of residence was increased to five years. Meanwhile the land-hunger of the Boers became stimulated rather than checked by the regaining of the independence of their country. On the western border intrigues were already going on with petty tribal chiefs, and the Boers drove out a portion of the Ba-Rolongs from their lands, setting up the so-called republics of Stellaland and Goshen. This act called forth a protest from Lord Derby, the minister chiefly responsible for the Pretoria Convention, stating that he could not recognise the right of Boer freebooters to set up governments of their own on the Transvaal borders. This protest, however, had no effect upon the freebooters, who issued one proclamation after another until in November, 1883, they united the two new republics under the title of the United States of Stellaland. Simultaneously with this "irresponsible" movement for expansion, President Kruger, having found the policy of putting pressure upon Great Britain so successful, proceeded to London to interview Lord Derby and endeavour to induce him to dispense with the suzerainty, and to withdraw other clauses in the Pretoria Convention on foreign relations and natives, which were objectionable from the Boer point of view. Moreover, Kruger significantly requested that the term South African Republic should be substituted for Transvaal State.

The result was the London Convention of 1884. In this document a fresh set of articles was substituted for those of the Pretoria Convention of 1881. In the articles of the new convention the boundaries were once more defined, and to them the Transvaal was bound "strictly to adhere." In what followed it must always be remembered that Lord Derby began by emphatically rejecting the first Boer draft of a treaty on the ground that no treaty was possible except between equal sovereign states. Moreover, it is undeniable that Lord Derby acted as though he was anxious to appear to be giving the Boers what they wanted. He would not formally abolish the suzerainty, but he was willing not to mention it; and though, as before stated, in substituting new articles for those of the Pretoria Convention he left the preamble untouched, he avoided anything which could commit the Boer delegates to a formal recognition of that fact. On the other hand, he was most indignant when in the house of lords he was accused by Lord Cairns of impairing British interests and relinquishing the queen's suzerainty. He declared that he had preserved the thing in its substance, if he had not actually used the word; and this view of the matter was always officially maintained in the colonial office (which, significantly enough, dealt with Transvaal affairs) whatever the political party in power. Unfortunately, the timid way in which it was done made as ineffaceable an impression on Kruger even as the surrender after Majuba. Article 4 stated: "The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the republic, until the same has been approved by her majesty the queen." The other article to which the greatest interest was subsequently attached was Article 14: "All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South

African Republic (1) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (2) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, warehouses, shops, and premises; (3) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (4) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said republic."

As the freebooters continued their operations in Bechuanaland, Sir Hercules Robinson despatched the Reverend J. Mackenzie to adjust matters and if necessary "to order the ejectment of the persons now trespassing at Rooi Grond." Mr. Mackenzie met with but partial success, and Mr. Rhodes was sent to succeed him, but the latter equally failed to bring about a settlement. Meanwhile President Kruger "provisionally" proclaimed and ordained, "in the interests of humanity," that the territory in dispute should be under the protection of the South African Republic. Public protests were made in Cape Town and throughout the colony against this last act of aggression, and in October, 1884, Sir Charles Warren was despatched by the British government to "pacificate" and "hold the country" pending further instructions. Thereupon President Kruger withdrew his proclamation. Sir Charles Warren subsequently broke up the freebooters' two states, and occupied the country without a shot being fired. The expedition cost Great Britain a million and a half, but the attempt at further extension westwards was foiled.

At the eastern border a similar policy was followed by the Boers, and in this instance with more success. Following up the downfall of the Zulu power after the British conquest in 1879, several parties of Boers began intriguing with the petty chiefs, and in January, 1883, in the presence of ten thousand Zulus, they proclaimed Dinizulu, the son of Cettwayo, to be king of Zululand. As a "reward" for their services to the Zulus, the Boers then took over from them a tract of country in which they established a new republic. Encouraged by success, the Boer claims were extended until at the end of 1885 they claimed about three fourths of the whole Zulu territory. In 1886 the new republic, with limits considerably narrowed, was recognised by Great Britain, and the territory became incorporated with the Transvaal in 1888. Their eastern boundary, in the teeth of the spirit of the conventions and with but scant observance of the latter, was by this means eventually considerably extended. A similar policy eventually brought Swaziland almost entirely under their dominion.

Meanwhile, events occurring within the state augured ill for the future of the country. In 1884 a concession to a number of Hollander and German capitalists of all rights to make railways in the state led to the formation of the Netherlands Railway Company. This company, which was not actually floated till 1887, was destined to exercise a disastrous influence upon the fortunes of the state. Gold digging, which had commenced with the discovery in 1869 of the Zoutpansberg and Lydenburg gold fields, had hitherto enjoyed in the Transvaal but a precarious existence. In 1883 the discovery of Moodie's Reef near the Kaap valley led to a considerable influx of diggers and prospectors. In 1886 the Rand gold fields, which had just been discovered, were proclaimed and Johannesburg was founded. From that time the gold industry made steady progress until the Rand gold mines proved the richest and most productive gold field in the world. As the industry prospered, so did the European population increase. The revenue of the state went up by leaps and bounds. In 1882 it was £177,407; in 1889, £1,577,445; in 1896,

[1886-1892 A.D.]

£3,912,095. At the end of 1886 Johannesburg consisted of a few stores and some few thousand inhabitants. In October, 1896, the sanitary board census estimated the population as 107,078, of whom 50,907 were Europeans. The wealth which was pouring into the Boer state coffers exceeded the wildest dreams of President Kruger and his followers. Land went up in value, and the Boers eventually parted with a third of the whole land area of the country to Uitlander purchasers. Yet in spite of the wealth which the industry of the Uitlanders was bringing both to the state and to individuals, a policy of rigid political exclusion and restriction was adopted towards them.

An attempt was made in 1888, after the conference held between Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Natal, to induce the Transvaal to enter the customs union. Kruger would have none of it. His design at this time was ultimately to bring the whole of the external trade of the state, which was growing yearly as the gold industry developed, through Delagoa Bay and over the Netherlands Railway. In 1888 Sir John Brand, president of the Free State, died. He was succeeded in 1889 by Mr. Reitz. President Kruger now induced the Free State to agree to a treaty whereby each state bound itself to help the other whenever the independence of either should be threatened or assailed, unless the cause of quarrel was, in the eyes of the state called in to assist, an unjust one. This was the thin end of the wedge, which in Brand's time President Kruger had never been able to insert into the affairs of the Free State.

#### KRUGER AND THE UITLANDER GRIEVANCES

President Kruger now turned his attention to finding a seaport, and was only prevented from doing so by the British annexation of Tongaland, which barred his progress in that direction. In 1890 a feeling of considerable irritation had grown up among the Uitlanders at the various monopolies, but particularly at the dynamite monopoly, which pressed solely and with peculiar severity upon gold miners. Requests for some consideration in the matter of the franchise, and also for a more liberal commercial policy in the matter of railways, dynamite, and customs dues, began to be made. In response Kruger resorted to the most sweeping alteration in the franchise law. He enacted that the period of qualification for the full franchise should now be raised to ten years instead of five. He at the same time instituted what was called a second chamber, the franchise qualifications for which were certainly less, but which was not endowed with any real power. During this year Kruger visited Johannesburg, and what was known as "the flag incident" occurred. He had by this time rendered himself somewhat unpopular, and in the evening the Transvaal flag, which flew over the landdrost's house, was pulled down. This incensed Kruger so much that for many years he continued to quote it as a reason why no consideration could be granted to the Uitlanders.

In 1892 the Uitlanders began to feel that if they were to obtain any redress for their grievances some combined constitutional action was called for, and the first reform movement began. The Transvaal National Union was formed. This consisted at the outset chiefly of mercantile and professional men and artisans. The mining men, especially the heads of the larger houses, did not care at this juncture to run the risk of political agitation. The objects of this body were avowed from the outset. They desired equal rights for all citizens in the state, the abolition of monopolies and abuses, together with the maintenance of the state's independence. In the furthering of this policy

[1892-1895 A.D.]

the Uitlander leader, Mr. John Tudhope, an ex-minister in the Cape government, was supported by Mr. Charles Leonard and his brother Mr. James Leonard, who at one time had distinguished himself as attorney-general of Cape Colony.

Both the Leonards, as well as many of their followers, were South Africans by birth. They, in common with the great bulk of the Uitlanders, recognised that the state had acquired its independence, and had every right to have that independence respected. They neither sought nor desired to see it abolished. But they asserted that a narrow and retrogressive policy, such as Kruger was following, was the very thing to endanger that independence. The soundness of these views and the legitimacy of Uitlander aspirations were recognised by a few of the most enlightened men among the Boer officials at Pretoria. Some prominent burghers even spoke at Uitlander meetings in favour of the Uitlander requests. At a later date Chief Justice Kotze when on circuit warned the Boers that in its retrogressive action the Boer government was undermining the *grond wet* or constitution of the state. It soon became evident that one course, and only one, lay open to President Kruger if he desired to avert a catastrophe. It was to meet in a friendly spirit those men who had by their industry converted a poor pastoral country into a rich industrial one, who represented more than half the inhabitants, who paid more than three fourths of the revenue, and who were anxious to join him as citizens, with the rights of citizenship. He chose a course diametrically opposite. In an interview accorded to seven delegates from the National Union, who visited him in 1892, with regard to reforms, he told Mr. Charles Leonard to "go back and tell your people that I shall never give them anything. I shall never change my policy. And now let the storm burst."

In 1894 there occurred an incident which not only incensed the Uitlanders to fury, but called for British intervention. A number of British subjects resident in the Transvaal, in spite of their having no political status, were commandeered for compulsory service to suppress a native rising. This led to a protest, and eventually a visit to Pretoria, from Sir Henry Loch. President Kruger at length agreed to extend "most favoured nation" privileges to British subjects in reference to compulsory military service, and five British subjects who had been sent as prisoners to the front were released. Following this incident came a further alteration in the franchise law, making the franchise practically impossible to obtain. The Delagoa Bay Railway now being completed, Kruger determined to take steps to bring the Rand traffic over it. The Netherlands Railway began by putting a prohibitive tariff on goods from the Vaal river. Not to be coerced in this manner, the Rand merchants proceeded to bring their goods on from the Vaal by wagon. Kruger then closed the drifts (or fords) on the river by which the wagons crossed. He only reopened them after the receipt of what was tantamount to an ultimatum on the subject from Great Britain.

At this time the Uitlanders formed a majority of the population, owned half the land and nine tenths of the property, and they were at least entitled to a hearing. When in August, 1895, they forwarded one of their many petitions praying for redress of their grievances and an extension of the franchise, their petition with over thirty-five thousand signatures was rejected with jeers and insult. In September a combined meeting of the chambers of mines and commerce was held at Johannesburg, and a letter on various matters of the greatest importance to the mining industry and community at Johannesburg was addressed to the Boer executive. It was never vouchsafed an answer. Men of any spirit among the Uitlanders were exasperated beyond

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measure. Their position was humiliating. What the next step should be was freely discussed. It was easy to propound the question, impossible to answer it. Some urged an appeal to the imperial government; but others, especially men of colonial birth and experience, objected that they would be leaning on a broken reed. That men who had still the memory of Majuba in their hearts should have felt misgiving is not to be wondered at.

## THE JAMESON RAID AND ITS CONSEQUENCES (1895 A.D.)

At this juncture came overtures to the leading Uitlanders from Cecil Rhodes and Doctor Jameson, leading to the Jameson raid. To one or two men this scheme, subsequently known as the Jameson plan, had been revealed earlier in the year, but to the majority even of the small group of leaders it was not known till October or November, 1895. The proposition came in a tempting hour. Mr. Rhodes and Doctor Jameson, after considerable deliberation, came to the conclusion that they might advantageously intervene between Kruger and the Uitlanders. They induced Mr. Alfred Beit, who was an old personal friend of Mr. Rhodes, and also largely interested in the Rand gold mines, to adopt this view and to lend his co-operation. They then submitted their scheme to some of the Uitlander leaders. Between them it was arranged that Doctor Jameson should gather a force of eight hundred men on the Transvaal border; that the Uitlanders should continue their agitation; and that, should no satisfactory concession be obtained from President Kruger, a combined movement of armed forces should be made against the Transvaal government. The arsenal at Pretoria was to be seized; the Uitlanders in Johannesburg were to rise and hold the town. Jameson was to make a rapid march to Johannesburg. The various movements were to be started simultaneously. Meanwhile, in order to give President Kruger a final chance of making concessions with a good grace, and for the purpose of stating the Uitlander case to the world, Charles Leonard, as chairman of the National Union, issued a historic manifesto, which concluded as follows:

"We have now only two questions to consider: (1) What do we want? (2) How shall we get it? I have stated plainly what our grievances are, and I shall answer with equal directness the question, What do we want? We want: (1) the establishment of this republic as a true republic; (2) a *grond wet* or constitution which shall be framed by competent persons selected by representatives of the whole people and framed on lines laid down by them — a constitution which shall be safeguarded against hasty alterations; (3) an equitable franchise law, and fair representation; (4) equality of the Dutch and English languages; (5) responsibility to the heads of the great departments of the legislature; (6) removal of religious disabilities; (7) independence of the courts of justice, with adequate and secured remuneration of the judges; (8) liberal and comprehensive education; (9) efficient civil service, with adequate provision for pay and pension; (10) free trade in South African products. That is what we want. There now remains the question which is to be put before you at the meeting of the 6th of January, *viz.*, How shall we get it? To this question I shall expect from you an answer in plain terms according to your deliberate judgment."

The Jameson conspiracy fared no worse and no better than the great majority of conspiracies in history. It failed in its immediate object. Doctor Jameson did not obtain more than five hundred men. Johannesburg had the greatest difficulty in smuggling in and distributing the rifles with which the insurgents were to be armed. The scheme to seize the Pretoria fort had to

[1895-1896 A.D.]

be abandoned, as at the time fixed Pretoria was thronged with Boers. Finally, to make confusion worse confounded, Doctor Jameson, becoming impatient of delay, in spite of receiving direct messages from the leaders at Johannesburg telling him on no account to move, marched into the Transvaal on the day which had been provisionally decided on.

The policy of delay in the execution of the plot which the Uitlander leaders found themselves compelled to adopt was determined by a variety of causes. Apart from the difficulty of obtaining arms, a serious question arose at the eleventh hour which filled some of the Uitlanders with mistrust. The reform leaders in the Transvaal, down to and including the Johannesburg rising, had always recognised as a cardinal principle the due observance and maintenance of the independence of the state. From Cape Town it was now hinted that the movement in which Doctor Jameson was to co-operate should, in Mr. Rhodes' view, be carried out under the British flag. A meeting of Uitlander leaders was hastily summoned on December 25th. Two messengers were that night despatched to interview Cecil Rhodes, who then gave the assurance that he approved of the republican flag. Meanwhile, on December 29, Doctor Jameson had started, and the news of his having done so reached Johannesburg from outside sources. A number of leading citizens were at once formed into a reform committee. In the absence of Charles Leonard, who had been sent as one of the delegates to Cape Town to interview Cecil Rhodes, Lionel Phillips, a partner in Messrs. Eckstein and Company, the largest mining firm on the Rand, was elected chairman. Mr. Phillips had been for three years in succession chairman of the chamber of mines, and he had persistently for several years endeavoured to induce President Kruger to take a reasonable view of the requirements of the industry. He was a man of marked ability and energy, and enjoyed the confidence of the great majority of the Uitlanders.

Under the supervision of the reform committee, such arms as had been smuggled in were now distributed, and Colonel Frank Rhodes, a brother of Cecil, was given charge of the armed men. The canteens were closed in the towns and along the mines. A large body of police was enrolled, and order was maintained throughout the town. On January 2nd, 1896, Doctor Jameson, who found himself at Doornkop in a position surrounded by Boers, surrendered. Doctor Jameson and his men were conveyed to Pretoria as prisoners, and subsequently handed over to the high commissioner. The whole of the reform committee (with the exception of a few who fled the country) were arrested on a charge of high treason and imprisoned in Pretoria; they were then brought up for preliminary examination in the Raadzaal, and committed for trial. In April, at the trial, the four leaders — Lionel Phillips, Colonel Frank Rhodes, J. H. Hammond, and George Farrar, who in conjunction with Charles Leonard had made the arrangements with Doctor Jameson — were sentenced to death, the sentence being after some months' imprisonment commuted to a fine of £25,000 each. The rest of the committee were each sentenced to two years' imprisonment, £2,000 fine, or another year's imprisonment, and three years' banishment. This sentence, after a month's incarceration, was also commuted. The fine was exacted, and the prisoners, with the exception of Woolls Sampson and Karri Davis, were liberated on undertaking to abstain from politics for three years in lieu of banishment. Messrs. Sampson and Davis, refusing to appeal to the executive for a reconsideration of their sentence, were retained for over a year.

Sir Hercules Robinson was unfortunately in feeble health at the time, and having reached Pretoria on the 4th of January, he had to conduct negotiations under great physical disadvantage. He had no sooner learned of the raid in

[1897 A.D.]

Cape Town than he issued a proclamation through Sir Jacobus de Wet, the British resident at Pretoria, warning all British subjects in Johannesburg or elsewhere from aiding and abetting Jameson. This was freely distributed among the public of Johannesburg. While in Pretoria the high commissioner in the first instance addressed himself to inducing Johannesburg to lay down its arms. He telegraphed to the reform committee that President Kruger had insisted "that Johannesburg must lay down arms unconditionally as a precedent to any discussions and consideration of grievances." On the following day, January 7th, Sir Hercules telegraphed again through the British agent, who was then at Johannesburg, saying: "If the Uitlanders do not comply with my request they will forfeit all claims to sympathy from her majesty's government and from British subjects throughout the world, as the lives of Jameson and the prisoners are now practically in their hands." The two thousand odd rifles which had been distributed among the Uitlanders were then given up. With regard to the inducements to this step urged upon the reform committee by the high commissioner, it is only necessary to say with reference to the first that the grievances never were considered, and with reference to the second it subsequently appeared that one of the conditions of the surrender of Doctor Jameson's force at Doornkop was that the lives of the men should be spared. It was after the Johannesburg disarmament that President Kruger had sixty-four members of the reform committee arrested, announcing at the same time that his motto would be "Forget and forgive." Sir Hercules Robinson, in response to a message from the British government urging him to use firm language in reference to reasonable concessions, replied that he considered the moment inopportune, and on January 15th he left for Cape Town.

In the three years which intervened between the Jameson raid and the outbreak of the war in 1899 Kruger's administration continued to be what it had been before the war; that is to say, it was not merely bad, but it got progressively worse. His conduct immediately after Johannesburg had given up its arms, and while the reform committee were in prison, was distinctly disingenuous. Instead of discussing grievances, as before the Johannesburg disarmament he had led the high commissioner to believe was his intention, he proceeded to request the withdrawal of the London Convention, because, among other things, "it is injurious to the dignity of an independent republic." When President Kruger found that no concession was to be wrung from the British government, he proceeded, instead of considering grievances, to add considerably to their number. The Aliens' Expulsion and Aliens' Immigration laws, as well as the new Press Law, were passed in the latter part of 1896.

In 1897 a decision of Chief-Justice Kotze was overruled by an act of the volksraad. This led to a strong protest from the judges of the high court, and eventually led to the dismissal of the chief-justice, who had held that office for over twenty years, and during the whole of that time had been a loyal and patriotic friend to his country. While in office Mr. Kotze had protested that no honourable man could continue to sit as judge under such conditions. After dismissal he spoke out still more plainly at a public dinner in Johannesburg, and openly charged President Kruger with the tyranny of a despot. An industrial commission appointed during this year by President Kruger fared no better than the high court had done. The commission was deputed to inquire into and report on certain of the grievances adversely affecting the gold industry. Its constitution for this purpose was anomalous, as it consisted almost entirely of Transvaal officials whose knowledge of the requirements of the industry was scanty. In spite of this fact, however, the com-

[1899 A.D.]

mission reported in favour of reform in various directions. They urged due enforcement of the liquor law, more police protection, the abolition of the dynamite concession, and that foodstuffs should be duty free.

#### THE UITLANDER PETITION

These recommendations made by President Kruger's own nominees were practically ignored. In January, 1899, the British colonial secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, pointed out in a despatch to President Kruger that the dynamite monopoly constituted a breach of the London Convention. In order to help the Transvaal government out of its difficulty, and to make one more effort towards conciliation, the financial houses of Johannesburg offered to lend the Transvaal government £600,000 wherewith to buy out the dynamite company, and so terminate the scandal and bring some relief to the industry. The offer was not accepted. In May the Uitlanders, hopeless of ever obtaining redress from President Kruger, weary of sending petitions to the raad only to be jeered at, determined to invoke intervention if nothing else could avail, and forwarded a petition to Queen Victoria. This petition, the outcome of the second Uitlander movement for reform, was signed by twenty-one thousand British subjects, and stated the Uitlander position at considerable length. The following extract conveys its general tenor:

The condition of your majesty's subjects in this state has become well-nigh intolerable. The acknowledged and admitted grievances, of which your majesty's subjects complained prior to 1895, not only are not redressed, but exist to-day in an aggravated form. They are still deprived of all political rights, they are denied any voice in the government of the country, they are taxed far above the requirements of the country, the revenue of which is misapplied and devoted to objects which keep alive a continuous and well-founded feeling of irritation, without in any way advancing the general interest of the state. Maladministration and peculation of public moneys go hand in hand, without any vigorous measures being adopted to put a stop to the scandal. The education of Uitlander children is made subject to impossible conditions. The police afford no adequate protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants of Johannesburg; they are rather a source of danger to the peace and safety of the Uitlander population.

In response to this appeal, which the imperial government felt themselves bound to deal with, Mr. Chamberlain proposed a conference; and this was arranged between President Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, who met at Bloemfontein on May 31st, 1899. It no sooner opened than it was evident that Kruger had come to obtain not to grant concessions. He offered, it is true, a seven years' franchise law in place of the five years' franchise which Sir Alfred Milner asked for. But apart from the relief suggested being entirely inadequate, it was only to be given on certain conditions, one of which was that all future disputes which might arise between the Transvaal and the imperial government should be referred to a court of arbitration, of which the president should be a foreigner. No arrangement was possible on such terms. Meanwhile feeling was running high at Johannesburg and throughout South Africa. Meetings were held in all the large towns, at which resolutions were passed declaring that no solution of the Transvaal question would be acceptable which did not provide for equal political rights for all white men. Sir Alfred Milner (who compared the position of the Uitlanders to that of "helots") urged the Home government to insist upon a minimum of reform, and primarily the five years' franchise; and Mr. Chamberlain, backed by the cabinet, adopted the policy of the high commissioner.<sup>e</sup>

[1899 A.D.]

## A CHARACTERISATION OF KRUGER

The character of President Kruger naturally called forth varied expressions of opinion. It may be permissible to quote, as bearing upon his action at this period of his career, the balanced judgment of the *Times* on the occasion of his death in July, 1904:

"He was neither a hero nor a saint. In intellect and in sentiment he remained to the end a typical peasant farmer. Not only did he fail to form statesmanlike conceptions himself, but he constantly displayed an entire inability to appreciate such conceptions when they were submitted to him by others. Like the Bourbons he learned nothing and forgot nothing, and for the same reason. He could not rise above the prejudices to which he was born. His horizon was limited throughout life, notwithstanding his wide experience of men and of affairs, by the narrow ideas of the class from which he sprang. But he had not a few of the virtues as well as the faults of his class, and they are virtues which, in foe as in friend, ever command the sterling admiration of the British race. 'England loves a man,' and Mr. Kruger was every inch a man. His arrogance, his courage, and above all his dogged resolution to have his own way, appealed very strongly to certain fibres in our hearts. We admired his patriotism so warmly that some of us occasionally forgot how closely the domination of the Pretoria oligarchy, which was the true object of his patriotic devotion, was itself connected with his own personal and material interests. Even his ostentatious intrusion of religious considerations into secular matters was regarded with indulgence because there was a widespread impression that he had recourse to such arguments in all good faith. Had the president been only a little more upright in his dealings, and a little less disingenuous in his speech, our opinion of him would have stood very high indeed. But he had all the petty cunning and the deceitfulness of the peasant, not less conspicuously than the peasant's sturdy self-confidence and stubborn courage. It was this trait in his character which made a real arrangement with him hopeless. We found little fault with him for being a hard bargainer; but when we discovered that we could not trust him to keep a bargain, a collision became inevitable. His unreceptive mind was closed both to the teaching of facts and to the advice tendered to him by Europeans who could not be suspected of any sympathy with English ambitions. He would not, and indeed probably could not, see that the Uitlanders had rights. He hated progress, and there was progress at his gates. He would have liked to get rid of it, except in so far as it brought untold wealth to the Boer oligarchy, but as he could not get rid of it, he resolved to keep it down."

Mr. J. A. Hobson,<sup>m</sup> the well-known English economic author and journalist, writing on the eve of the war, said: "Of Mr. Kruger's actual power it is hard to judge, but I am convinced of this—there is no strong man in or out of the rand who could really stand up against the president, or could rally a powerful party against him in a national emergency." He expresses it as his conviction that the majority would have acquiesced in almost any decision, and have endorsed almost any concessions he might have made."

## THE CRISIS OF 1899

A state of extreme diplomatic tension lasted all the summer. It was not then realised either by the public or the government how seriously and with

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what considerable justification the Boers believed in their ability, if necessary, to sweep the English "into the sea." President Kruger had every expectation of large reinforcements from the Dutch in the two British colonies; he believed that, whatever happened, Europe would not allow Boer independence to be destroyed; and he had assured himself of the adhesion of the Orange Free State, though it was not till the very last moment that President Steyn formally notified Sir Alfred Milner of this fact. In England, on the other hand, it was thought by most people that if a firm enough attitude were adopted Mr. Kruger would "climb down." Negotiations could only bring the conflict a little nearer, delay it a little longer, or supply an opportunity to either side to justify its action in the eyes of the world.

The persistent attempt of the South African Republic to assert its full independence, culminating in a formal denial of British suzerainty, made it additionally incumbent on Great Britain to carry its point as to the Uitlander grievances, while, from Kruger's point of view, the admission of the Uitlanders to real political rights meant the doom of his oligarchical régime, and appeared in the light of a direct menace to Boer supremacy. The franchise, again, was an internal affair, in which the convention gave Great Britain no right to interfere, while if Great Britain relied on certain definite breaches of the convention, satisfaction for which was sought in the first place in such a guarantee of amendment as the Uitlander franchise would involve, the Boer answer was an offer of arbitration, a course which Great Britain could not accept without admitting the South African Republic to the position of an equal.

After July the tactics of the Boer executive were simply directed towards putting off a crisis till the beginning of October, when the grass would be growing on the veldt, and meanwhile towards doing all they could in their despatches to put the blame on Great Britain. At last they drafted on September 27th, an ultimatum to the British government. But although ready drafted, many circumstances conspired to delay its presentation. Meanwhile, the British war office began to wake up, and early in September the cabinet sanctioned the despatch to Natal from India of a mixed force, five thousand six hundred strong, while two battalions were ordered to South Africa from the Mediterranean. Sir George White was nominated to the chief command of the forces in Natal, and sailed on September 16th, while active preparations were set on foot in England to prepare against the necessity of despatching an army corps to Cape Town, in which case the chief command was to be vested in Sir Redvers Buller. Fortunately for Great Britain, although the draft of the ultimatum was lying in the state secretary's office in Pretoria, the Boers, unprepared in departmental arrangements which are necessary in large military operations, were unable to take the field with the promptitude that the situation demanded. They consequently forfeited many of the advantages of the initiative. Thus it happened that, while the ultimatum remained undelivered in Pretoria, the British government were able, if not to render their line of resistance secure, at least to prop it with sufficient reinforcements to enable it to defeat the crowning object of the Boer invasion of Natal — the capture of Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

The military strength of the two republics was practically an unknown quantity. It was certain that, since the troublous times of 1896, the Transvaal had greatly increased its armaments; but at their best, except by a very few, the Boers were looked upon by English military experts as a disorganised rabble, which, while containing many individual first-class marksmen, would be incapable of maintaining a prolonged resistance against a disciplined army. As was to be subsequently shown, the hostilities were not confined to oppo-

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sition from the fighting strength of the two little republics alone; the British had to face Dutch opposition in their own colonies, and it was only the apathy and caution of the South African Dutch, taken as a whole, which saved the empire from disaster. The total fighting strength of the Boer republics was probably never more than sixty thousand men, and of these it is doubtful if at any period of the war there were more than thirty-six thousand in the field at the same time.

But the fact that it was to a large extent a struggle with a nation in arms doubled the numbers of the force that the Transvaal executive was able to draw upon, while to this may be added the not insignificant total of ten thousand Uitlanders and foreigners, and fifteen thousand Kaffirs, employed in menial duties attendant upon military operations. Of this force only a microscopic proportion was permanent and disciplined. At the outbreak of war the disciplined forces in the Transvaal were the South African Republic police, about one hundred and forty strong, with twenty officers; the Swaziland police, four hundred strong; and the Staats artillery, which, when the reservists were called up in mobilisation for war, numbered about eight hundred men. The permanent forces of the Orange Free State simply consisted of an artillery corps, at the most four hundred strong. For the rest, the bulk of the Dutch levies were organised on the burgher system — that is, each district was furnished with a commandant, who had under him field-cornets and assistant field-cornets, who administered the fighting capacity of the district. Each field-cornet, who, with the commandant, was a paid official of the state, was responsible for the arms, equipment, and attendance of his commando — the commando<sup>1</sup> being the tactical as well as the administrative unit; any number of commandoes might be grouped under one commandant. The supreme military control was vested in the commandant-general.

#### THE ULTIMATUM

The plan of campaign which found favour with the Boers, when they determined to put their differences with Great Britain to the test by the ordeal of the sword, was to attack all the principal British towns adjacent to their own borders; at the same time to despatch a field army of the necessary dimensions to invade and reduce Natal, where the largest British garrison existed. It is not too much to suppose that the executive in Pretoria had calculated that the occupation of Durban would inspire the entire Dutch nation with a spirit of unanimity which would eventually wrest South Africa from the British. On paper the scheme had everything to recommend it, as the expedient most likely to bring about the desired end. But the departmental

[<sup>1</sup> General De Wet<sup>2</sup> in his *Three Years' War* thus explains the commando law as it existed in the Orange Free State in 1899: "It stipulated that every burgher between the ages of sixteen and sixty must be prepared to fight for his country at any moment; and that, if required for active service, he must provide himself with a riding-horse, saddle, and bridle, with a rifle and thirty cartridges, or if he were unable to obtain a rifle, he must bring with him thirty bullets, thirty caps, and half a pound of powder; in addition he must be provisioned for eight days. That there should have been an alternative to the rifle was due to the fact that the law was made at a time when only a few burghers possessed breech-loading rifles, *achterlaaiers*, as we call them. With reference to the provisions the law did not specify their quality or quantity, but there was an unwritten but strictly observed rule amongst the burghers that they should consist of meat cut in strips, salted, peppered, and dried, or else of sausages and 'Boer biscuits' — small loaves manufactured of flour, with fermented raisins instead of yeast, and twice baked. With regard to quantity, each burgher had to make his own estimate of the amount he would require for eight days."]

executive could not push off the Natal invading force as early as had been anticipated, and it was not until October 9th that the ultimatum was presented to Mr. Cunyngham Green, the British agent at Pretoria. This ultimatum showed clearly that the Boer government had determined long before to put their differences to the final test of arms, and that the later negotiations had but served to cover the warlike preparations which were in hand. The scheduled demands were as follows:

“(1) That all points of mutual difference shall be regulated by the friendly course of arbitration, or by whatever amicable way may be agreed upon by the government with her majesty's government. (2) That the troops on the borders of this republic shall be instantly withdrawn. (3) That all reinforcements of troops which have arrived in South Africa since the 1st of June, 1899, shall be removed from South Africa within a reasonable time, to be agreed upon with this government, and with a mutual assurance and guarantee on the part of this government that no attack upon or hostilities against any portion of the possessions of the British government shall be made by the republic during further negotiations within a period of time to be subsequently agreed upon between the governments, and this government will, on compliance therewith, be prepared to withdraw the armed burghers of this republic from the borders. (4) That her majesty's troops now on the high seas shall not be landed in any part of South Africa.”

To these demands the Transvaal government required an answer within forty-eight hours. There could be only one reply, and on Wednesday, October 11th, 1899, at five o'clock P. M., a state of war existed between the British government and the two Boer republics. On the following day the Boer attack on an armoured train at Kraaipan, on the western frontier of the Transvaal, witnessed the first hostile shot of a bloody war, destined to plunge South Africa into strife for two years and a half.

#### STAGES OF THE WAR

For the purposes of history the South African campaign may be conveniently divided into five distinct periods. The first of these would be the successful Boer invasion of British territory, terminating with the relief of Ladysmith on February 28th; the second, the period of Boer-organised resistance, which may be said to have finished with Lord Roberts' formal annexation of the Transvaal on October 25th, 1900, and the flight of ex-President Kruger to Holland. The next period, the most unsatisfactory of the whole war, may be characterised as a period of transition; it marks the opening of earnest guerilla resistance on the part of the enemy, and uncertain casting about on the part of the British for a definite system with which to grapple with an unforeseen development. This phase may rightly be said to have continued until the abortive Middelburg negotiations were broken off on March 16th, 1901. The next stage was that which saw the slow building up of the blockhouse system and the institution of small punitive columns, and may be considered to have extended until the close of 1901. The fifth and last period — which, after all other expedients had failed, finally brought the residue of uncaptured and unsundered burghers to submission — was the final development of the blockhouse system, wedded to the institution of systematic “driving” of given areas, which operations were in force until May 31st, 1902, the date upon which a peace was ratified at Pretoria between Lord Kitchener and the representative Boer leaders.

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## THE WAR IN NATAL

The first of these periods saw the severest fighting of the campaign. It opened with the investment of Mafeking by a Transvaal force under A. P. Cronje, the envelopment of Kimberley by Free State commandoes under General Wessels, and on November 1st the complete isolation of the bulk of the Natal field force, in Ladysmith, by the main federal army under the Commandant-General Piet Joubert. The Natal field force, however, did not submit to investment without a struggle; and before the enemy finally cut the communication with the south, portions of Sir George White's force had fought four considerable actions with the invading army. The first two of these were of the nature of British successes. On October 20th the detached brigade at Talana drove back the Boer left under Lucas Meyer. But this superiority was bought at a price which nullified many of the results of victory. General Sir W. Penn Symons, the British officer in command, was mortally wounded, and after losing half its mounted men as prisoners and two hundred and twenty-six officers and men killed and wounded, the brigade only escaped being enveloped by beating a masterly retreat upon Ladysmith, where it arrived in a very exhausted state on October 26th. In the meantime Sir George White had taken the aggressive, and hearing on October 20th that an advance guard under General Kock had occupied Elandslaagte, and placed itself athwart the direct communications of General Symons' force, he detached a force of all arms under Major-General French, and defeated Kock after a sanguinary engagement on October 21st (British losses, two hundred and fifty-eight all ranks killed and wounded). Three days later Sir George White fought a second engagement against the enemy advancing from the north at Tintwa Inyoni, in order to cover the retirement of the Dundee force. It was an inconsequent action, which cost the Natal field force one hundred and eighteen casualties, the majority of which occurred in the Gloucestershire regiment. By October 29th Joubert's army had practically enveloped Ladysmith, and Sir George White determined to strike a blow in force which should be decisive in effect. The result of this decision was the battle of Lombard's Kop, outside Ladysmith, in which the whole of Sir George White's available garrison was engaged. The engagement was disastrous to the British, who had undertaken far too comprehensive an attack, and the Natal field force was obliged to fall back upon Ladysmith, with the loss of fifteen hundred men in casualties, including the headquarters of the Gloucestershire and Royal Irish fusiliers, which surrendered to the Free Staters and Johannesburg zaps at Nicholson's Nek. From that day the rôle of the Natal field force was changed from that of a hostile field army into the defence of a standard on a hill, and two days later it was completely isolated, but not before General French had succeeded in escaping south by train, and the naval authorities had been induced by Sir George White's urgent appeals to send into the town a naval brigade with a few guns of sufficient range and calibre to cope with the heavy position artillery which Joubert was now able to bring into action against the town.

## GENERAL BULLER'S ARRIVAL

General Sir Redvers Buller, who had been given the supreme command in South Africa as soon as it was perceived that war was the only solution to the South African trouble — his force being an army corps in three divisions, the divisional generals being Lord Methuen, Sir W. Gatacre, and Sir W. Clery —

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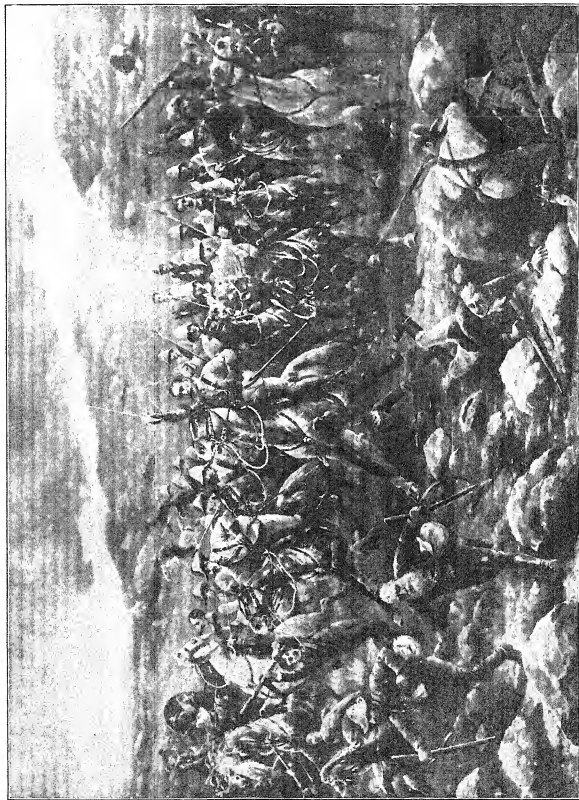
arrived in Cape Town, ahead of his troops, on the day following the final bid of Sir George White's army. The situation which presented itself was delicate in the extreme. In Natal practically the whole of the available defence force was swallowed up by the steady success of the invasion; on the western frontier two important British towns were isolated and besieged; and federal commandoes were on the point of invading Cape Colony, which, as far as its Dutch population was concerned, seemed in peril of rebellion. The army corps, which had been mobilised for war, was about to arrive in South Africa; but it was evident that the exigencies of the situation, and the widely divided areas of invasion, would for the time being place in abeyance the original plan which had been formulated for an invasion of the Orange Free State from Cape Colony on three parallel lines.

The first duty was to effect the relief of the British forces which had been rendered immobile, and to do this Sir Redvers Buller had no choice but to disintegrate the army corps. Hildyard's and Barton's brigades were sent to Natal; Sir William Gatacre, with a brigade instead of a division, was despatched to Queenstown, Cape Colony; while Lord Methuen, with a division, was sent off at breathless pace to relieve Kimberley. As November wore on, the situation did not improve. Cape Colony was invaded in earnest; while in Natal a flying column of Boers, pushing down from the Tugela, not only captured an armoured train, but for a short time isolated Hildyard's forces concentrating at Estcourt. The situation in Natal seemed so serious that on November 22nd Sir Redvers Buller suddenly disappeared from Cape Town, to arrive in Natal three days later.

#### LORD METHUEN'S ADVANCE

In the meantime Lord Methuen, with characteristic energy, had commenced his march to the relief of Kimberley.<sup>1</sup> He encountered the Boers first at Belmont on the 23rd, in much inferior numbers to the British, to be sure, but strongly intrenched behind a ridge of rugged, crag-topped kopjes. Against this position in the early morning the British advanced to the attack. "They were in a fierce humour," writes Conan Doyle,<sup>2</sup> "for they had not breakfasted, and military history from Agincourt to Talavera shows that want of food makes a dangerous spirit in British troops." An instance is given of the way in which this spirit manifested itself in the gruff humour of a Northumberland fusilier, finding vent in words more emphatic than eloquent, against a staff officer who "pranced before the line." When the troops were allowed to advance, they drove the enemy before them at the point of the bayonet. This feature of the advance has peculiar interest in the light of the criticisms of certain tacticians according to whom the bayonet as an instrument of practical use in warfare had been rendered obsolete by the modern quick-firing gun. Theoretically it would seem as if a bayonet charge could scarcely hope to succeed against modern arms; yet in practice here, as in so many other cases, what seemed impossible was really effected. It would appear, however, that the Boers retired without great loss; and two days later they met the British advance at Enslin. The British carried their stronghold, but with the loss of almost half the force engaged. Doyle characterises it as a second expensive victory; but he admits that it had cleared the way for another stage towards Kimberley.<sup>3</sup>

By the night of the 27th Lord Methuen's columns had almost reached the Modder river. They were started in motion early the next morning with the promise that they could have their breakfast as soon as they reached the river



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THE CAVALRY CHARGE AT THE BATTLE OF ELANDSLANGTE



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— a grim joke, as has been remarked, to those who lived to appreciate it. De la Rey, the Boer commander, had meanwhile been enforced by Cronje, who disposed his troops, contrary to the accepted practice in the defence of rivers, on both banks of the Modder. Unaware of the enemy's presence, the British eagerly advanced toward the green river banks where they expected to enjoy the breakfast that had been promised them. The resulting surprise has been graphically pictured by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,<sup>a</sup> who tells how the army swept eagerly onward until well within the fatal fire zone, quite regardless of danger; then there suddenly blazed out upon them "four miles of rifles, cannon, and machine guns." From general to private they realised that they had walked unwittingly into the midst of the enemy.

The scene was typical of Boer warfare conducted under conditions of the Boers' choosing. All about the army lay a seemingly serene landscape, quite deserted of men. So far as the eye could judge, neither friend nor foe was within range of voice or gun. There was here and there a flash and sparkle of flame, but not even smoke to point out the location of the enemy's trenches. Yet the air resounded with the crack of rifles and the "malignant 'ploop-ploping' of the automatic quick-firer." Doyle relates how the Scots Guards with its Maxim was caught in the "steel-blizzard" of the quick-firer, with its flying strings of walnut-sized shells, and how the men were annihilated and the gun destroyed in an instant. Meantime the air hummed and throbbed with rifle bullets and the sand spattered from the shower of missiles. Simulating the tactics of the enemy, the British soldiers fell upon their faces and sought such cover as they could find—and little enough it was. They would not retire, yet they could not by any possibility advance under so withering a fire. As for retaliation, there was nothing for them to fire at—at the very most, an occasional head or hand raised above a trench or from behind a stone at a distance of seven or eight hundred yards. Even had each soldier been as skilful a marksman as the best of the Boers, it would have been futile to hope that their guns could make a significant gap in the ranks of the enemy.<sup>a</sup>

Cavalry and infantry were alike useless in the face of such a resistance, and the battle resolved itself soon into an artillery duel. The British, reinforced by the timely arrival of the 62nd Field Battery, which had come thirty-two miles over unknown roads in the night time in the space of eight hours, at length began to silence the Boer guns. Later in the afternoon a part of the 9th brigade succeeded in crossing the river higher up, and as troop after troop dashed through the water and gained the other bank, the Boers realised that the British had turned their right flank, and that the tide of battle had set in against them. Critics of the battle are severe on Lord Methuen for his attempts earlier in the day to cross the river in the face of the deadly Boer fire, but his personal gallantry was highly commendable. When the Boers at length abandoned their resistance and withdrew from their rifle pits under cover of darkness, the British loss had reached five hundred killed and wounded, among the latter being their commander.<sup>a</sup>

Lord Methuen now found that his force had exhausted its forward momentum, and that other than heroic tactics would have to be employed to raise the siege of Kimberley.

The extent of the operations and the gravity of the situation now began to be felt in England, every available man was called up from the reserves, and the war office made what at the time appeared to be adequate provision for the waste which it was seen would occur in a war under modern conditions. On November 30th the mobilisation of a sixth division was ordered, offers of

*Lord Brougham*

The relief which the friend of mankind, the lover of virtue, experiences when, turning from the contemplation of such a character [Napoleon I], his eye rests upon the greatest man of our own or of any age! It will be the duty of the historian and the sage in all ages to omit no occasion of commemorating this illustrious man; and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington.<sup>ff</sup>

*The Earl of Stanhope*

In the mind of Washington punctuality and precision did not, as we often find them, turn in any degree to selfishness. Nor yet was his constant regularity of habits attended by undue formality of manner. In one of his most private letters there appears given incidentally, and as it were by chance, a golden rule upon that subject: "As to the gentlemen you mention, I cannot charge myself with incivility, or—what in my opinion is tantamount—ceremonious civility." In figure Washington was strongly built and tall (above six feet high), in countenance grave, unimpassioned, and benign. An inborn worth, an unaffected dignity, beamed forth in every look as in every word and deed. No man, whether friend or enemy, ever viewed without respect the noble simplicity of his demeanour, the utter absence in him of every artifice and every affectation.

Mark how brightly the first forbearance of Washington combines with his subsequent determination; how he who had been slow to come forward was magnanimous in persevering. When defeat had overtaken the American army, when subjugation by the British rose in view, when not a few of the earliest declaimers against England were, more or less privately, seeking to make terms for themselves, and fitting their own necks to the yoke, the high spirit of Washington never for a moment quailed; he repeatedly declared that if the colonies were finally overpowered he was resolved to quit them forever, and, assembling as many people as would follow, go and establish an independent state in the West, on the rivers Mississippi and Missouri. There is a lofty saying which the Spaniards of old were wont to engrave on their Toledo blades, and which with truth and aptness might have adorned the sword of Washington: "Never draw me without reason; never sheath me without honour!"

Nor was Washington in any measure open to the same reproach as the ancient Romans, or some of his own countrymen at present—that while eager for freedom themselves they would rivet the chains of their slave. To him at least could never be applied Doctor Johnson's taunting words: "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?" The views of Washington on this great question are best shown at the close of the Revolutionary War, and at a period of calm deliberation, in one of his letters to La Fayette: "Your late purchase of an estate in Cayenne with a view of emancipating the slaves on it is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country!"

There was certainly no period in his career when he would not have joyfully exchanged—had his high sense of duty allowed him—the cares of public for the ease of private life. And this wish for retirement, strong and sincere as it was in Washington, seems the more remarkable since it was not

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with him, as with so many other great men, prompted in any degree by the love of literature. He was not like Cicero, when shrinking in affright from the storms which rent the commonwealth, and reverting with fond regret to the well-stored library of Atticus, and to his own favourite little seat beneath the bust of Aristotle; he was not like Clarendon at Montpellier, when he turned from an ungrateful age, not worthy of his virtue, and indited for all time to come his immortal history. Neither reading nor writing as such had any charms for Washington. But he was zealously devoted to the earliest and most needful of all the toils of man—he loved to be a feeder of flocks and a tiller of the ground.

It has been justly remarked that of General Washington there are fewer anecdotes to tell than perhaps of any other great man on record. There were none of those checkered hues, none of those warring emotions, in which biography delights. There was no contrast of lights and shades, no flickering of the flame; it was a mild light that seldom dazzled, but that ever cheered and warmed. His contemporaries or his close observers, as Jefferson<sup>n</sup> and Gallatin,<sup>o</sup> assert that he had naturally strong passions, but had attained complete mastery over them. In self-control, indeed, he has never been surpassed. If sometimes on rare occasions, and on strong provocation, there was wrung from him a burst of anger, it was almost instantly quelled by the dominion of his will. He decided surely, though he deliberated slowly; nor could any urgency or peril move him from his serene composure, his calm, clear-headed good sense. Integrity and truth were also ever present in his mind.

Not a single instance, as I believe, can be found in his whole career when he was impelled by any but an upright motive, or endeavoured to attain an object by any but worthy means. Such are some of the high qualities which have justly earned for General Washington the admiration even of the country he opposed, and not merely the admiration but the gratitude and affection of his own. Such was the pure and upright spirit to which, when its toils were over and its earthly course had been run, was offered the unanimous homage of the assembled congress, all clad in deep mourning for their common loss, as to "the man first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citizens." At this day in the United States the reverence for his character is, as it should be, deep and universal, and not confined, as with nearly all English statesmen, to one party, one province, or one creed. Such reverence for Washington is felt even by those who wander farthest from the paths in which he trod. Thus may it be said of this most virtuous man what in days of old was said of Virtue herself, that even those who depart most widely from her precepts still keep holy and bow down to her name.<sup>p</sup>

*John Richard Green*

John Richard Green<sup>q</sup> is among the more modern writers who have spoken of Washington with similar enthusiasm. He commends the serene calmness of temper that told of perfect self-mastery; yet curiously enough he says that there was little in Washington's outward bearing to reveal his grandeur of soul; whereas in reality, it would appear that rarely has a hero possessed physical gifts more closely in keeping with his nobility of character. Nevertheless it is quite true that the colonists did not at first fully appreciate the greatness of their leader. As Green remarks, it was only after he had been tested through years of danger and defeat that he came to be understood at his full worth. Then it came to pass that men reposed in him

"a trust and faith such as few other men have won." It is even true, no doubt, that a large number of his contemporaries regarded him with reverence. But a correct interpretation of history requires that we should remember that, even to the last, Washington had his full quota of political opponents, who criticised him as antagonists are wont to criticise. It is not in the nature of things that a great man should be regarded by all his contemporaries in quite the same light with which he is viewed by posterity. Washington was no exception to this rule.<sup>a</sup>

*Sir Archibald Alison*

Modern history has not a more spotless character to commemorate. Invincible in resolution, firm in conduct, incorruptible in integrity, he brought to the helm of a victorious republic the simplicity and innocence of rural life; he was forced into greatness by circumstances rather than led into it by inclination, and prevailed over his enemies rather by the wisdom of his designs and the perseverance of his character than by any extraordinary genius for the art of war. A soldier from necessity and patriotism rather than disposition, he was the first to recommend a return to pacific counsels when the independence of his country was secured; and bequeathed to his countrymen an address on leaving their government, to which there are few compositions of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison. He was modest, without diffidence; sensible to the voice of fame, without vanity; independent and dignified, without either asperity or pride. He was a friend to liberty, but not to licentiousness—not to the dreams of enthusiasts, but to those practical ideas which America had inherited from her British descent. Accordingly, after having signalised his life by successful resistance to English oppression, he closed it by the warmest advice to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain, and exerted his whole influence, shortly before his resignation, to effect the conclusion of a treaty of friendly and commercial intercourse between the mother country and its emancipated offspring. He was a Cromwell without his ambition; a Sulla without his crimes; and, after having raised his country, by his exertions, to the rank of an independent state, he closed his career by a voluntary relinquishment of the power which a grateful people had bestowed.

If it is the highest glory of England to have given birth, even amidst transatlantic wilds, to such a man, and if she cannot number him among those who have extended her provinces or augmented her dominions, she may at least feel a legitimate pride in the victories which he achieved, and the great qualities which he exhibited, in the contest with herself, and indulge with satisfaction in the reflection that that vast empire which neither the ambition of Louis XIV nor the power of Napoleon could dismember received its first shock from the courage which she had communicated to her own offspring, and that, amidst the convulsions and revolutions of other states, real liberty has arisen in that nation alone which inherited in its veins the genuine principles of British freedom.<sup>r</sup>

*Henri Martin*

The Declaration of Independence was the birth-act of a society the most untrammelled and soon to be the vastest that the world has ever known. In the union of Protestant Christianity with eighteenth-century philosophy lay the germ of this gigantic progeny. Two men of the first order were to be its defenders and its guides during its early years, and each was the particular

[1799 A. D.]

representative of one of its parent sources: Washington, of tradition, but tradition transformed, and of progressive Protestantism enlightened and tolerant; Franklin, type of the age, of the movement of Locke and Rousseau—philosophy, but philosophy with a religious element.

Washington shook off ill-fortune by prodigies of constancy. He was a mingling of Fabius and Epaminondas, though he lacked the artistic and poetic *élan* that marked Epaminondas and all the Greeks. As Théodore Fabas<sup>3</sup> has so well phrased it, he was like those monuments whose grandeur does not at first strike the eye, precisely because of the perfect harmony of their proportion and because no one feature seizes the attention. "The sanest of great men," he was the very personification of the most rationalist of peoples, and his "august good sense," to use the happy expression of Eugène Pelletan,<sup>4</sup> was nothing but the distinctively Anglo-American quality exalted to the sublime.

During this time Franklin, America's other glory, had quitted his country the better to serve her. After having edited the immortal Declaration, he had gone to obtain the French alliance. The United States had made admirable choice of a plenipotentiary. Risen from the working classes; enlightened and uplifted in opinion by Diderot; not Protestant, like the majority, but deist philosopher of a shade intermediary between Voltaire and Rousseau; a physicist of the first order in that century; passionately devoted to the natural sciences, simple in dress and manners like Jean Jacques and his heroes, and yet the most spiritual and refined of men; of a mind altogether French in its grace and elasticity; at one and the same time a man of antiquity in certain phases and the most modern product of his day; redeeming his lack of ideality by the excellent moral equilibrium which he possessed in common with Washington, though in a degree at once wider, more comprehensive, and less severe—it was natural that he should appeal to France in all his sentiments, in all his ideas. He conquered the learned by the good sense of his genius; the enthusiastic by the dramatic aspect of his rôle; the frivolous by the originality of his position and his physiognomy. At the end of but a few days he was as popular at Paris as at Boston and Philadelphia.<sup>5</sup>

*Charles von Rotteck*

America had placed herself between magnificence and ruin in 1776. In this position, in which such a great destiny was involved, she needed a great man, who would gain the victory for her. And she found him, put him at her head, and showed herself worthy of him. With newly levied soldiers, hardly provided with suitable arms, generally without experience and discipline, he undertook the contest against the best-disciplined and the best-equipped troops of the world, under able generals, and aided by all the resources with which it was easy for England to supply them, whilst he, afflicted by great want of money, was often unable to furnish his troops with provisions, still oftener unable to pay them, in constant danger of losing all with one blow, also not seldom persecuted by misfortune, in a situation almost desperate, but always of high courage and of unbent power of soul, provident, vigilant, and at suitable times ardent and heroically bold, but never rash, never intoxicated by success. But in order that no species of glory might not be his, he combined, as the most celebrated of the great ancients, the talents of the statesman with those of the warrior, all the private virtues of the noblest man with the public virtues of the patriot and republican. As long as civilisation and humanity have an empire or a place on earth, as long as the ideas

of freedom and fatherland retain a worth and historical recollections live among men, so long will Washington's name stand resplendent in the temple of glory.<sup>v</sup>

*Friedrich von Raumer*

Few men who have earned for themselves a celebrated name in the history of the world exhibit such a harmony, such a concordant symmetry of all the qualities calculated to render himself and others happy, as Washington; and it has been very appropriately observed that, like the masterpieces of ancient art, he must be the more admired in the aggregate the more closely he is examined in detail. His soul was elevated above party spirit, prejudice, self-interest, and paltry aims; he acted according to the impulses of a noble heart and a sound understanding, strengthened by impartial observation. To the greatest firmness he united the mildness and patience equally necessary in the then state of affairs; to prudence and foresight he joined boldness at the right moment; and the power intrusted to him he never abused by the slightest infraction of the laws. Although it is impossible that an American can ever again perform such services for his country as were then rendered by Washington, his noble, blameless, and spotless image will remain a model and a rallying-point to all, to encourage the good and to deter the bad. How petty do the common race of martial heroes appear in comparison with Washington!

Washington, the founder of the great American republic, proved in an affecting and exalted manner that the fame which had been won by the sword, without crimes and ambition, could also be maintained in private life without power or outward pomp. Happier than Timoleon and Brutus, no dark shadows of memory flitted across the cheerful serenity of his existence. Washington was unanimously chosen president of the new and renovated republic. This second founding of the state, this call to the head of a people recent in origin but sensible of true greatness, the modest and unsurpassed merit of Washington, and his solemn oath to support and maintain the constitution, form one of the brightest and most truly delightful pictures in modern history. The admiration with which Washington was regarded by all civilised nations showed him to be one of the few among mankind to whom is given an immortality more durable than brass or marble, and whose spotless and beneficent memory is cherished to the latest posterity.<sup>w</sup>

PRESIDENCY OF ADAMS; WAR WITH FRANCE; "X. Y. Z."

During the closing months of Washington's administration the first great struggle among the people of the United States for ascendancy between the federalists and republicans took place. The only man on whom the nation now could possibly unite was about to retire to private life. There was very little time for preparation or electioneering, for a new choice must be made in November following. Activity the most extraordinary appeared among politicians in every part of the Union. The federalists nominated John Adams for the high office of chief magistrate, and the republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson for the same. The contest was fierce, and party spirit, then in its youthful vigour, was implacable. The result was a victory for both parties—Adams being elected president, and Jefferson, having the next highest number of votes, vice-president. On March 4th, 1797, Washington retired from office, and Adams was inaugurated the second president of the United States.<sup>z</sup>

[1797-1798 A.D.]

The contrast between the administration of Washington and the administrations of his successors is as wide as that between a nation and a party. He was the head of the nation; they have been the heads of parties, as well as of the nation. It was what foreign powers were doing, rather than what the United States had to do, which formed the staple of political action for the fifteen years (1797-1812) following the retirement of Washington.<sup>f</sup>

Chief amongst the combatants in Europe and the aggressors against America were Great Britain and France. For the moment the relations with France occupied the foreground. Charles C. Pinckney, accredited by Washington to negotiate with the French government, was refused an audience at Paris; and not only that, but was ordered to depart the French territory (December, 1796-February, 1797). Notwithstanding this, notwithstanding the rapidly following decrees against American ships and American crews, President Adams sent out a new mission, consisting of Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, with moderate instructions, which, however, availed nothing. Pinckney and Marshall, incensed by the intrigue as well as the insolence of which they were the objects (October, 1797-April, 1798), shook off the dust of France from their feet, being followed in a few months by Gerry, who had undertaken to do alone what he had not been able to do with his colleagues.<sup>f</sup>

A. B. Hart thus describes the mission: "It was nearly a year before news of the result was received. On April 2nd, 1798, the president communicated the despatches revealing the so-called 'X. Y. Z. affair.' It appeared that the envoys, on reaching Paris in October, 1797, had been denied an official interview, but that three persons, whose names were clouded under the initials X. Y. Z., had approached them with vague suggestions of loans and advances; these were finally crystallised into a demand for £50,000 'for the pockets of the Directory.' The despatch described one conversation: 'Gentlemen,' said X., 'you do not speak to the point. It is money. It is expected that you will offer money.' We said that we had spoken to that point very explicitly, that we had given an answer. 'No,' he replied, 'you have not. What is your answer?' We replied, 'It is No, no, no; not a sixpence.' The president concluded with a ringing paragraph which summed up the indignation of the American people at this insult. 'I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honoured as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation.' The republican opposition in congress was overwhelmed and almost silenced. For the first and last time in his administration Adams found himself popular. There was built up a compact federal majority. It proceeded deliberately to destroy its own party."<sup>b</sup>

The president leaned to the side of his party. He had no mind to declare war, but he recommended congress to put the country in a state of defence (March, 1798). The recommendation was at once opposed by the republican leaders. According to Vice-President Jefferson, indeed, the president was aiming at a dissolution of the Union or at the establishment of a monarchical government. But the federalists upheld the president, and carried a series of measures providing for the organisation of a provisional army, as well as of a naval department, by which the existing navy might be more efficiently managed (May). Orders were issued directing the national ships to seize all armed vessels engaged in hostile acts against American shipping, while merchantmen were authorised to arm themselves and capture their assailants upon the seas. But to prevent hostilities, as far as possible, commercial intercourse with France and her colonies was formally prohibited in June.

Soon after, Washington was appointed to the command of the provisional army. The United States were fairly in arms.

War followed at sea. No declaration was made; the most that was done being to proclaim the treaties with France void, and then to authorise the president to send out national and to commission private vessels for the purpose of capturing any armed ships of the French, whether participating or not in hostilities. The seas were at once overrun with American ships, by which the French privateers were taken or driven from the coast. No actual engagement between national vessels, however, occurred, until the beginning of the following year, when Commander Truxton, in the *Constellation*, forced the French frigate *L'Insurgente* to strike (February, 1799). Hostilities were continued chiefly by privateers, the profits to whose owners were the principal results of the war. Still it pleased the party by whom it was favoured. "A glorious and triumphant war it was!" exclaimed Adams in after years. "The proud pavilion of France was humiliated."

#### ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS, KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, AND NULLIFICATION

But against the deeds of battle must be set the measures of government. These alone show the strain upon the nation. To provide ways and means, stamp duties and taxes on houses and slaves were voted, besides the loans that were procured. To keep down party opposition, the Alien and Sedition acts, as they were called, were passed. The first authorised the president to banish all aliens suspected of conspiracy against the United States. This was more of a party manœuvre than appears on the face of it, inasmuch as many of the most ardent spirits of the republicans, especially the democratic republicans, were aliens. The Sedition Act denounced fine and imprisonment upon all conspiracies, and even all publications, "with intent to excite any unlawful combination for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any lawful act of the president." Both these acts, however, were to be but temporary, the Alien to be in force for two years, the Sedition until March 4th, 1801, the end of Adams' administration. It was at midsummer that party spirit rose so high as to demand and to enact these urgent laws (June-July, 1798). The Alien Act was never put in operation. But the Sedition Act was again and again enforced, and almost if not altogether invariably upon party grounds. It may safely be said that the nation was straining itself too far.

So thought the party opposing the administration and the war. Strongest in the south and in the west, the republican leaders threw down the gauntlet to their opponents, nay, even to their rulers. The legislature of Kentucky, in resolutions drawn up for that body by no less a person than Vice-President Jefferson, declared the Alien and Sedition laws "not law, but altogether void and of no force" (November, 1798). The note thus sounded was taken up in the Virginia legislature, whose resolutions, drafted by James Madison, declared the obnoxious laws "palpable and alarming infractions of the constitution." Both sets of resolutions, as they came from the hands of their framers, were stronger still. Jefferson had written, "Where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the right remedy, and every state has a natural right, in cases not within the compact [the constitution], to nullify of their own authority all assumptions of power by others within their limits." Madison had made his resolutions declare the acts in question "null, void, and of no force or effect." But it

[1799 A.D.]

was an early day for nullification; and neither Kentucky nor Virginia went the length prescribed for them. They went far enough, as has been seen, to excite very general opposition from their sister states, especially those of the centre and the north, where legislature after legislature came out with strong and denunciatory denials of the right of any state to sit in judgment upon the national government.

Things were in this seething state, the factions on both sides being at the height of their passions, when the president nominated a minister to France in the person of William Vans Murray, to whom he afterwards joined Oliver Ellsworth, then chief justice, and William R. Davie, as colleagues (February, 1799). They were to insist upon redress for the decrees and the captures of the French; yet, unless received on their arrival at Paris, they were not to linger, but to demand their passports and abandon the mission. In all this, one finds it difficult to detect anything unworthy of the nation. But the din upon the nomination of the embassy was tremendous. All the more active federalists, conspicuous amongst whom were the principal members of the cabinet, Timothy Pickering and Oliver Wolcott, cried out against the treachery of the president. It was treachery against their party rather than against their country, even in their own eyes; but they were blinded by the political animosity that dazzled and bewildered almost all around them. The president himself was suspected of urging the mission, in some degree, out of spite against the federal party, by whom, or by whose extreme members, he considered himself badly used. "The British faction," he wrote afterwards, "was determined to have a war with France, and Alexander Hamilton at the head of the army, and then president of the United States. Peace with France was therefore treason." "This transaction," he exclaimed in relation to the appointment of a new mission, "must be transmitted to posterity as the most disinterested, prudent, and successful conduct in my whole life!"

The envoys to France reached their destination in the beginning of the following year (1800).<sup>1</sup> They found Napoleon Bonaparte first consul. With his government, after some difficulty, they concluded a convention, in October, providing in part for mutual redress, but leaving many of the questions between the two nations for future settlement. The effect was soon seen in claims for French spoliations. The treaty sufficed to restore peace.

#### THE MISSISSIPPI AND INDIANA TERRITORIES; THE SLAVERY QUESTION

France was not the only foreign power with which there had been difficulties. Spain, aggrieved, as she professed herself to be, by the same British treaty that had offended France, regarded the United States not only as an unimportant but as an untrustworthy ally. The former troubles in connection with the Florida territory continued, especially upon the subject of a boundary between it and the United States. New troubles, too, arose. Vague projects to get possession of the Mississippi valley, by dint of intrigue amongst the western settlers, were ascribed, and not without reason, to the Spaniards. Thus, on both sides there were suspicions, on both contentions.

The country at which Spain appeared to be aiming was rapidly organised by the United States. The Mississippi Territory was formed, including at first the lower part of the present Alabama and Mississippi (1798). This organisation excited a debate concerning slavery, which, as the organising

[<sup>1</sup> During the summer of 1800 the seat of government was removed to the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, according to Hamilton's previous arrangement.]

act provided, was not to be prohibited in the territory. Here was no such plea as had existed in the case of the territory south of the Ohio. No cession from a state, no conditions laid any restraint upon congress. Yet but twelve votes were given in favour of an amendment proposed by George Thacher, of Massachusetts, prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the territory. The most that congress would agree to was to forbid the importation of slaves from abroad; a concession, inasmuch as the slave trade, it will be remembered, was still allowed by the constitution. So, for the second time, and this time without its being required by terms with any state,<sup>1</sup> the decision of the national government was given in favour of slavery. Let it be borne in mind, when we come to the controversies of later years.

But congress took the other side likewise. The western portion of the Northwest Territory soon needed to be set off as the territory of Indiana, embracing the present Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan (1800). There slavery was already prohibited. But this went against the interests of the inhabitants, as they thought, and they petitioned congress, within three and again within seven years after the organisation of the territory, to be allowed to introduce slaves amongst them. Twice a report was made in favour of the petition. Reports and petitions, however, were alike fruitless. Congress would not authorise slavery where it had been prohibited.<sup>f</sup>

#### THE PRESIDENCY OF JEFFERSON; THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

Adams had been elected by the predominance of federal principles, but several things had occurred in his administration which had not only weakened his personal influence, but tended greatly to the overthrow of the federal party.<sup>2</sup>

The federalists supported for the approaching election Adams and General Thomas Pinckney, the democratic party Thomas Jefferson and Colonel Aaron Burr. The two latter were found to have a small majority, the whole of the republican party having voted for them, with the intention of making Jefferson president and Burr vice-president. On counting the votes, however, it was discovered that both were equal; the selection, therefore, of the president devolved upon the house of representatives, who, voting by states, according to the constitution, should decide between the two. Again and again, and yet again, the balloting was repeated in the house, and the result always the same; nor was it until the thirty-sixth balloting that one altered vote turned the scale in Jefferson's favour. He became president, and Aaron Burr vice-president. To guard against the recurrence of such a difficulty, Article XII was added to the constitution.

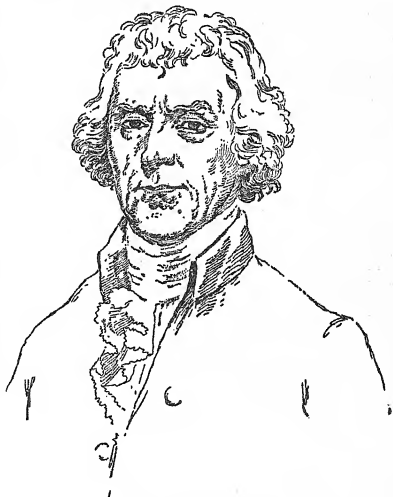
<sup>1</sup> The part of the territory at this time organised was claimed by the United States as a portion of the old Florida domain. Georgia likewise claimed it as hers; and when she surrendered what was allowed to be hers, that is, the upper part of the present Alabama and Mississippi, she made it a condition that slavery should not be prohibited (1802).

<sup>2</sup> It was impossible to realise that there never again would be a federalist president. The reasons for this downfall are many. However popular the French war had been, the taxes made necessary by it had provoked great dissatisfaction; and in 1799 a little insurrection, the so-called Fries Rebellion, had broken out in Pennsylvania. The Sedition prosecutions were exceedingly unpopular. They had governed well; they had built up the credit of the country; they had taken a dignified and effective stand against the aggressions both of England and of France. Yet their theory was of a government by leaders. Jefferson, on the other hand, represented the rising spirit of democracy. It was not his protest against the over-government of the federalists that made him popular; it was his assertion that the people at large were the best depositaries of power. Jefferson had taken hold of the "great wheel going uphill." He had behind him the mighty force of the popular will.—A. B. HART.<sup>b</sup>)

[1801-1802 A.D.]

On the election of Jefferson, all the principal offices of the government were transferred to the republican party; Madison was appointed to the department of state; the system of internal duties was abolished, together with several unpopular laws which were enacted during the last administration. A second census of the United States was taken in 1801, giving a population of 5,319,762, presenting an increase of 1,400,000 in ten years. During the same time the exports had increased from \$19,000,000 to \$94,000,000, and the revenue from \$4,771,000 to \$12,945,000—a wonderful increase, which has scarcely a parallel in the history of the progress of nations, excepting it may be in some extraordinary cases, like those of California and Australia under the gold impulse.

The right of depositing merchandise at New Orleans, which had been granted to the citizens of the United States by the Spanish governor of Louisiana, in a late treaty, and which was absolutely necessary to the people of the Western states, was withdrawn this year, and caused a general agitation. A proposal was made in congress to take forcible possession of the whole province of Louisiana; but milder measures were adopted, and the right of deposit was restored. In the year 1800 Louisiana had been secretly ceded to France, and Jefferson, in 1802, opened a private correspondence with Robert R. Livingston, in Paris, on the subject of this cession. The United States had hitherto, he said, considered France as their natural friend, but the moment she became possessed of New Orleans, through which three-eighths of the produce of the Americans must pass, she would become their natural enemy. The case was different with a feeble and pacific power like Spain; but it would be impossible that France and the United States could continue friends when they met in so irritating a position; that the moment France took possession of New Orleans, the United States must ally themselves with Great Britain; and, he asked, was it worth while for such a short-lived possession of New Orleans for France to transfer such a weight into the scale of her enemy? He then artfully suggested the cession of New Orleans and the Floridas; but adds, and even that they would consider as no equivalent while she possessed Louisiana.



THOMAS JEFFERSON  
(1743-1826)

In January, 1803, James Monroe was sent over to aid Livingston in the purchase of Florida; but instead of the purchase merely of New Orleans and the Floridas, as had been planned, they were able to effect that of all Louisiana, equal in extent to the whole previous territory of the United States. They owed their good fortune to the war which was so suddenly renewed between France and England, when the government of France, convinced that the possession of Louisiana would soon be wrested from her by the superior naval power of England, readily consented to make sale of it to a third power, and the rather, as the money was very acceptable at that time.

For the trifling sum of \$15,000,000 the United States became possessed of that vast extent of country embracing the present state of Louisiana, which was called "the territory of Orleans," as well as of "the district of Louisiana," embracing a large tract of country extending westward to Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. The treaty was concluded at Paris in 1803.<sup>1</sup> The area of the country thus ceded was upwards of one million square miles, but all, excepting a small proportion, occupied by the Indians, its natural proprietors. Its inhabitants, chiefly French, or the descendants of the French, with a few Spanish creoles, Americans, English, and Germans, amounted to between eighty thousand and ninety thousand, including about forty thousand slaves.

In 1803 an appropriation was made by congress for defraying the expenses of an exploring party across the continent to the Pacific. This was a scheme which the president had much at heart, and under his auspices it was carried out; Captain Meriwether Lewis being at the head of the expedition, while second in command was Captain Jonathan Clark, brother of George Rogers Clark, and under them twenty-eight well-selected individuals, with an escort of Mandan Indians. The expedition set out on May 14th, 1804. Since 1801 war had existed between the United States and Tripoli.<sup>y</sup>

#### WAR WITH TRIPOLI

In 1803 Commodore Preble was sent into the Mediterranean, and after humbling the emperor of Morocco, he appeared before Tripoli with most of his squadron. The frigate *Philadelphia*, under Captain Bainbridge, being sent into the harbour to reconnoitre, struck upon a rock, and was obliged to surrender to the Tripolitans. The officers were considered prisoners of war, but the crew were treated as slaves.

Early in February of the following year, Lieutenant Decatur, under the cover of evening, entered the harbour of Tripoli, in a small schooner, having on board but seventy-six men, with the design of destroying the *Philadelphia*, which was then moored near the castle, with a strong Tripolitan crew. By the aid of his pilot, who understood the Tripolitan language, Decatur succeeded in bringing his vessel in contact with the *Philadelphia*, when he and his followers leaped on board, and in a few minutes killed twenty of the Tripolitans and drove the rest into the sea. Under a heavy cannonade from the surrounding vessels and batteries, the *Philadelphia* was set on fire, and not abandoned until thoroughly wrapped in flames; when Decatur and

[<sup>1</sup> Jefferson came into power as a stickler for a limited government, confined chiefly to foreign and commercial affairs. He now entered upon the most brilliant episode of his administration—the annexation of Louisiana; and that transaction was carried out and defended upon precisely the grounds of loose construction which he had so much contemned.—A. B. HART.<sup>b</sup>]

[1804-1805 A.D.]

his gallant crew succeeded in getting out of the harbour without the loss of a single man. During the month of August, Tripoli was repeatedly bombarded by the American squadron, under Commodore Preble, and a severe action occurred with the Tripolitan gunboats, which resulted in the capture of several, with little loss to the Americans.

At the time of Commodore Preble's expedition to the Mediterranean, Hamet, the legitimate sovereign of Tripoli, was an exile, having been deprived of his government by the usurpation of a younger brother. Eaton, the American consul at Tunis, concocted with Hamet an expedition against the reigning sovereign, and obtained from the government of the United States permission to undertake it. With about seventy men from the American squadron, together with the followers of Hamet and some Egyptian troops, Eaton and Hamet set out from Alexandria towards Tripoli, a distance of a thousand miles across a desert country. After two successful engagements had occurred with the Tripolitan army, the reigning bashaw offered terms of peace, which, being considered much more favourable than had before been offered, were accepted by Mr. Lear, the authorised agent of government.<sup>2</sup>

Sixty thousand dollars were given as a ransom for the unfortunate American prisoners, together with an agreement to withdraw all support from Hamet.

In July, 1804, Alexander Hamilton, the present head of the federalist party, fell in a duel fought with the vice-president, Aaron Burr, who, having lost the confidence of the republicans, and despairing of re-election either as president or vice-president, had offered himself as candidate for the office of governor of New York. He was not elected, and attributing his unsuccess to the influence of Hamilton with his party, sent him a challenge, and Hamilton's death was the result. [Hamilton had simply fired into the air. So great was the popular desire to lynch Burr that he was forced to go into hiding for a time.]

This autumn closed Jefferson's first presidential term, and the general prosperity which prevailed gained for him the national favour. Summing up in short the events of his administration, we find that, by a steady course of economy, although he had considerably reduced the taxes, the public debt was lessened by \$12,000,000, the area of the United States about doubled, and the danger of war with both France and Spain averted, the Tripolitans were chastised, and a large and valuable tract of Indian land was acquired. Jefferson was re-elected president, and George Clinton, late governor of New York, vice-president.<sup>3</sup>

#### JEFFERSON'S SECOND TERM; AARON BURR'S CONSPIRACY

The new state of Ohio was already admitted to the Union (November 29th, 1802). New territories—Michigan (1805) and Illinois (1809)—were subsequently formed from out of the Indiana Territory. The signs of expansion were written everywhere, but nowhere so strikingly as along the western plains. There they were such as to kindle projects of a new empire. Aaron Burr, vice-president during Jefferson's first term, but displaced in the second term by George Clinton (1805)—branded, too, with the recent murder of Alexander Hamilton in a duel—was generally avoided amongst his old associates. Turning his face westward, he there drew into his net various men, some of position and some of obscurity, with whose aid he seems to have intended making himself master of the Mississippi valley, or of Mexico, once

or both (1806). Whatever his schemes were, they miscarried. A handful only of followers were gathered round him on the banks of the Mississippi, a hundred miles or more above New Orleans, when he surrendered himself to the government of the Mississippi Territory (January, 1807). Some months afterwards he was brought to trial for high treason before Chief-Justice Marshall, of the supreme court, with whom sat the district judge for Virginia; the reason for trying Burr in that state being the fact that one of the places where he was charged with having organised a military expedition was within the Virginian limits. The trial, like everything else in those days, was made a party question; the administration and its supporters going strongly against Burr, while its opponents were disposed to take his part. He was acquitted for want of proof; and for the same reason he was again acquitted when tried for undertaking to invade the Spanish territories.

#### BRITISH AGGRESSIONS

Frowning high above all these domestic events were the aggressions from abroad. If they sank in one direction, they seemed sure to rise the more threateningly in another. It was now the turn of Great Britain. The system of impressment, though protested against by the United States, had never been renounced by Great Britain. On the contrary, it had been extended even to the American navy, of which the vessels were once and again plundered of their seamen by British men-of-war. Another subject on which Great Britain set herself against the claims of the United States was the neutral trade, of which the latter nation engrossed a large and constantly increasing share during the European wars. After various attempts to discourage American commerce with her enemies, Great Britain undertook to put it down by condemning vessels of the United States on the ground that their cargoes were not neutral but belligerent property; in other words, that the Americans transported goods which were not their own, but those of nations at war with Great Britain. It must be allowed that the American shippers played a close game, importing merchandise only to get a neutral name for it, and then exporting it to the country to which it could not be shipped directly from its place of origin. But the sharper the practice, the more of a favourite it seemed to be (1805). A cry went up from all the commercial towns of the United States, appealing to the government for protection. The government could do but little. It passed a law prohibiting the importation of certain articles from Great Britain—the prohibition, however, not to take immediate effect.<sup>1</sup>

#### THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE RIGHT OF SEARCH<sup>1</sup>

Great Britain's doctrine was "once a subject always a subject." On the other hand, the United States maintained that any foreigner, after five years' residence within her territory, and after having complied with certain forms, became one of her citizens as completely as if he was native-born. Great Britain contended that her war-ships possessed the right of searching all neutral vessels for the property and persons of her foes. The United States, resisting this claim, asserted that "free bottoms made free goods," and that consequently her ships when on the high seas should not be molested on

[<sup>1</sup> Reproduced by permission. Copyright, 1882, by G. P. Putnam's Sons.]

[1806 A.D.]

any pretext whatever. Finally, Great Britain's system of impressment, by which men could be forcibly seized and made to serve in her navy, no matter at what cost to themselves, was repugnant to every American idea.

Such wide differences in the views of the two nations produced endless difficulties. To escape the press-gang, or for other reasons, many British seamen took service under the American flag; and if they were demanded back, it is not likely that they or their American shipmates had much hesitation in swearing either that they were not British at all, or else that they had been naturalized as Americans. Equally probable is it that the American blockade-runners were guilty of a great deal of fraud and more or less thinly veiled perjury. But the wrongs done by the Americans were insignificant compared with those they received. Any innocent merchant vessel was liable to seizure at any moment, and when overhauled by a British cruiser short of men was sure to be stripped of most of her crew. The British officers were themselves the judges as to whether a seaman should be pronounced a native of America or of Britain, and there was no appeal from their judgment. If a captain lacked his full complement, there was little doubt as to the view he would take of any man's nationality. The wrongs inflicted on our seafaring countrymen by their impressment into foreign ships formed the main cause of the war.

There were still other grievances which are thus presented by the British Admiral Cochrane: "Our treatment of its (America's) citizens was scarcely in accordance with the national privileges to which the young republic had become entitled. There were no doubt many individuals among the American people who, caring little for the federal government, considered it more profitable to break than to keep the laws of nations by aiding and supporting our enemy (France), and it was against such that the efforts of the squadron had chiefly been directed; but the way the object was carried out was scarcely less an infraction of those national laws which we were professedly enforcing. The practice of taking English (and American) seamen out of American ships without regard to the safety of navigating them when thus deprived of their hands has been already mentioned. To this may be added the detention of vessels against which nothing contrary to international neutrality could be established, whereby their cargoes became damaged; the compelling them, on suspicions only, to proceed to ports other than those to which they were destined; and generally treating them as though they were engaged in contraband trade."

The principles for which the United States contended in 1812 are now universally accepted, and those so tenaciously maintained by Great Britain find no advocates in the civilised world. That England herself was afterwards completely reconciled to our views was amply shown by her intense indignation when Commodore Wilkes, in the exercise of the right of search for the persons of the foes of his country, stopped the neutral British ship *Trent*; while the applause with which the act was greeted in America proves pretty clearly another fact—that we had warred for the right, not because it was the right, but because it agreed with our self-interest to do so.<sup>bb</sup>

## AN AMERICAN WAR-SHIP SEARCHED

In April, 1806, a mission, consisting of James Monroe and William Pinkney, was sent to London, to negotiate a new treaty, in which the disputed points should be included. But the mission proved a total failure. In the

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first place, the envoys could obtain no satisfaction on the subject of impressment, and next to none on that of the neutral trade. In the next place, the treaty which they signed, notwithstanding these omissions, was at once rejected by President Jefferson, without even a reference to the senate (March, 1807). The tumult of party that ensued was immense. The president was charged with sacrificing the best interests of the country, as well as with violating the plainest provisions of the constitution. Was it he alone who held the treaty-making power—he, too, the republican, who had insisted upon restraining the powers of the executive? But looking back upon the action of Jefferson, we see little in it to have provoked such outcries. He sent envoys to form a new treaty; they had merely reformed an old one. It might be rash to sacrifice the advantages which they had gained; but might it not be ignominious to surrender the claims which they had passed by?

If the nation needed to be convinced of the necessity of some definite understanding with Great Britain on the subjects omitted in the rejected treaty, it soon had an opportunity. The United States frigate *Chesapeake*, sailing from Hampton Roads, was hailed off the capes of Chesapeake Bay, June 22nd, 1807, by the British frigate *Leopard*, the captain of which demanded to search the *Chesapeake* for deserters from the service of Great Britain. Captain Barron, the commander of the *Chesapeake*, refused; whereupon the *Leopard* opened fire. As Barron and his crew were totally unprepared for action, they fired but a single gun, to save their honour, then, having lost several men, struck their flag. The British commander took those of whom he was in search, three of the four being Americans [previously impressed but escaped], and left the *Chesapeake* to make her way back dishonoured, and the nation to which she belonged dishonoured likewise.

The president issued a proclamation ordering British men-of-war from the waters of the United States. Instructions were sent to the envoys at London, directing them not merely to seek reparation for the wrong that had been done, but to obtain the renunciation of the pretensions to a right of search and of impressment, from which the wrong had sprung. The British government recognised their responsibility by sending a special minister to settle the difficulty at Washington. It was four years, however, before the desired reparation was procured. The desired renunciation was never made. One can scarcely credit his eyes when he reads that the affair of the *Chesapeake* was made a party point. But so it was. The friends of Great Britain, the capitalists and commercial classes, generally, murmured at the course of their government, as too decided, "too French," they sometimes called it; as if the slightest resistance to Great Britain were subordination to France.

The aspect of the two nations was very much changed of late years. Bonaparte, the consul of the French Republic, had become Napoleon, the emperor of the French Empire. Regarded by his enemies as a monster steeped in despotism and in blood, he excited abhorrence, not only for himself but for his nation, amongst a large portion of the Americans. On the other hand, Great Britain, formerly scouted at as the opponent of liberty, was now generally considered its champion in Europe. There was but a faint comprehension of the principles involved in the struggle between Great Britain and France, of the real attitude taken by the former in warring against the chosen sovereign of the latter, or of the remorseless ambition by which the one government was quite as much actuated as the other. But there was still a very considerable number in America to sympathise with France, if with either of the contending powers. To these men, the aggressions of

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Great Britain were intolerable; while to the supporters of the British the French aggressions were far the more unendurable.

Both parties had their fill. Before the attack on the *Chesapeake*, the lists had been opened between France and England, to see not merely how much harm they could do to each other, but how much they could inflict upon all allied or connected with each other. Connected with both were the Americans, who were now assailed by both. Great Britain led off by declaring the French ports, from Brest to the Elbe, closed to American as to all other shipping (May 16th, 1806). France retorted by the Berlin Decree, so called because issued from Prussia, prohibiting any commerce with Great Britain (November 21st). That power immediately forbade the coasting trade between one port and another in the possession of her enemies (January 7th, 1807). Not satisfied with this, she went on, by the famous Order in Council, to forbid to neutrals all trade whatsoever with France and her allies, except on payment of a tribute to Great Britain, each vessel to pay in proportion to its cargo (November 11th). Then followed the Milan Decree of Napoleon, prohibiting all trade whatsoever with Great Britain, and declaring such vessels as paid the recently demanded tribute to be lawful prizes to the French marine (December 17th). Such was the series of acts thundering like broadsides against the interests of America. It transformed commerce from a peaceful pursuit into a warlike one, full of peril, of loss, of strife. It did more. It wounded the national honour, by attempting to prostrate the United States at the mercy of the European powers.

There was but one of two courses for the United States to take: peace, or preparation for war. War itself was impossible in the unprovided state of the country; but to assume a defensive, and if need were to get ready for an offensive position, was perfectly practicable. Jefferson thought it enough to order an additional number of gunboats—very different from the gunboats of our time, and yet considered by the administration and its supporters to constitute a navy by themselves.<sup>1</sup>

JOHN T. MORSE ON JEFFERSON'S WAR POLICY<sup>1</sup>

Obviously Jefferson had forgotten something of what he had once learned concerning the British character. It has been often said that if he had refrained from his prattle about peace, reason, and right, and instead thereof had hectorcd and swaggered with a fair show of spirit at this crucial period, the history of the next ten years might have been changed and the War of 1812 might never have been fought. Probably this would not have been the case, and England would have fought in 1807, 1808, or 1809 as readily as in 1812. But, however this may be, the high-tempered course was the only one of any promise at all, and, had it precipitated the war by a few short years, at least the nation would have escaped a long and weary journey through a mud slough of humiliation. But it is idle to talk of what might have been had Jefferson acted differently. He could not act differently. Though the people would probably have backed him in a warlike policy, he could not adopt it. A great statesman amid political storms, he was utterly helpless when the clouds of war gathered. He was as miserably out of place now as he had been in the governorship of Virginia during the Revolution. He could not bring himself to entertain any measures looking to so much as preparation for serious conflict.

[<sup>1</sup> Reproduced by permission. Copyright, 1898, by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.]

A navy remained still, as it had always been, his abhorrence. His extremest step in that direction was to build gunboats. Everyone has heard of and nearly everyone has laughed at these playhouse flotillas, which were to be kept in sheds out of the sun and rain until the enemy should appear, and were then to be carted down to the water and manned by the neighbours, to encounter, perhaps, the fleets and crews which won the fight at Trafalgar, shattered the French navy at the Nile, and battered Copenhagen to ruins. It almost seemed as though the very harmlessness of the craft constituted a recommendation to Jefferson. At least they were very cheap, and he rejoiced to reckon that nearly a dozen of them could be built for \$100,000. So he was always advising to build more, while England, with all her fighting blood up, inflicted outrage after outrage upon a country whose ruler cherished such singular notions of naval affairs.<sup>cc</sup>

#### THE EMBARGO REVIVES SECESSION DOCTRINES; MADISON'S PRESIDENCY

Jefferson at last hit upon the most self-denying of plans. The aggressions of the European powers were directed against the commerce of America, the rights of owners and of crews. That these might be secured, the president recommended, and congress adopted, an embargo upon all United States vessels and upon all foreign vessels with cargoes shipped after the passage of the act in United States ports (December 22nd, 1807). The date shows that the embargo was laid before the news of the last violent decrees of France and Great Britain. In other words, as commerce led to injuries from foreign nations, commerce was to be abandoned. There was also the idea that the foreign nations themselves would suffer from the loss of American supplies and American prizes. It was a singular way, one must allow, of preserving peace, to adopt a measure at once provoking to the stranger and destructive to the citizen. The latter eluded it, and it was again and again enforced by severe and even arbitrary statutes. The former laughed it to scorn. France, on whose side the violent federalists declared the embargo to be, answered by a decree of Napoleon's from Bayonne, ordering the confiscation of all American vessels in French ports (April 17th, 1808). Great Britain soon after made her response, by an order prohibiting the exportation of American produce, whether paying tribute or not to the European continent (December 21st). So ineffective abroad, so productive of discontent at home, even amongst the supporters of the administration, did the embargo prove that it was repealed (March, 1809).

Thus neither preserving peace nor preparing for war, Jefferson in 1809 gave up the conduct of affairs to his successor, Madison, who kept on the same course. [George Clinton was re-elected vice-president.] In place of the embargo were non-intercourse or non-importation acts in relation to Great Britain and France, as restrictive as the embargo, so far as the designated nations were concerned, but leaving free the trade with other countries. These successors of the embargo, however, were nowise more effectual than that had been. They were reviled and violated in America; they were contemned in Europe. The administration amused itself with suspending the restrictions, now in favour of Great Britain (1809), and now in favour of France (1810), hoping to induce those powers to reciprocate the compliment by a suspension of their own aggressive orders. There was a show of doing so. Napoleon had recently issued a decree from Rambouillet, ordering the sale of more than a hundred American vessels as condemned prizes (March 23rd, 1810).

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But on the news from America, willing to involve the young nation in hostilities with Great Britain, he intimated his readiness to retract the decrees of which the United States complained. But he would not do so, and America, mortified, but not yet enlightened, returned to her prohibitions. They were scoffed at by her own people.

It is not so difficult to describe as to conceive the hue and cry, on the part of the opposition, against the embargo and the subsequent acts. Whatever discontent, whatever nullification had been expressed by the republicans against the war measures of Adams, was rivalled, if not outrivalled, by the federalists against the so-called peace measures of Jefferson and Madison. Town-meetings, state legislatures, even the courts in some places, declared against the constitutionality and the validity of the embargo statutes. The federalists of Massachusetts were charged with the design of dissolving the Union. It was not their intention, but their language had warranted its being imputed to them.

Many causes were accelerating the progress of events towards war. Among these, the hostile position of the Indian tribes on the north-western frontier of the United States was one of the most powerful. They, too, had felt the pressure of Bonaparte's commercial system. In consequence of the exclusion of their furs from the continental markets, the Indian hunters found their traffic reduced to the lowest point. The rapid extension of settlements north of the Ohio was narrowing their hunting-grounds and producing a rapid diminution of game, and the introduction of

whisky by the white people was spreading demoralisation, disease, and death among the Indians. These evils, combined with the known influence of British emissaries, finally led to open hostilities. In the spring of 1811 it became certain that Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief, who was crafty, intrepid, unscrupulous, and cruel, and who possessed the qualities of a great leader almost equal to those of Pontiac, was endeavouring to emulate that great Ottawa by confederating the tribes of the Northwest in a war against the people of the United States. Those over whom he and his twin-brother, the Prophet, exercised the greatest control, were the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Miami, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, and Chippewas. During the summer the frontier settlers became so alarmed by the continual military and religious exercises of the savages that General Harrison, then governor of the Indiana



JAMES MADISON  
(1751-1836)

Territory, marched with a considerable force towards the town of the Prophet, situated at the junction of the Tippecanoe and Wabash rivers, in the upper part of Tippecanoe county, Indiana. The Prophet appeared and proposed a conference, but Harrison, suspecting treachery, caused his soldiers to sleep on their arms that night (November 6th, 1811). At four o'clock the next morning the savages fell upon the American camp, but after a bloody battle until dawn the Indians were repulsed. The battle of Tippecanoe was one of the most desperate ever fought with the Indians, and the loss was heavy on both sides. Tecumseh was not present on this occasion, and it is said the Prophet took no part in the engagement.

These events, so evidently the work of British interference, aroused the spirit of the nation, and throughout the entire West, and in the Middle and Southern states, there was a desire for war. Yet the administration fully appreciated the deep responsibility involved in such a step; and having almost the entire body of the New England people in opposition, the president and his friends hesitated. The British orders in council continued to be rigorously enforced; insult after insult was offered to the American flag; and the British press insolently boasted that the United States "could not be kicked into a war." Forbearance was no longer a virtue.<sup>2</sup>

In March, 1811, Pinkney, the American minister, was suddenly recalled from London; and, British ships being stationed before the principal harbours of the United States for the purpose of enforcing the British authority, open acts of hostility took place in May of the same year. The British frigate *Guerrière*, exercising the assumed right of search, carried off three or four natives of the states from some American vessels, whereupon orders came down from Washington to Commodore Rodgers to pursue the British ship and demand their own men. Rodgers sailed from the Chesapeake on the 12th of May, in the frigate *President*, and, not meeting with the offending *Guerrière*, fell in with a smaller vessel, the *Little Belt*, towards evening of the 16th of May. The *President* was a large ship, the *Little Belt* a small one; the *President* hailed, and in return, the Americans declared, a shot was fired. The British, on the other hand, declared that the *President* fired first; however that might be, a severe engagement took place, the guns of the *Little Belt* were silenced, and thirty-two of her men killed and wounded. Through the night the two ships lay at a little distance from each other to repair their damages, the British ship being almost disabled.<sup>3</sup>

It was plain that war was becoming popular in the United States. As for that, it had always been so; when Washington opposed it, he was abused; when Adams favoured it, he was extolled; when Jefferson avoided it, he risked even his immense influence over the nation. Congress now took up the question, and voted one measure after another, preparatory to hostilities with Great Britain (December-March, 1812). The president hesitated. He was no war leader by nature or by principle; the only tendency in that direction came to him from party motives. His party, or at any rate the more active portion of it, was all for arms: when he doubted, they urged; when he inclined to draw back, they drove him forward. It being the time when the congressional caucus was about to nominate for the presidency, Madison received the intimation that if he was a candidate for re-election he must come out for war. Whether it was to force or to his own free will that he yielded, he did yield, and sent a message to congress, recommending an embargo of sixty days. Congress received it, according to its intention, as a preliminary to war, and voted it, though far from unanimously, for ninety days (April 4th, 1812).<sup>4</sup>

[1812 A.D.]

## ENGLISH AND AMERICAN DISCREPANCIES

The English historians have, as a class, little disagreement with the Americans upon the justice and the conduct of the War of Independence. They accept it as indirectly redounding to their own real benefit, and their pages glow with praise of Washington and other patriots. But in the accounts of what has been called "the second War of Independence" there is such fundamental discrepancy between the historians of the two countries that it seems hardly possible they are treating the same conflict. To the Americans the War of 1812 was a combat in which they had no choice; they were goaded into the struggle for very existence. The English historian remembers only the stupendous threat of Napoleon to convert all Europe into one empire; he remembers the overwhelming success of this personified ambition, up to the point where England alone offered up resistance; he remembers the life-and-death struggle of his country. And when he thinks of the United States at all, he can only remember that at this crisis of British existence the United States turned against its own mother country, and threw its armies and its ships into the scale on Napoleon's side.

This very natural feeling colours the whole attitude of the British historians and renders them untrustworthy. Unfortunately, most of the American historians are equally unreliable; largely, no doubt, because the humiliations of the war were such that it was for many years difficult for an historian to resist the temptation to make as respectable a picture as possible, even if the cold facts had to be somewhat coloured. An exception, however, may be made of their accounts of the warfare on the sea, where some of the most notable naval engagements in the world's history took place, and in which the superiority of the American seamen was beyond question.

As to the justification of the war there can hardly be any doubt, unless it be based on a theory that the people who had so long postponed their duties to command self-respect, and had endured unflinchingly such insolent overriding of the laws of common decency, had lost every right of resistance. Some historians maintain that America's real injustice lay not in the declaration of war, but in its declaration against England, it being maintained that it should have been declared either against France alone, or against both England and France, and under no circumstances against England alone. But this theory has little practical basis; for, as events proved, the United States was hardly capable of maintaining war against England alone, to say nothing of bringing upon its shoulders the united weight of England and France; in the second place, England was the ancient enemy of the United States, and France had saved its very existence; in the third place, since the British navy ruled the seas, the British were far the greater sinners against the dignity and commerce of the United States.

Furthermore, it is well to remember that the struggle between Napoleon and Great Britain was not by any means a struggle between a ruthless oppressor and a nation whose hands were entirely clean of oppression. All around the world there were evidences of British land-hunger. The United States had cause enough to declare war against both countries; but such an act would have been mere suicide. Lacking the power to wage a successful combat against both, it was only reasonable that it should choose for an adversary the nation which had done it much the greater injury. The true disgrace of the United States lay in the fact that it had been so long declaring war, and that it waged the inevitable conflict so languidly and so awkwardly.<sup>a</sup>

## BEGINNING OF THE WAR OF 1812; INTERNAL FACTIONS

The bill declaring war between the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland and their dependencies, and the United States of America and their territories, was accompanied by a report, setting forth the causes that impelled to war, of which the following is a summary:

(1) For impressing American citizens, while sailing on the seas, the highway of nations, dragging them on board their ships of war, and forcing them to serve against nations in amity with the United States; and even to participate in aggressions on the rights of their fellow citizens when met on the high seas.

(2) Violating the rights and peace of our coasts and harbours, harassing our departing commerce, and wantonly spilling American blood, within our territorial jurisdiction.

(3) Plundering our commerce on every sea, under pretended blockades, not of harbours, ports, or places invested by adequate force, but of extended coasts, without the application of fleets to render them legal, and enforcing them from the date of their proclamation, thereby giving them virtually retrospective effect.

(4) Committing numberless spoliations on our ships and commerce, under her orders in council of various dates.

(5) Employing secret agents within the United States, with a view to subvert our government and dismember our union.

(6) Encouraging the Indian tribes to make war on the people of the United States.

The bill, reported by the committee of foreign relations, passed the house of representatives on the 4th of June, by a majority of thirty, in one hundred and twenty-eight votes, and was transmitted to the senate for its concurrence. In the senate it was passed by a majority of six, in thirty-two votes. On the 18th of June it received the approbation of the president, and on the next day was publicly announced.<sup>dd</sup>

France having again—and this time unconditionally—repealed her aggressive decrees, Great Britain withdrew her arbitrary orders in council just as the war was declared (June 23rd). One of the chief grounds for hostilities, therefore, fell through. The other remained, but only, it was insisted by Great Britain, until the United States would take some measures to prevent British seamen from enlisting in the American service, which being done, there would be no need of search or of impressment by the navy of Great Britain. Proposals of an armistice were rejected by the United States (June-October). "We must fight," cried the war party, "if it is only for our seamen; six thousand of them are victims to these atrocious impressments." The British government had admitted, the year before, that they had sixteen hundred Americans in their service. "But your six thousand," retorted the advocates of peace, "are not all your own; there are foreigners, British subjects, amongst them; and will you fight for these?" "We will," was the reply [and here the sympathy of every generous heart must be theirs, so far as they were sincere]; "the stranger who comes to dwell or to toil amongst us is as much our own as if he were born in America."

The war was what might have been expected from the movements leading to it—the cause of a party, nominally headed by Madison, the president, by James Monroe, the secretary of state, by Albert Gallatin (the same who appeared in the Pennsylvania insurrection of Washington's time), the secretary of the treasury, and by others, officers or supporters of the administration, both in and out of congress; but the real leaders of the war party were younger men, some risen to distinction, like Henry Clay, speaker of the house of representatives, and John C. Calhoun, member of the same body.

The party support which the war received explains the party opposition which it encountered. The signal, given by a protest from the federalist

[1813 A.D.]

members of congress, was caught up and repeated in public meetings and at private hearthstones. Even the pulpit threw open its doors to political harangues, and those not of the mildest sort. "The alternative then is," exclaimed a clergyman at Boston, "that if you do not wish to become the slaves of those who own slaves, and who are themselves the slaves of French slaves, you must either, in the language of the day, cut the connection, or so far alter the national constitution as to secure yourselves a due share in the government. The Union has long since been virtually dissolved, and it is full time that this portion of the United States should take care of itself." This single extract must stand here for a thousand others that might be cited. Coming from the source that it did, it is a striking illustration of the sectionality, nay, the personal vindictiveness, with which the opposition was animated. Strongest in New England, where alone the federalist party still retained its power, the hostility to the war spread through all parts of the country, gathering many of otherwise conflicting views around the banner that had so long been trailing in the dust. If we cannot sympathise with the party thus reviving, we need not join in the tumult raised against it on the score of treachery or dishonour. The federalists opposed the war not because they were anti-national, but because they thought it anti-national.

The war began at home. The office of a federalist paper, the *Federal Republican*, conducted by Alexander Hanson, at Baltimore, was sacked by a mob, who then went on to attack dwellings, pillage vessels, and, finally, to fire the house of an individual suspected of partialities for Great Britain (June 22nd, 23rd). Such being the passions, such the divisions, internally, the nation needed more than the usual panoply to protect itself externally. But it had less. The colonies of 1775 did not go to war more unprepared than the United States of 1812. There was no army to speak of. Generals abounded, it is true, Henry Dearborn, late secretary of war, being at the head of the list; but troops were few and far between, some thousands of regulars and of volunteers constituting the entire force. As to the militia, there were grave differences to prevent its efficient employment. In the first place, there was a general distrust of such bodies of troops. In the next place, there were local controversies, between certain of the state authorities and the general government, as to the power of the latter to call out the militia in the existing state of things, the constitution authorising congress "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions."

If the army was inconsiderable, the navy was hardly perceptible, embracing only eight or ten frigates, as many more smaller vessels, and a flotilla of comparatively useless gunboats. The national finances were in a correspondingly low condition. The revenue, affected by the interruptions to commerce during the preceding years, needed all the stimulants which it could obtain, even in time of peace. It was wholly inadequate to the exigencies of war. Accordingly, resort was had to loans, then to direct taxes and licenses (1813). But the ways and means fell far short of the demands upon them. In fine, whether we take a financial or a military point of view, we find the country equally unfitted for hostilities. It might rely, indeed, upon its own inherent energies, the energies of six millions of freemen; but even these were distracted, and to a great degree paralysed.

Fortunate, therefore, was it that Great Britain was occupied—it may be said absorbed—in Europe. Her mighty struggle with Napoleon was at its height when the United States declared war. To British ears the declaration sounded much the same as the wail of a child amidst the contentions

of men. Very little heed was paid to it, the retraction of the orders in council being considered as likely to end it altogether. But to the astonishment of the British government the Americans persisted. "Let them wait," was the tone, "until Bonaparte is crushed, and they shall have their turn."

#### HULL'S SURRENDER RETRIEVED BY PERRY

Notwithstanding the almost entire want of means, the United States government determined to carry the war into the enemy's country. For this purpose, William Hull, general and governor of Michigan Territory, crossed from Detroit to Sandwich in Canada, with about two thousand men (July 12th, 1813). In a little more than a month he had not only retreated, but surrendered, without a blow, to [an inferior force under] General Brock, the governor of Lower Canada (August 16th)<sup>f</sup>. The indignation of the Americans at this cowardly and disgraceful transaction knew no bounds. Expectation had been raised to such a height by the confident language of previous despatches from General Hull that nothing less than the capture of all Upper Canada was expected. The surrender, therefore, of an American army to an inferior force, together with the cession of a large extent of territory, as it had never entered into the calculations of the people, was almost too much for them to bear. As soon as General Hull was exchanged, he was, of course, brought before a court-martial, tried on the charges of treason, cowardice, and unofficer-like conduct, found guilty of the last two, and sentenced to be shot. The president, however, in consequence of his age and former services, remitted the capital punishment, but directed his name to be stricken from the rolls of the army—a disgrace which, to a lofty and honourable spirit, is worse than death.<sup>dd</sup>

The British, already in possession of the northern part of Michigan, were soon masters of the entire territory. So far from being able to recover it, General Harrison, who made the attempt in the ensuing autumn and winter, found it all he could do to save Ohio from falling with Michigan. A detachment of Kentuckians yielded to a superior force of British at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin (January, 1813), whereupon Harrison took post by the Maumee, at Fort Meigs, holding out there against the British and their Indian allies (April, May). The same fort was again assailed and again defended, General Clay being at that time in command. Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky, was attacked in August, but defended with great spirit and success by a small garrison under Major Croghan. Yet Ohio was still in danger.

It was rescued by different operations from those as yet described. Captain Chauncey, after gathering a little fleet on Lake Ontario, where he achieved some successes, appointed Lieutenant Oliver H. Perry to the command on Lake Erie. Perry's first duty was to provide a fleet; his next, to lead it, when provided, against the British vessels under Captain Barclay.<sup>f</sup>

Early in the spring of this year the attention of the national government had been seriously directed towards the important object of obtaining the command on Lake Erie. The earnest representations of General Harrison had awakened the administration to a proper sense of the necessity of this measure, and great exertions were accordingly made to obtain a force competent to engage the enemy. Two brigs and several schooners were ordered to be built at the port of Erie, under the directions of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry; the building of which that officer carried on with such rapidity that on the 2nd of August he was able to sail in quest of the enemy's squad-

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ron. He found them lying in the harbour of Malden, their force augmented by a new vessel, the *Detroit*. Finding the enemy, however, unwilling to venture out, the American commander returned to Put-in Bay, in South Bass Island.

On the morning of the 10th of September, while the squadron was lying in this harbour, the enemy's fleet was discovered standing out of the port of Malden, with the wind in their favour. The American fleet immediately weighed anchor, and fortunately got clear of the islands near the head of the lake before the enemy approached. At ten o'clock the wind changed, so as to give the former the weather-gauge. Commodore Perry then formed his line of battle, and at a few minutes before twelve the action commenced. The fire from the enemy's long guns proving very destructive to the *Lawrence*, the flagship of the squadron, she bore up, for the purpose of closing with her opponents, and made signals to the other vessels to support her. The wind, however, being very light, and the fire of the enemy well-directed, she soon became altogether unmanageable; she sustained the action, nevertheless, for upwards of two hours, until all her guns were disabled and most of the crew either killed or wounded. In this situation of affairs the American commodore, with singular presence of mind and a gallantry rarely equalled, resolved upon a step which decided the fortune of the day. Leaving his ship, the *Lawrence*, in charge of a lieutenant, he passed in an open boat, under a heavy fire of musketry, to the *Niagara*, which a fortunate increase of wind had enabled her commander, Captain Elliott, to bring up. The latter officer now volunteered to lead the smaller vessels into close action; while Commodore Perry, with the *Niagara*, bore up and passed through the enemy's line, pouring a destructive fire into the vessels on each side. The smaller American vessels, having soon afterwards arrived within a suitable distance, opened a well-directed fire upon their opponents, and after a short but severe contest the whole of the British squadron struck their colours to the republican vessels.

This victory will long be memorable in the annals of the republic, both as being the first victory of a squadron of its vessels over one of an enemy, and as being among the most brilliant and decisive triumphs ever recorded in the annals of naval warfare. The American loss in this engagement was two officers and twenty-five men killed, and ninety-six wounded, among whom were many officers; that of the British, as near as could be ascertained, was three officers and thirty-eight men killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded.

Not merely was the character of the nation raised to the highest pitch of elevation by this signal victory, but the fate of the campaign on the whole northwestern frontier was decided by the destruction of the British squadron. Having heretofore drawn its supplies through the agency of that fleet, the army of the allies would, it was foreseen, be compelled to evacuate, not only its position in the American territory, but the greater part of Upper Canada.<sup>dd</sup>

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE <sup>1</sup>

There happened to be circumstances which rendered the bragging of our writers over the victory somewhat plausible. Thus they could say with an appearance of truth that the enemy had sixty-three guns to our fifty-four, and outnumbered us. In reality, as well as can be ascertained

[<sup>1</sup> Reproduced by permission. Copyright, 1882, by G. P. Putnam's Sons.]

from the conflicting evidence, he was inferior in number of men; but a few men more or less mattered nothing. Both sides had men enough to work the guns and handle the ships, especially as the fight was in smooth water, and largely at long range. The important fact was that though we had nine guns less, yet, at a broadside, they threw half as much metal again as those of our antagonist. With such odds in our favour it would have been a disgrace to have been beaten. The water was too smooth for our two brigs to show at their best; but this very smoothness rendered our gunboats more formidable than any of the British vessels, and the British testimony is unanimous that it was to them the defeat was primarily due. The American fleet came into action in worse form than the hostile squadron, the ships straggling badly, either owing to Perry having formed his line badly, or else to his having failed to train the subordinate commanders how to keep their places.

The chief merit of the American commander and his followers was indomitable courage and determination not to be beaten. This is no slight merit; but it may well be doubted if it would have insured victory had Barclay's force been as strong as Perry's. Perry made a headlong attack—his superior force, whether through his fault or his misfortune can hardly be said, being brought into action in such a manner that the head of the line was crushed by the inferior force opposed. Being literally hammered out of his own ship, Perry brought up its powerful twin-sister, and the already shattered hostile squadron was crushed by sheer weight. The manœuvres which marked the close of the battle, and which insured the capture of all the opposing ships, were unquestionably very fine.

The British ships were fought as resolutely as their antagonists, not being surrendered till they were crippled and helpless, and almost all the officers and a large portion of the men placed *hors de combat*. Captain Barclay handled his ships like a first-rate seaman. In short, our victory was due to our heavy metal.

Captain Perry showed indomitable pluck, and readiness to adapt himself to circumstances; but his claim to fame rests much less on his actual victory than on the way in which he prepared the fleet that was to win it. Here his energy and activity deserve all praise, not only for his success in collecting sailors and vessels and in building the two brigs, but above all for the manner in which he succeeded in getting them out on the lake. On that occasion he certainly outgeneralled Barclay; indeed, the latter committed an error that the skill and address he subsequently showed could not retrieve.

But it will always be a source of surprise that the American public should have so glorified Perry's victory over an inferior force, and have paid comparatively little attention to McDonough's victory, which really was won against decided odds in ships, men, and metal. It must always be remembered that when Perry fought this battle he was but twenty-seven years old; and the commanders of his other vessels were younger still.<sup>bb</sup>

#### THE DISASTROUS LAND WAR

Perry's victory was on a small scale; yet its importance immediately appeared. Taking on board a body of troops from Ohio and Kentucky, under Harrison, Perry transported them to the neighbourhood of Sandwich, on the Canada shore, the same spot against which Hull had marched more than a twelvemonth before. The British having retired, Harrison crossed to Detroit. Recrossing, he advanced in pursuit of the much less numerous enemy, whose rear and whose main body were routed on two successive days

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(October 4th, 5th). The latter action, on the bank of the Thames, was decisive; the British general, Proctor, making his escape with but a small portion of his troops, while his Indian ally, Tecumseh, was slain. Ohio was thus saved, and Michigan recovered; though not entirely, the British still holding the northern extremity of the territory.

All along the frontier between New York and Canada there had been from the first some scattered forces, both American and British. The former pretended to act on the offensive, but amidst continual failures. Chief of these movements without interest and without result was an attack against Queenstown, on the Canada shore of the Niagara river. Advanced parties gained possession of a battery on the bank, but there they were checked, and at length obliged to surrender, for want of support from their comrades on the American side. General Van Rensselaer was the American, General Brock the British commander—the latter falling in battle, the former resigning in disgust after the battle was over (October 13th, 1812). In the following spring General Dearborn and the land troops, in conjunction with Chauncey and the fleet, took York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, burning the parliament house, and then proceeding successfully against the forts on the Niagara river (April, May, 1813). At this point, however, affairs took an unfavourable turn. The British mustered strong, and though repulsed from Sackett's Harbour by General Brown, at the head of some regular troops and volunteers, they obtained the command of the lake, making descents on various places, and reducing the American forces, both land and naval, to comparative inactivity (June). Months afterwards the land forces, now under the lead of General Wilkinson, started on a long-proposed expedition against Montreal, but, encountering resistance on the way down the St. Lawrence, went straight into winter quarters within the New York frontier. A body of troops under General Hampton, moving in the same direction from Lake Champlain, met with a feint of opposition, rather than opposition itself, from the British; it was sufficient, however, to induce a retreat (November). Both these armies far outnumbered the British, Wilkinson having seventy-five hundred and Hampton forty-five hundred men.

On the western border of New York things went still worse. General M'Clure, left in charge of the Niagara frontier, was so weakened by the loss of men at the expiration of their terms of service, and at the same time so pressed by the enemy, as to abandon the Canada shore, leaving behind him the ruins of Fort George and of the village of Newark. The destruction thus wreaked by orders of the government was avenged upon the New York borders. Parties of British and Indians, crossing the frontier at different places, took Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the river, and swept the adjacent country with fire and sword as far as Buffalo (December). Glutted with success, the invaders retired, save from Fort Niagara, which they held until the end of the war. In the following spring (March, 1814) General Wilkinson emerged from his retreat, and, with a portion of his troops, undertook to carry the approaches to Canada from the side of Lake Champlain. But on coming up with a stone mill held by British troops, he abruptly withdrew. A more helpless group than that of the Americans, whether commanders, officers, or soldiers, on the New York frontier, cannot well be conceived. There were exceptions, of course, as in the fleets of Ontario, and especially of Erie; but on shore there was almost unbroken imbecility. The secretary of war himself, General Armstrong, had been upon the ground; he but confirmed the rule.

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As the war, thus pitiaibly prosecuted, entered into its third year (1814), a concentration of efforts, both American and British, took place upon the Niagara frontier. General Brown, the defender of Sackett's Harbour, obtaining the command, and with such supporters as General Scott and other gallant officers, resolved upon crossing to the Canada side. There, with an army of some thirty-five hundred men, he took Fort Erie (July 2nd), gained the battle of Chippewa (July 5th), and drove the enemy, under General Riall, from the frontier, save from a single stronghold, Fort George. The British, however, on being reinforced, returned under Generals Riall and Drummond, and met the Americans at Lundy's Lane—the most of an action that had as yet been fought during the war. It was within the roar of Niagara that the opposing lines crossed their swords and opened their batteries. Begun by Scott, in advance of the main body, which soon came up under Brown, the battle was continued until midnight, to the advantage of the American army (July 25th). But they were unable to follow up or even to maintain their success, and fell back upon Fort Erie. Thither the British proceeded, and after a night assault laid siege to the place, then under the command of General Gaines. As soon as Brown, who had withdrawn to recover from his wounds, resumed his command at the fort, he at once ordered a sortie, the result being the raising of the siege (September 17th). He was soon after called away to defend Sackett's Harbour, the British having the upper hand on the lake. His successor in command on the Niagara frontier, General Izard, blew up Fort Erie, and abandoned the Canada shore (November).

Meanwhile the American arms had distinguished themselves on the side of Lake Champlain. Thither descended the British general, Prevost, with twelve thousand soldiers, lately arrived from Europe, his object being to carry the American works at Plattsburg, and to drive the American vessels from the waters. He was totally unsuccessful. Captain McDonough, after long exertions, had constructed a fleet, with which he now met and overwhelmed the British squadron. The land attack upon the few thousand regulars and militia under General Macomb was hardly begun before it was given over in consequence of the naval action (September 11th). No engagement in the war, before or after, was more unequal in point of force, the British being greatly the superiors; yet none was more decisive.<sup>f</sup>

Of this victory, won when McDonough was only thirty years old, Theodore Roosevelt says: "The effects of the victory were immediate and of the highest importance. Sir George Prevost and his army at once fled in great haste and confusion back to Canada, leaving our northern frontier clear for the remainder of the war; while the victory had a very great effect on the negotiations for peace. McDonough in this battle won a higher fame than any other commander of the war, British or American. He had a decidedly superior force to contend against, the officers and men of the two sides being about on a par in every respect; and it was solely owing to his foresight and resource that we won the victory. He forced the British to engage at a disadvantage by his excellent choice of position, and he prepared beforehand for every possible contingency. His personal prowess had already been shown at the cost of the rovers of Tripoli, and in this action he helped fight the guns as ably as the best sailor. His skill, seamanship, quick eye, readiness of resource, and indomitable pluck are beyond all praise. Down to the time of the Civil War he is the greatest figure in our naval history. A thoroughly religious man, he was as generous and humane as he was skilful and brave; one of the greatest of our sea captains, he has left a stainless name behind him." <sup>bb</sup>

[1812-1814 A.D.]

## NAVAL DUELS AT SEA

The British superiority observable at Lake Champlain and elsewhere requires a word of explanation. Napoleon, fallen some months before, had left the armies and fleets of Great Britain free to act in other scenes than those to which they had been so long confined. The war with the United States had acquired no new importance in sight of the British authorities, but it was time to crush the adversary that had dared to brave them. The troops transported to America—some to Canada, as we have seen, some to other places, as we shall soon see—were superior to the Americans generally in numbers, and always in appointments and in discipline. They were the men to whom France had succumbed; it must have seemed impossible that the United States should resist them.

The apprehensions of the enemy, aroused by some of the operations on land, had been highly excited by some of those at sea. Before the gallant actions upon the lakes, a succession of remarkable exploits had occurred upon the ocean. It had been the policy of the republican administration to keep down the navy which their federalist predecessors had encouraged. But the navy, or that fragment of one which remained, returned good for evil. The frigate *Essex*, under Captain Porter, took the sloop of war *Alert* off the northern coast (August 13th, 1812); the frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, took the frigate *Guerrière* in the gulf of St. Lawrence (August 19th)<sup>1</sup>; the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jones, took the brig *Frolic*, both, however, falling prizes to the seventy-four *Poictiers*, not far from the Bermudas (October 13th); the frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur, took the frigate *Macedonian* off the Azores (October 25th); and the *Constitution* again, now under Captain Bainbridge, took the frigate *Java* off Brazil (December 29th). This series of triumphs was broken by but two reverses, the capture of the brig *Nautilus* by the British squadron, and that of the brig *Vixen* by the British frigate *Southampton*, both off the Atlantic coast. Nothing could be more striking than the effect upon both the nations that were at war. The British started with amazement, not to say terror, at the idea of their ships, their cherished instruments of superiority at sea, yielding to an enemy. The Americans were proportionately animated; they were for once united in a common feeling of pride and national honour.

Here, however, the impulse ceased, or began to cease. The navy was too inconsiderable to continue the contest, the nation too inactive to recruit its numbers and its powers. The captures of the succeeding period of the war, though made with quite as much gallantry, were of much less importance; while one vessel after another, beginning with the frigate *Chesapeake*, off Boston harbour (June 1st, 1813), was forced to strike to Shannon. Many of the larger ships were hemmed in by the British blockade, when this, commencing with the war, was extended along the entire coast. The last glimmer of naval victory for the time was the defeat of the sloop-of-war *Avon* by the *Wasp*, Captain Blakely, off the French coast (September 1st, 1814). But a few weeks later the *Wasp* was lost with all its crew, leaving not a single vessel of the United States navy on the seas. Every one that had escaped the perils of the ocean and of war was shut up in port behind the greatly superior squadrons of Great Britain.

<sup>1</sup> A small affair it might appear among the world's battles; it took but half an hour, but in that one half hour the United States of America rose to the rank of a first-class power.—HENRY ADAMS.<sup>22</sup>

## BRITISH RAVAGES; THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON

The coast, from the first blockaded, and occasionally visited by invading parties of the British, was in an appalling state (1814). Eastport was taken; Castine, Belfast, and Machias were seized, with claims against the whole country east of the Penobscot: Cape Cod, or some of the towns upon it, had to purchase safety; Stonington was bombarded. Fortifications were hastily thrown up wherever they could be by the Americans; the militia was called out by the states, and the general government was urged to despatch its regular troops to the menaced shores. It was officially announced by the British admiral, Cochrane, that he was imperatively instructed "to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the United States found accessive to the attack of British armaments." This was not war, but devastation.

The Chesapeake, long a favoured point for the British descents, was now occupied by a large, indeed a double, fleet, under admirals Cochrane and Cockburn, with several thousand land troops and marines under General Ross. This body, landing about fifty miles from Washington, marched against that city, while the American militia retreated hither and thither, making a stand for a few moments only at Bladensburg (August 24th). On the evening following this rout the British took possession of Washington, and next day proceeded to carry out the orders announced by the admiral. Stores were destroyed; a frigate and a sloop were burned; the public buildings, including the Capitol, and even the mansion of the president, were plundered and fired. Against this "unwarrantable extension of the ravages of war," as it is styled by a British writer, the United States had no right to complain, remembering the burning of the parliament house at York, or the destruction of Newark, in the preceding year, although both these outrages had been already avenged on the New York frontier. A few hours were enough for the work of ruin at Washington (August 25th), and the British returned to their ships. On August 29th some frigates appeared off Alexandria, and extorted an enormous ransom for the town. Everything on the American side was helplessness and submission. The president and his cabinet had reviewed the troops, which mustered to the number of several thousands; generals and officers had been thick upon the field; but there was no consistent counsel, no steadfast action, and the country lay as open to the enemy as if it had been uninhabited.

It is a relief to return to Baltimore. Fresh from their marauding victories, the British landed at North Point, some miles below that city. They were too strong for the Americans, who retired, but not until after a bravely contested battle, in which the British commander, General Ross, was slain (September 12th). As the army advanced against the town, the next day, the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry, an inconsiderable defence just below Baltimore. But the bombardment and the advance proving ineffectual, the invaders retreated. They had been courageously met, triumphantly repelled. North Point and Fort McHenry are names which shine out, like those of Erie and Champlain, brilliant amidst encompassing darkness.

As if one war were not enough for a nation so hard pressed, another had broken out. The Indians on the northwest, the followers of Tecumseh, and others besides, were but the allies of the British. Independent foes, fighting altogether for themselves, uprose in the Creeks of the Mississippi Territory, where they surprised some hundreds of Americans at Fort Mims (August, 1813). Numerous bodies of border volunteers at once started for the haunts

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of the enemy, chief amongst the number being the troops of Tennessee, under General Jackson. Penetrating into the heart of the Creek country, after various bloody encounters, Jackson at length routed the main body of the foe at a place called Tohopeka [Horseshoe Bend] (March 27th, 1814). A few months after, he concluded a treaty, by which the Creeks surrendered the larger part of their territory.

Enough remained, as has been seen, to keep the nation in sad straits. There were various causes to produce the same effect. To raise the very first essential for carrying on a war, a sufficient army, had been found impossible, notwithstanding all sorts of new provisions to facilitate the operation. It was in vain to increase the bounties, in vain even to authorise the enlistment of minors without the consent of their parents or masters; all allurements failed. The chief reliance of the government was necessarily upon the militia, about which the same controversies continued as those already mentioned between the federal and the state authorities. Yet, to show the extent to which the opposition party indulged itself in embarrassing the government, an alarm was sounded against the national forces, small though they were, as threatening the liberties of the country.

But the army was not the only point of difficulty. To prevent supplies to the forces of the enemy, as well as to cut him off from all advantages of commerce with the United States, a new embargo was laid (December, 1813). So severe were its restrictions, affecting even the coasting trade and the fishery, that Massachusetts called it another Boston port bill, and pronounced it, by her legislature, to be unconstitutional. It was repealed in a few months, and with it the non-importation act, which, in one shape or another, had hung upon the commercial interests of the nation for years (April, 1814). More serious by far were the financial embarrassments of the government. All efforts to relieve the treasury had been wholly inadequate. Loan after loan was contracted, tax after tax was laid, until carriages, furniture, paper, and even watches were assessed, while plans were formed for other means, such as the creation of a national bank, the earlier one having expired according to the provisions of its charter. But the state to which the finances at length arrived was this: that while eleven millions of revenue were all to be counted upon—ten from taxes, and only one from customs duties—fifty millions were needed for the expenditures of the year (1815). It did not ease matters when a large number of the banks of the country suspended specie payments (August, 1814).

The opposition to the war had never ceased. It rested, indeed, on foundations too deep to be lightly moved. Below the points immediately relating to the war itself were the earlier questions arising during the operation of the government, nay, the still earlier ones that arose with the government—the questions of the constitution. All these had been brought out into contrast and into collision by the conflict with Great Britain./

#### A. B. HART ON THE SECESSION MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND (1814 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>

Positive and dangerous opposition had been urged in New England from the beginning of the war. Besides the sacrifice of men, Massachusetts furnished more money for the war than Virginia. In the elections of 1812 and 1813 the federalists obtained control of every New England state govern-

<sup>1</sup> Reproduced by permission. Copyright, 1897, by Longmans, Green, & Co.]

ment, and secured most of the New England members of congress. The temper of this federalist majority may be seen in a succession of addresses and speeches in the Massachusetts legislature. On June 15th, 1813, Josiah Quincy offered a resolution that "in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause and prosecuted in a manner which indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any approbation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defence of our seacoast and soil." As the pressure of the war grew heavier, the tone in New England grew sterner. On February 18th, 1814, a report was made to the Massachusetts legislature containing a declaration, taken almost literally from Madison's Virginia Resolution of 1798, that "whenever the national compact is violated, and the citizens of the state oppressed by cruel and unauthorised laws, this legislature is bound to interpose its power and wrest from the oppressor his victim."

The success of the British attacks in August and September, 1814, seemed to indicate the failure of the war. Congress met on September 19th to confront the growing danger; but it refused to authorise a new levy of troops; it refused to accept a proposition for a new United States Bank; it consented with reluctance to new taxes. The time seemed to have arrived when the protests of New England against the continuance of the war might be made effective. The initiative was taken by Massachusetts, which, on October 16th, voted to raise \$1,000,000 to support a state army of ten thousand troops, and to ask the other New England states to meet in convention.

On December 15th, 1814, delegates assembled at Hartford from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, with unofficial representatives from New Hampshire and Vermont. The head of the Massachusetts delegation was George Cabot, who had been chosen because of his known opposition to the secession of that state. As he said himself, "We are going to keep you young hot-heads from getting into mischief." The expectation throughout the country was that the Hartford convention would recommend secession. Jefferson wrote: "Some apprehended danger from the defection of Massachusetts. It is a disagreeable circumstance, but not a dangerous one. If they become neutral, we are sufficient for one enemy without them; and, in fact, we get no aid from them now."

After a session of three weeks, the Hartford convention adjourned, January 14th, 1815, and published a formal report. They declared that the constitution had been violated, and that "states which have no common umpire must be their own judges and execute their own decisions." They submitted a list of amendments to the constitution intended to protect a minority of states from aggressions on the part of the majority. Finally they submitted, as their ultimatum, that they should be allowed to retain the proceeds of the national customs duties collected within their borders. Behind the whole document was the implied intention to withdraw from the Union if this demand were not complied with. To comply was to deprive the United States of its financial power, and was virtually a dissolution of the constitution. The delegates who were sent to present this powerful remonstrance to congress were silenced by the news that peace had been declared.<sup>b</sup>

#### ANDREW JACKSON'S VICTORY AT NEW ORLEANS

Late in the summer preceding the Hartford convention a British party landed at Pensacola, whose Spanish possessors were supposed to be inclined to side against the United States. An attack, in the early autumn, upon

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Fort Bowyer, thirty miles from Mobile, was repelled by the small but heroic garrison under Major Lawrence (September 15th). A month or two afterwards General Jackson advanced against Pensacola with a force so formidable that the British withdrew, Jackson then resigning the town to the Spanish authorities, and repairing to New Orleans, against which the enemy was believed to be preparing an expedition (November). There he busied himself in raising his forces and providing his defences, until the British arrived upon the coast. After capturing a feeble flotilla of the Americans, they began their advance against the capital of Louisiana (December). They were ten thousand and upwards; the Americans not more than half as numerous. Jackson, on learning of their approach, marched directly against them, surprising them in their camp by night, and dealing them a blow from which they hardly seem to have recovered (December 23rd). They soon, however, resumed the offensive under Sir Edward Pakenham, advancing thrice against the American lines, but thrice retreating. The last action goes by the name of the battle of New Orleans. It resulted in the defeat of the enemy, with the loss of Pakenham and two thousand besides, the Americans losing less than a hundred (January 8th, 1815).<sup>f</sup> At the close of the battle some five hundred of the British rose unhurt from among the dead and gave themselves up as prisoners. To save their lives, they had dropped down and lain as if dead until the battle was over.<sup>g</sup> The British retired to the sea, taking Fort Bowyer, the same that had resisted an attack the autumn before (February 12th). Louisiana had been nobly defended, and not by the energy of Jackson alone, nor by the resolution of her own people, but by the generous spirit with which the entire South-west sent its sons to her rescue. [Even the outlawed pirates of Barataria, under Jean Lafitte, refused British advances and aided Jackson.]

Jackson had hesitated at nothing in defending New Orleans. Upon the approach of the British, he proclaimed martial law; he continued it after their departure. The author of a newspaper article reflecting upon the general's conduct was sent to prison to await trial for life. The United States district judge was arrested and expelled from the city for having issued a writ of habeas corpus in the prisoner's behalf; and on the district attorney's applying to the state court in behalf of the judge, he, too, was banished. On the proclamation of peace, martial law was necessarily suspended. The judge returned, and summoning the general before him imposed a fine of \$1,000. The sum was paid by Jackson, but was offered to be repaid to him by a subscription, which proved public opinion to sustain his determined course. Refusing to receive the subscription, he was reimbursed, nearly thirty years afterwards, by order of congress.



ANDREW JACKSON  
(1767-1845)

## THE NAVY REAPPEARS; THE PEACE OF GHENT

While these events were going on by land, the sea was for a time abandoned, at least by all national vessels. Privateers continued their work of plunder and of destruction—a work which, however miserable to contemplate, doubtless had its effect in bringing the war to a close. But the navy of the nation had disappeared from the ocean. It presently reappeared in the shape of its pride and ornament, the *Constitution*, which, under her new commander, Stewart, got to sea from Boston (December, 1814). The *President*, *Hornet*, and *Peacock* did the same from New York, the *President* being immediately captured, though not without a severe combat, by the British cruisers (January, 1815). Her loss was avenged by the sister vessels; the *Constitution* taking two sloops of war at once—the *Cyane* and the *Levant*—off Madeira (February 20th); the *Hornet* sloop taking the *Penguin* brig off the island of Tristan da Cunha (March 23rd); and the *Peacock* sloop taking the *Nautilus*, an East India's Company's cruiser, off Sumatra (June 30th).<sup>1</sup> All these actions were subsequent to a treaty of peace.

The war had not continued a year when the administration accepted an offer of Russian mediation, and despatched envoys to treat of peace. Great Britain declined the mediation of Russia, but offered to enter into negotiations either at London or at Gottenburg. The American government chose the latter place. But on the news of the triumph of Great Britain and her allies over Napoleon, the demands of the United States were sensibly modified. The administration and its party declared that the pacification of Europe did away with the very abuses of which America had to complain; in other words, that there would be no blockades or impressments in time of peace.

Four months and a half elapsed before coming to terms. The British demands, especially on the point of retaining the conquests made during the war, were altogether inadmissible. A treaty was consequently framed at Ghent, restoring the conquests on either side, and providing commissioners to arrange the boundary and other minor questions between the nations (December 24th). The objects of the war, according to the declarations at its outbreak, were not mentioned in the articles by which it was closed; yet the United States did not hesitate to ratify the treaty (February 18th). Within a week afterwards the president recommended "the navigation of American vessels by American seamen, either natives or such as are already naturalised"; the reason assigned being "to guard against incidents which, during the periods of war in Europe, might tend to interrupt peace." What could not be gained by treaty might be secured by legislation.

Though much was waived for the sake of peace, one principle, if no more, had been maintained for the country. In the first year of the war the British had set out to treat some Irishmen taken while fighting on the American side, not as ordinary prisoners of war but as traitors to Great Britain. On their being sent to be tried for treason in England, congress aroused itself in their behalf, and authorised the adoption of retaliatory measures. An equal number of British captives was presently imprisoned, and when the British retorted by ordering twice as many American officers into confinement, the Americans

<sup>1</sup> "Thus terminated at sea," says the British historian Alison, "this memorable contest, in which the English, for the first time for a century and a half, met with equal antagonists on their own element; and in recounting which, the British historian, at a loss whether to admire most the devoted heroism of his own countrymen or the gallant bearing of their antagonists, feels almost equally warmed in narrating either side of the strife."

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did the same by the British officers in their power. The British government went so far as to order its commanders, in case any retaliation was inflicted upon the prisoners in American hands, to destroy the towns and their inhabitants upon the coast. It was at this juncture that Massachusetts, as already alluded to, appeared in the lines of nullification. All along there had been very little sympathy, among the opposition, for the humane professions of defending the sailor and the stranger, upon which the administration party were apt to discourse rather than to act. The federalist majority in Massachusetts, caring little for the fate of the Irish prisoners, forbade the use of the state prisons for the British officers now ordered to be confined (February, 1814). The matter was set at rest by the retraction of the British government, who consented to treat the Irishmen as prisoners of war. Proclamation was made pardoning all past offences of the sort, but threatening future ones with the penalties of treason—a threat that was never attempted to be fulfilled (July). So the Americans gained their point, a point for which the early settlers had laboured, and for which the true men of the revolution had struggled—the protection of foreigners. Some months after the Treaty of Ghent, a treaty was made with the Indians of the Northwest. Such as had been at war agreed to bury the tomahawk, and to join with such as had been at peace in new relations with the United States (September).

Another treaty had been made by this time. It was with the dey of Algiers, who had gone to war with the United States in the same year that Great Britain did. The United States, however, had paid no attention to the inferior enemy until relieved of the superior. Then was war declared, and a fleet despatched, under Commodore Decatur, by which captures were made, and terms dictated to the Algerine. The treaty not only surrendered all American prisoners, and indemnified all American losses in the war, but renounced the claim of tribute on the part of Algiers (June). Tunis and Tripoli being brought to terms, the United States were no longer tributary to pirates.

There had been strength enough to deal the blow against Algiers. But the nation was in a state of nearly complete exhaustion. This remark is not meant to apply to individual cases of embarrassment and destitution produced by the war; for while many had lost, as many more had gained a competence or a fortune. But the nation, as a whole, was, for the moment, exhausted. Madison had been re-elected president, with Elbridge Gerry as vice-president, in the first year of the war with Great Britain. If he really consented to war as the price of his re-election, he had had his reward. The difficulties of his second term weighed upon him, crushed him. He welcomed peace, as his party welcomed it—in fact, as the whole nation welcomed it—with the same sensations of relief that men would feel in an earthquake, when the earth, yawning at their feet, suddenly closed. To see from what the government and the nation were saved, it is sufficient to read that systems of conscription for the army and of impressment for the navy were amongst the projects pending at the close of a war which had increased the public debt by one hundred and twenty million dollars.<sup>f</sup> Channing<sup>hh</sup> declares that “the war of 1812 settled two great questions within the United States.” First, it brought the American people for the first time to a realising sense of nationality, causing the federalist party to lose popularity so steadily that in 1820 it cast not one electoral vote. Secondly, the war taught the American people the danger of foreign complications; it opened their eyes to the fact that they were not a province but a nation. In a sense, then, it is correct, Channing declares, to speak of the war of 1812 as a Second War of Independence.<sup>a</sup>

THEODORE ROOSEVELT ON THE RESULTS OF THE WAR OF 1812<sup>1</sup>

Neither side succeeded in doing what it intended. Americans declared that Canada must and should be conquered, but the conquering came quite as near being the other way. British writers insisted that the American navy should be swept from the seas; and during the sweeping process it increased fourfold.

When the United States declared war, Great Britain was straining every nerve and muscle in a death-struggle with the most formidable military despotism of modern times, and was obliged to intrust the defence of her Canadian colonies to a mere handful of regulars, aided by the local fencibles. But congress had provided even fewer trained soldiers, and relied on militia. The latter chiefly exercised their fighting abilities upon one another in duelling, and, as a rule, were afflicted with conscientious scruples whenever it was necessary to cross the frontier and attack the enemy. Accordingly, the campaign opened with the bloodless surrender of an American general to a much inferior British force, and the war continued much as it had begun; we suffered disgrace after disgrace, while the losses we inflicted, in turn, on Great Britain were so slight as hardly to attract her attention. At last, having crushed her greater foe, she turned to crush the lesser, and, in her turn, suffered ignominious defeat. By this time events had gradually developed a small number of soldiers on our northern frontier, who, commanded by Scott and Brown, were able to contend on equal terms with the veteran troops to whom they were opposed, though these formed part of what was then undoubtedly the most formidable fighting infantry any European nation possessed. The battles at this period of the struggle were remarkable for the skill and stubborn courage with which they were waged, as well as for the heavy loss involved; but the number of combatants was so small that in Europe they would have been regarded as mere outpost skirmishes, and they wholly failed to attract any attention abroad in that period of colossal armies.

In summing up the results of the struggle on the ocean it is to be noticed that very little was attempted, and nothing done, by the American navy that could materially affect the result of the war. Commodore Rodgers' expedition after the Jamaica Plate fleet failed; both the efforts to get a small squadron into the East Indian waters also miscarried; and otherwise the whole history of the struggle on the ocean is, as regards the Americans, only the record of individual cruises and fights. The material results were not very great, at least in their effect on Great Britain, whose enormous navy did not feel in the slightest degree the loss of a few frigates and sloops. But morally the result was of inestimable benefit to the United States. The victories kept up the spirits of the people, cast down by the defeats on land; practically decided in favour of the Americans the chief question in dispute—Great Britain's right of search and impressment—and gave the navy and thereby the country a world-wide reputation. I doubt if ever before a nation gained so much honour by a few single-ship duels; for there can be no question which side came out of the war with the greatest credit. The damage inflicted by each on the other was not very equal in amount, but the balance was certainly in favour of the United States, as can be seen

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by the following tables, for the details of which reference can be made to the various years:

CAUSED	AMERICAN LOSS		BRITISH LOSS	
	TONNAGE	GUNS	TONNAGE	GUNS
By ocean cruisers .....	5,984	278	8,451	351
On the lakes .....	727	37	4,159	212
By the army .....	3,007	116	500	22
By privateers .....	.....	...	402	20
Total .....	9,718	431	13,512	605

In addition we lost four revenue-cutters, mounting twenty-four guns, and, in the aggregate, of three hundred and eighty-seven tons, and also twenty-five gunboats, with seventy-one guns, and, in the aggregate, of nearly two thousand tons. This would swell our loss to twelve thousand one hundred and five tons and five hundred and twenty-six guns;<sup>1</sup> but the loss of the revenue-cutters and gunboats can fairly be considered to be counterbalanced by the capture or destruction of the various British royal packets (all armed with from two to ten guns), tenders, barges, etc., which would be in the aggregate of at least as great tonnage and gun force, and with more numerous crews.

But the comparative material loss gives no idea of the comparative honour gained. The British navy, numbering at the outset a thousand cruisers,

<sup>1</sup> This differs greatly from the figures given by James in his *Naval Occurrences*. He makes the American loss 14,844 tons and 660 guns. His list includes, for example, the "*Grouler* and the *Hamilton*, upset in carrying sail to avoid Sir James' fleet"; it would be quite as reasonable to put down the loss of the *Royal George* to the credit of the French. Then he mentions the *Julia* and the *Grouler*, which were recaptured; the *Asp*, which was also recaptured; the "*New York*, 46, destroyed at Washington," which was not destroyed or harmed in any way, and which, moreover, was a condemned hulk; the "*Boston*, 42 [in reality 32], destroyed at Washington," which had been a condemned hulk for ten years, and had no guns or anything else in her, and was as much a loss to our navy as the fishing up and burning of an old wreck would have been; and eight gunboats whose destruction was either mythical, or else which were not national vessels. By deducting all these we reduce James' total by 120 guns and 2,600 tons; and a few alterations (such as excluding the swivels in the *President's* tops, which he counts, etc.) brings his number down to that given above—and also affords a good idea of the value to be attached to his figures and tables. The British loss he gives at but 530 guns and 10,273 tons. He omits the 24-gun ship burned by Chauncey at York, although including the frigate and corvette burned by Ross at Washington; if the former is excluded the two latter should be, which would make the balance still more in favour of the Americans. He omits the guns of the *Gloucester*, because they had been taken out of her and placed in battery on the shore, but he includes those of the *Adams*, which had been served in precisely the same way. He omits all reference to the British 14-gun schooner burned on Ontario, and to all 8- and 4-gun sloops and schooners captured there, although including the corresponding American vessels. The reason that he so much underestimates the tonnage, especially on the lakes, I have elsewhere discussed. His tables of the relative loss in men are even more erroneous, exaggerating that of the Americans and greatly underestimating that of the British; but I have not tabulated this, on account of the impossibility of getting fair estimates of the killed and wounded in the cutting-out expeditions and the difficulty of enumerating the prisoners taken in descents, etc. Roughly, about 2,700 Americans and 3,800 British were captured; the comparative loss in killed and wounded stood much more in our favour.

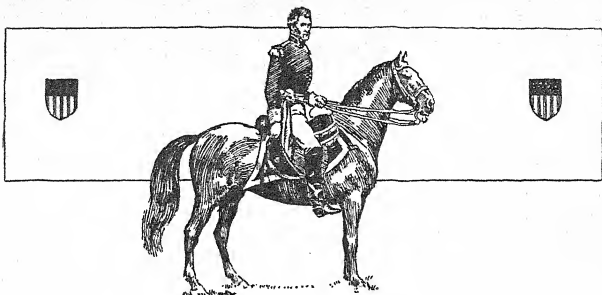
I have excluded from the British loss the brigs *Detroit* and *Caledonia* and schooner *Nancy* (aggregating ten guns and about 500 tons) destroyed on the upper lakes, because I hardly know whether they could be considered national vessels; the schooner *Hightflyer*, of eight guns, forty men, and 209 tons, taken by Rodgers, because she seems to have been merely a tender; and the *Dominica*, 15, of seventy-seven men and 270 tons, because her captor, the privateer *Decatur*, though nominally an American, was really a French vessel. Of course both tables are only approximately exact; but at any rate the balance of damage and loss was over four to three in our favour.

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had accomplished less than the American, which numbered but a dozen. Moreover, most of the loss suffered by the former was in single fight, while this had been but twice the case with the Americans, who had generally been overwhelmed by numbers. Of the twelve single-ship actions, two (those of the *Argus* and the *Chesapeake*) undoubtedly redounded most to the credit of the British, in two (that of the *Wasp* with the *Reindeer*, and that of the *Enterprise* with the *Boxer*) the honours were nearly even, and in the other eight the superiority of the Americans was very manifest.

In the American navy, unlike the British, there was no impressment; the sailor was a volunteer, and he shipped in whatever craft his fancy selected. Throughout the war there were no "picked crews" on the American side, excepting on the last two cruises of the *Constitution*, James' statement to the contrary being in every case utterly without foundation. One of the standard statements made by the British historians about the war is that our ships were mainly or largely manned by British sailors. This, if true, would not interfere with the lessons which it teaches; and, besides that, it is not true.<sup>bb</sup>





## CHAPTER IX

### THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

[1814-1848 A.D.]

At last, after a period of five-and-twenty years, the people of the United States were free to attend to their own concerns in their own way, unmolested by foreign nations. From 1793 to 1815 the questions which occupied the public mind were neutral rights, orders in council, French decrees, impressment, embargoes, treaties, non-intercourse acts, admiralty decisions, blockades, the conduct of England, the conduct of France, the insolence of the French Directory, the triumphs, the ambition, and the treachery of Napoleon. Henceforth for many years to come, the questions of the day were to be the state of the currency, the national bank, manufactures, the tariff, internal improvements, interstate commerce, the public lands, the astonishing growth of the West, the rights of the states, extension of slavery, and the true place of the supreme court in the system of government. On the day, therefore, when Madison issued his proclamation announcing peace, a new era in the national history was opened.—JOHN BACH McMASTER.<sup>b</sup>

#### AFTERMATH OF THE WAR; MONROE'S PRESIDENCY

THE idea that the United States emerged from the contest with Great Britain with its citizens self-satisfied, and strangers applauding, is certainly a grateful one. But it is difficult to find the authority upon which it rests. To begin with foreign powers, and with the one most likely to be impressed with American grandeur—Great Britain—she appears absorbed in other interests of much larger importance in her eyes. A commercial convention was framed in the summer following the peace; but it left many matters undetermined, many unsatisfactorily determined. As for the negotiations ordered by the Treaty of Ghent, they were begun upon, yet so idly that conclusions were not reached for years and years. Other nations showed even less inclination to come to terms. France, Spain, Naples, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden were all in arrears on the score of indemnities for spolia-

[1815-1825 A.D.]

tions upon American commerce; and most of them remained in arrears until a subsequent period. An act of congress invited maritime powers to abandon the restrictions hitherto placed upon commerce; but the invitation was by no means generally accepted (March, 1815).

At home, affairs were in an equally unsettled state. The war establishment was lowered; a new tariff was adopted at once, to increase the revenue of the government and to encourage the industry of the people; the system of taxation was reformed by the gradual abolition of direct and internal taxes. To aid in restoring the currency, and in directing the finances generally, a new Bank of the United States was chartered (March, 1816). All this was not done in a day; nor was there any instantaneous revival of commerce and of industry. On the contrary, periods of depression recurred, in which individual fortunes vanished and national resources failed. But the general tendency was towards recovery from the disorders into which the country had been plunged by the recent war.

Madison's troubled administration came to an end. James Monroe was the president for the next eight years (1817-1825), with Daniel D. Tompkins as vice-president. Monroe, once an extreme but latterly a moderate republican, so far conciliated all parties as to be re-elected with but one electoral vote against him. Old parties were dying out. The great question of the period, to be set forth presently, was one with which republicans and federalists, as such, had nothing to do.

#### THE SEMINOLE WAR AND ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

The new administration had but just opened, when the Seminole War, as it was styled, broke out with the Creeks of Georgia and Florida. Conflicts between the borderers and some of the Indians lingering in the territory ceded several years before led to a determination of the United States government to clear the country of the hostile tribes (November, 1817). A war, of course, ensued, beginning with massacres on both sides, and ending with a spoiling, burning, slaying expedition, half militia and half Indians, under General Andrew Jackson, the conqueror of the Creeks in the preceding war (March, 1818). On the pretext that the Spanish authorities countenanced the hostilities of the Indians, Jackson took St. Mark's and Pensacola, not without some ideas of seizing even St. Augustine. He also put to death, within the Spanish limits, two British subjects accused of stirring up the Indians (March, May), so that the war, though called the Seminole, might as well be called the Florida War. The Spanish minister protested against the invasion of the Florida Territory, of which the restitution was immediately ordered at Washington, though not without approbation of the course pursued by Jackson.

Florida was a sore spot on more accounts than one. The old trouble of boundaries had never been settled; but that was a trifle compared with the later troubles arising from fugitive criminals, fugitive slaves, smugglers, pirates, and, as recently shown, Indians, to whom Florida furnished not only a refuge but a starting-point. The Spanish authorities, themselves by no means inclined to respect their neighbours of the United States, had no power to make others respect them. Former difficulties, especially those upon American indemnities, were not settled; while new ones had gathered in consequence of South American revolutions, and North American dispositions to side with the revolutionists. The proposal of an earlier time

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to purchase Florida was renewed by the United States. A treaty was concluded. On the payment of \$5,000,000 by the American government to citizens who claimed indemnity from Spain, that power agreed to relinquish the Floridas, East and West (February 22nd, 1819). It was nearly two years, however, before Spain ratified the treaty, and fully two before Florida Territory formed a part of the United States (1821).

## THE SLAVERY QUESTION; THE MISSOURI COMPROMISES

The state of Connecticut, hitherto content with her charter government, at length adopted a new constitution, in which there was but little improvement upon the old one, except in making suffrage general and the support of a church system voluntary (1818). New constitutions and new states were constantly in process of formation. Indiana (December 11th, 1816), Mississippi (December 10th, 1817), Illinois (December 3rd, 1818), and Alabama (December 14th, 1819), all became members of the Union. The eastern half of the Mississippi Territory had become the territory of Alabama in 1817.

Before the definite accession of Alabama, Missouri was proposed as a candidate for admission. It was a slaveholding territory. But when the preliminary steps to its becoming a state were begun upon in congress, a New York representative, James Tallmadge, moved that no more slaves should be brought in, and that the children of those already there should be liberated at the age of twenty-five. On the failure of this motion, another New York representative, John W. Taylor, moved to prohibit slavery in the entire territory to the north of latitude thirty-six degrees thirty minutes. This, too, was lost. A bill setting off the portion of Missouri Territory to the south of the line just named, as the territory of Arkansas, was passed. But nothing was done towards establishing the state of Missouri (February, March, 1819).

Nothing, unless it were the debate, in which the question at issue became clear. There were two reasons, it then appeared, for making Missouri a free state; one, that it was the turn for a free state, the last (Alabama)<sup>1</sup> having been a slave state; while, of the eight admitted since the constitution, four had been free and four slave states. Another and a broader reason was urged, to the effect that slavery ought not to be permitted in any state or territory where it could be prohibited. On this, the northern views were the more earnest, in that the nation had committed itself by successive acts to a course too tolerant, if not too favourable, towards slavery. First, it will be recollected, came the organisation of the territory south of the Ohio; next, that of the Mississippi Territory; and afterwards, the acquisition and the organisation of Louisiana. All these proceedings were national, and all either acknowledged or extended the area of slavery. Kentucky had been admitted a slave state as a part of Virginia; Mississippi and Alabama as parts of the Mississippi Territory. To carry out the same course would have insured the admission of Missouri as a part of the Louisiana acquisition; and on this the southern members strongly insisted. To this, on the contrary, the North demurred, determined, if possible, to stop the movement that had thus far prevailed.

Greater stress was laid on the constitutional argument. The proposal to oblige Missouri to become a free state, said the advocates of slavery, is

<sup>1</sup> Not yet actually admitted, but authorised to apply for admission in the usual way.

a violation of the constitution. That sovereign authority, they declared, leaves the state itself in all cases to settle the matter of slavery, as well as all other matters not expressly subjected to the general government. To this a twofold answer was returned: first, that Missouri was not a state, but a territory, and therefore subject to the control of congress; and, second, that even if regarded as a state, she would not be one of the original thirteen, to which alone belonged the powers reserved under the constitution. Therefore congress could deal with her as it pleased. It was moreover argued that congress ought to arrest the progress of slavery, as a point upon which the national welfare was staked; a point, therefore, to which the authority of the general government was expressly and indispensably applicable according to the constitution.

Had it been an outbreak of hostilities, had it been a march of one half the country against the other, there could hardly have been a more intense agitation. The attempted prohibition of slavery was denounced in congress as the preliminary to a negro massacre, to a civil war, to a dissolution of the Union. Out of congress, it provoked such language as that used by the aged Jefferson: "The Missouri question," he wrote, "is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt, and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker Hill to the Treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question."<sup>1</sup> Public meetings were held; those at the South to repel the interference of the North, those at the North to rebuke the pretensions of the South. The dispute extended into the tribunals and the legislatures of the states, the northern declaring that Missouri must be for freemen only, the southern that it must be for freemen and for slaves.

So stood the matter as the year drew to a close and congress reassembled. A new turn was then given to the question, by the application of Maine to be received as a state, Massachusetts having consented to the separation. "Here, then, is the free state to match with Alabama," exclaimed the partisans of slavery in Missouri; "now give us our slave state." But the opponents of slavery did not yield; they had planted themselves on principles, they said, not on numbers. At this the South was naturally indignant. It had been a plea all along that a free state was due to the North; and now, when one was forthcoming, two were claimed. If the reply was made that Maine, being but a division of Massachusetts, was no addition to the northern strength, this did not content the South. Feelings of bitterness and of injustice were aroused between both parties; both drew farther apart. If peace did not come, war would, and that soon.

The senate united Maine and Missouri in the same bill and on the same terms, that is, without any restriction upon slavery. But a clause introduced on the motion of Jesse B. Thomas, of Illinois, prohibited the introduction of slavery into any portion of the Louisiana territory as yet unorganised, leaving Louisiana the state and Arkansas the territory, as well as Missouri, just what they were, that is, slaveholding. This was the Missouri Compromise. It came from the North. On the part of the North, it yielded the claim to Missouri as a free state; on the part of the South, it yielded the claim to the immensely larger regions which stretched above and beyond Missouri to the Pacific. The line of 36° 30', proposed the year before, was again proposed, save only that Missouri, though north of the line, was to be a Southern state. Thus the senate determined, not without opposition from both sides. The house, on the contrary, adopted a bill, admitting

[<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere Jefferson said that the outbreak of the slavery agitation came "like a fire-bell in the night."]

[1820-1825 A.D.]

Missouri, separately from Maine, and under the northern restriction concerning slavery. Words continued to run high. But the proposal of the compromise augured the return of tranquillity. A committee of conference between the two branches of congress led to the agreement of both senate and house upon a bill admitting Missouri, after her constitution should be formed, free of restrictions, but prohibiting slavery north of the line of 36° 30' (March 3rd, 1820). Maine was admitted at the same time (March 3rd-15th).

The compromise prohibited slavery in the designated region forever. This was the letter; but it was under different interpretations. When President Monroe consulted his cabinet upon the question of approving the act of congress, all but his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, inclined to read the prohibition of slavery as applying only to the territories, and not to the states that might arise within the prescribed boundaries. This was not a difference between northern and southern views, but one between strict and liberal constructions of the constitution; the strict construction going against all power in congress to restrict a state, while the liberal took the opposite ground. So with others besides the cabinet. Amongst the very men who voted for the compromise were many, doubtless, who understood it as applying to territories alone. The northern party, unquestionably, adopted it in its broader sense, preventing the state as well as the territory from establishing slavery. That there should be two senses attached to it from the beginning was a dark presage of future differences.

Present differences were not yet overcome. Missouri, rejoicing in becoming a slaveholding state, adopted a constitution which denied even free negroes the rights of citizens. On this being brought before congress towards the close of the year (1820), various tactics were adopted; the extreme southern party going for the immediate admission of the state, while the extreme northern side urged the overthrow of state, constitution, and compromise, together. Henry Clay, at the head of the moderate men, succeeded, after long exertions, in carrying a measure providing for the admission of Missouri as soon as her legislature should solemnly covenant the rights of citizenship to "the citizens of either of the states" (February, 1821). This was done, and Missouri became a state (August 10th).

The United States as a nation were far from insensible to the evils of slavery. Domestic slave trade was permitted and extended. But foreign slave trade, reviving to such a degree that upwards of fourteen thousand slaves were said to have been imported in a single year (1818), provoked general indignation. An act of congress declared fresh and severer penalties to attach to the slave dealer, while to his unhappy victims relief was offered in provisions for their return to their native country (1819). Another act denounced the traffic as piracy (1820). The same denunciation was urged upon foreign governments, one of which, Great Britain, prepared to enter into a convention for the purpose; but the convention fell through (1823-1824).

In the midst of its dissensions and its weakness, the nation was cheered by a visit from La Fayette. He came in compliance with a summons from the government to behold the work which he had assisted in beginning, near half a century before. From the day of his landing (August 16th, 1824) to that of his departure (September 7th, 1825), a period of more than a year, he was, as he described himself, "in a whirlwind of popular kindness of which it was impossible to have formed any previous conception, and in which everything that could touch and flatter one was mingled." To make some amends

for his early sacrifices, pecuniary as well as personal, in the American cause, congress voted La Fayette a township of the public domain, and a grant of \$200,000. He deserved all that could be bestowed.

#### THE MONROE DOCTRINE <sup>1</sup>

It was time for the nation to assume a more elevated attitude. No longer the solitary republic amidst encompassing domains of distant monarchies, the United States now formed one of a band of independent states, stretching from Canada to Patagonia. The others were the Central and South American colonies of Spain, which had spent years in insurrection and in war before their independence was recognised by their elder sister of the north (1822). Ministers plenipotentiary were at the same time appointed to Mexico, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili. As if to make amends for its delay, the administration resolved upon stretching out an arm of defence between the nascent states of the south and the threatening powers of Europe. The purpose of the European allies, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to come to the assistance of Spain, in subduing her insurgent colonies, was well known, when President Monroe, in his seventh annual message (December 2nd, 1823), announced that his administration had asserted in negotiations with Russia, "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers. We owe it," continued the president, "to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

Such was what has since been called the Monroe Doctrine though the author is known to have been the secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, rather than the president. Far from its being intended to make the United States themselves the guardians or the rulers of America, the doctrine, as expounded by its real author, Adams, proposed "that each [American state] will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders." The declaration of the president was designed simply to show that the nation undertook to countenance and to support the independence of its sister nations. As such, it was an honourable deed. Congress, however, declined to sustain it by any formal action.

Some time afterwards, when the author of the Monroe Doctrine had risen to the presidency, an invitation was received by the government from some of the Central and South American states to unite in a congress at Panama. The objects, ranging from mere commercial negotiations up to the Monroe

[<sup>1</sup> On this subject see also the essay in the present volume by A. B. Hart.]

[1825-1826 A.D.]

Doctrine, were rather indefinite; but Adams appointed two envoys, whom the senate confirmed, and for whom the house made the necessary appropriations, though not without great opposition (December, 1825-March, 1826). One of the envoys died, the other did not go upon his mission; so that the congress began and ended without any representation from the United States (June-July). It adjourned to meet at Tacubaya, near Mexico, in the beginning of the following year. The ministers of the United States repaired to the appointed place, and at the appointed time, but there was no congress. Thus terminated the vision of an American league. We can hardly estimate the consequences of its having been realised—on one side the perils to which the United States would have been exposed, and on the other the services which they might have rendered, amongst such confederates as those of Central and of South America.

## PRESIDENCY OF J. Q. ADAMS; TARIFF COMPROMISE, AND NULLIFICATIONS

John Quincy Adams, the son of the second president, was elected by the house of representatives—the electoral college failing to make a choice—to succeed Monroe (1825). Andrew Jackson, a rival candidate, was chosen by the people at the next election (1829). John C. Calhoun was vice-president under both. Two men more unlike than Adams and Jackson, in associations and in principles, could hardly have been found amongst the politicians of the period. They resembled each other, however, in the resolution with which they met the dangers of their times.

The great question before the country for several years was one as old as the constitution; older, even, inasmuch as it occupied a chief place in the debates of the constitutional convention. It was the subordination of the state to the nation. The first occasion to revive the question and to invest it with fresh importance was a controversy between the national government and the government of Georgia. Many years had passed since that state consented to cede her western lands, including the present Alabama and Mississippi, on condition that the government would extinguish the Indian title to the territory of Georgia itself. Of twenty-five millions of acres then held by the Creek nation, fifteen had been bought up by the United States, and transferred to Georgia. Half of the remaining ten millions belonged to the Cherokees, and half to the Creeks, a nominal treaty with the latter of whom declared the United States possessors of all the Creek territory within the limits both of Georgia and of Alabama (1825). This treaty, however, agreed to by but one or two of the chiefs, provoked a general outbreak on the part of the Creeks. To pacify them, or rather to do common justice to them, the government first suspended the treaty, and then entered into a new one, by which the cession of land was confined to the Georgian territory. A longer time was also allowed for the removal of the Indians from the ceded country (April, 1826). What satisfied the Creeks dissatisfied the Georgians or their authorities. Governor Troup accused the administration of violating the law of the land, in the shape of the earlier treaty, hinting at anti-slavery motives for the course that had been taken, and calling upon the adjoining states to "stand by their arms." Not confining himself to protests or defensive measures, Troup sent surveyors into the Indian territory. President Adams communicated the matter to congress, asserting his intention "to enforce the laws and fulfil the duties of the nation by all the force committed for that purpose to his charge." Whereat the governor wrote to the secretary of war,

"From the first decisive act of hostility, you will be considered and treated as a public enemy" (1827). [He also reported to the legislature that the slave states should "confederate."] Fortunately, the winds ceased. The state that had set itself against the nation more decidedly than had ever yet been done returned to its senses. As for the unhappy Indians, not only the Creeks, but all the other tribes that could be persuaded to move, were gradually transported to more distant territories in the West.

Other causes were operating to excite the states, or some of them, against the general government. Amidst the vicissitudes of industry and of trade through which the nation was passing, repeated attempts were made to steady affairs by a series of tariffs in favour of domestic productions. The first measure, intended to serve for protection rather than for revenue, was adopted in 1816. It was a duty, principally, upon cotton fabrics from abroad. Some years afterwards a new scale was framed, with provision against foreign woollens, as well as cottons (1824). This not turning out as advantageous to the home manufactures as was anticipated, an effort for additional protection was made; but at first in vain. On one side were the manufacturers, not merely of cotton and of woollen goods, but of iron, hemp, and a variety of other materials, clustered in the northern and central states; on the other were the merchants, the farmers, and the artisans of the same states, with almost the entire population of the agricultural South.

A convention of the manufacturing interests, attended by delegates from New England, the middle states, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky, was held at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania. "We want protection," was the language used by the delegates, "and it matters not if it amounts to prohibition"; in which spirit they pressed what they called the American system upon the federal government (July-August, 1827). The administration, by the report of the secretary of the treasury, commended the subject to the favourable attention of congress. That body took it up, and after protracted discussions, consented, May 15th, 1828, to a tariff in which the system of protection was carried to its height. Its adversaries called the bill the "Bill of Abominations," many of which, however, were introduced by themselves, with the avowed intention of making the measure as odious and as short-lived as possible.<sup>d</sup>

The tariff law was very obnoxious to the southern people. They denounced it as oppressive and unconstitutional, and it led to menaces of serious evils in 1831 and 1832. The presidential election took place in the autumn of 1828, when the public mind was highly excited. For a long time the opposing parties had been marshalling their forces for the contest. The candidates were John Quincy Adams and General Andrew Jackson. The result was the defeat of Mr. Adams, and the election of General Jackson. John C. Calhoun,<sup>1</sup> of South Carolina, was elected vice-president, and both had very large majorities. During the contest the people appeared to be on the verge of civil war, so violent was the party strife, and so malignant were the denunciations of the candidates. When it was over perfect tranquillity prevailed, and the people acquiesced in the result. President Adams retired from office on the 4th of March, 1829. He left to his successor a legacy of unexampled national prosperity, peaceful relations with all the world, a greatly diminished

<sup>1</sup> John C. Calhoun was born in South Carolina in 1782. He first appeared in congress in 1811, and was always distinguished for his consistency, especially in his support of the institution of slavery and the doctrine of state rights. He was a sound and incorruptible statesman, and commanded the thorough respect of the whole country. He died at Washington city, while a member of the United States senate, in March, 1850.

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national debt, and a surplus of more than \$5,000,000 in the public treasury. There were incidents of peculiar interest connected with the inauguration of Andrew Jackson,<sup>1</sup> the seventh president of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

WOODROW WILSON ON THE NEW JACKSONIAN ERA<sup>2</sup>

Many circumstances combine to mark the year 1829 as a turning-point in the history of the United States. The revolution in politics which signalises the presidency of Andrew Jackson as a new epoch in the history of the country was the culmination of a process of material growth and institutional expansion. The new nation was now in the first flush of assured success. It had definitively succeeded in planting new homes and creating new states throughout the wide stretches of the continent which lay between the eastern mountains and the Mississippi.

The election of Andrew Jackson marked a point of significant change in American politics—a change in *personnel* and in spirit, in substance and in method. Colonial America, seeking to construct a union, had become national America, seeking to realise and develop her united strength, and to express her new life in a new course of politics. The states which had originally drawn together to form the Union now found themselves caught in a great national drift, the direction of their development determined by forces as pervasive and irresistible as they were singular and ominous. Almost immediately upon entering the period of Jackson's administrations, the student finds himself, as if by a sudden turn, in the great highway of legislative and executive policy which leads directly to the period of the civil war, and, beyond that, to the United States of our own day. More significant still, a new spirit and method appear in the contests of parties. The "spoils system" of appointment to office is introduced into national administration, and personal allegiance is made the discipline of national party organisation. All signs indicate the beginning of a new period.

The old school of politicians had been greatly thinned by death, and was soon to disappear altogether. The traditions of statesmanship which they had cherished were to lose neither dignity nor vigour in the speech and conduct of men like Webster and the better New England federalists; but they were to be constrained to adapt themselves to radically novel circumstances. Underneath the conservative initiative and policy of the earlier years of the government there had all along been working the potent leaven of democracy, slowly but radically changing conditions both social and political, foreshadowing a revolution in political method, presaging the overthrow of the

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Jackson was born in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, in March, 1767. His parents were from the north of Ireland, and belonged to that Protestant community known as Scotch-Irish. In earliest infancy he was left to the care of an excellent mother, by the death of his father. He first saw the horrors of war and felt the wrongs of oppression when Colonel Buford's troops were massacred in his neighbourhood in 1780. He entered the army and suffered in the cause of freedom by imprisonment and the death of his mother while she was on an errand of mercy. He studied law, and became one of the most eminent men in the western district of Tennessee, as an advocate and a judge. He was ever a controlling spirit in that region. He assisted in framing a state constitution for Tennessee, and was the first representative of that state in the federal congress. He became United States senator in 1797, and was soon afterwards appointed judge of the supreme court of his state. He settled near Nashville, and for a long time was chief military commander in that region. When the War of 1812 broke out he took the field, and in the capacity of major-general he did good service in the southern country till its close. He was appointed the first governor of Florida in 1821, and in 1823 was again in the United States senate.

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"money-power" of the federalist mercantile classes, and antagonism towards all too conspicuous vested interests.

The federal government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep and power of popular majorities. The senate, it was believed, would be a stronghold of conservatism, if not of aristocracy and wealth. The president, it was expected, would be the choice of representative men acting in the electoral college, and not of the people. The federal judiciary was looked to, with its virtually permanent membership, to hold the entire structure of national politics in nice balance against all disturbing influences, whether of popular impulse or of official overbearance. Only in the house of representatives were the people to be accorded an immediate audience and a direct means of making their will effective in affairs. The government had, in fact, been originated and organised upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes.

Hamilton, not only the chief administrative architect of the government, but also the author of the graver and more lasting parts of its policy in the critical formative period of its infancy, had consciously and avowedly sought to commend it by its measures first of all and principally to the moneyed classes—to the men of the cities, to whom it must look for financial support. That such a policy was eminently wise there can of course be no question. But it was not eminently democratic. There can be a moneyed aristocracy, but there cannot be a moneyed democracy. There were ruling classes in that day, and it was imperatively necessary that their interest should be at once and thoroughly enlisted. But there was a majority also, and it was from that majority that the nation was to derive its real energy and character. During the administrations of Washington and John Adams the old federal hierarchy remained virtually intact; the conservative, cultivated, propertied classes of New England and the South practically held the government as their own. But with Jefferson there came the first assertion of the force which was to transform American politics—the force of democracy.

The old federalist party, the party of banks, of commercial treaties, of conservative tradition, was not destined to live in a country every day developing a larger "West," tending some day to be chiefly "West." For, as was to have been expected, the political example of the new states was altogether and unreservedly on the side of unrestricted popular privilege. In all of the original thirteen states there were at first important limitations upon the suffrage. In this point their constitutions were not copied by the new states; these from the first made their suffrage universal. And their example reacted powerfully upon the East. Constitutional revision soon began in the old states, and constitutional revision in every case meant, among other things, an extension of the suffrage. Parties in the East speedily felt the change. No longer protected by a property qualification, aristocracies like that of New England, where the clergy and the lawyers held respectable people together in ordered party array, went rapidly to pieces, and popular majorities began everywhere to make their weight tell in the conduct of affairs.

Monroe's terms of office served as a sort of intermediate season for parties—a period of disintegration and germination. Apparently it was a time of political unity, an "era of good feeling," when all men were of one party and of one mind. But this was only upon the surface.

By the presidential campaign of 1824 party politics were given a more definite form and direction. New England made it known that her candidate was John Quincy Adams; Clay was put forward by political friends in the

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legislatures of Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Illinois, and Ohio; the legislatures of Tennessee and many state conventions in other parts of the country put Andrew Jackson in nomination. The results of the election were not a little novel and startling. It had been a great innovation that a man like Andrew Jackson should be nominated at all. No other candidate had ever been put forward who had not served a long apprenticeship and won honourable reputation as a statesman in the public service. There had even been established a sort of succession to the presidency. Jefferson had been Washington's secretary of state; Madison, Jefferson's; Monroe, Madison's. In this line of succession John Quincy Adams was the only legitimate candidate, for he was secretary of state under Monroe. Jackson had never been anything of national importance except a successful soldier. It was absolutely startling that he should receive more electoral votes than any of the other candidates. And yet so it happened. Jackson received 99 votes, while only 84 were cast for Adams, 41 for Crawford, 37 for Clay. It was perhaps significant, too, that these votes came more directly from the people than ever before. No one of the candidates having received an absolute majority of the electoral vote, the election went into the house of representatives, where, with the aid of Clay's friends, Adams was chosen. It was then that the significance of the popular majority received its full emphasis. The friends of Jackson protested that the popular will had been disregarded, and their candidate shamefully, even corruptly, they believed, cheated of his rights. The dogma of popular sovereignty received a new and extraordinary application, fraught with important consequences. Jackson, it was argued, being the choice of the people, was "entitled" to the presidency. From a constitutional point of view the doctrine was nothing less than revolutionary. It marked the rise of a democratic theory very far advanced beyond that of Jefferson's party, and destined again and again to assert itself as against strict constitutional principle.

The supporters of Jackson did not for a moment accept the event of the election of 1825 as decisive. The "sovereignty of the people"—that is, of the vote cast for Jackson—should yet be vindicated. The new administration was hardly seven months old before the legislature of Tennessee renewed its nomination of Jackson for the presidency. The "campaign of 1828" may be said to have begun in 1825. For three whole years a contest, characterised by unprecedented virulence, and pushed in some quarters by novel and ominous methods, stirred the country into keen partisan excitement. A new discipline and principle of allegiance was introduced into national politics. In New York and Pennsylvania there had already sprung into existence that machinery of local committees, nominating caucuses, primaries, and conventions with which later times have made us so familiar; and then, as now, this was a machinery whose use and reason for existence were revealed in the distribution of offices as rewards for party service. The chief masters of its uses were "Jackson men," and the success of their party in 1828 resulted in the nationalisation of their methods./

#### JACKSON AND THE SPOILS SYSTEM

Jackson came into office to devote himself at first to those who had elected him. Never before had the nation been under so professedly a party rule. Its subjection was proved by the removals from office of such as had served under the previous administrations. In all the forty years that had elapsed

since the opening of the government, the successive presidents had removed just sixty-four public officers, and no more. Jackson turned out the servants of the government by the hundred. This imprinting a partisan character upon the administration was far from being unacceptable to the majority of the nation. It was but just, they argued, that the inferior officers should be of the same views as the superior; otherwise there could be no harmony. A great deal of stress, moreover, was laid upon the necessity of reforming the administration, the alleged extravagance of Adams' time having been sounded all over the land by the partisans of Jackson. The clamour of the opposition against either cause of removal can be conceived.

The great question between the power of the state and the power of the nation was still open. Jackson entered into it with concessions to the state. When the Creeks of Georgia were disposed of, there still remained the Cherokees of the same and the neighbouring states. This tribe, far from being inclined to leave its habitations, was so much inclined to settling where it was, as to adopt a formal constitution (1827). At this, Georgia lost patience, and asserted her jurisdiction over the Cherokees, at the same time dividing their territory, and annexing it in portions to the counties of the state (1828-1830). Much the same course was taken by Alabama and Mississippi in relation to the Indians within their borders (1829-1830). In these circumstances, the position of the general government was this: that it had always undertaken to treat with the Indians, to protect or to molest them, as the case might be, but in no event leaving them to the action of any separate part of the nation. Instead of maintaining this position in relation to the southern Indians, the president, supported by congress, yielded it altogether, upon the ground that the Cherokee constitution was the erection of a new state within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. It would have been well had Georgia contented herself with the Indians thus surrendered to her. But she must needs interfere with the whites, the very missionaries of the Indian territory, and imprison them in her penitentiary for not taking the oath of allegiance which she demanded (1831). Their case was carried before the United States supreme court, which decided against the course of Georgia with regard to both missionaries and Indians (1832). But the Indians obtained no redress; nor did the missionaries, until they abandoned their proceedings against the sovereign state (1833).

More serious points in relation to the question between the states and the general government had arisen. The first message of President Jackson (December, 1829) suggested a modification of the tariff adopted the year before. It was another concession, on his part, to the state claims. But it was not made without cause. The system of protection, once opposed and favoured by the North and by the South together, had come to be a favourite of the North, and an object of opposition to the South. But the result for the present, so far as the tariff was concerned, consisted in a few unimportant modifications (May, 1830).

#### THE WEBSTER-HAYNE DEBATE; NULLIFICATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA

At the same time a resolution before the senate was indefinitely postponed, after having elicited a remarkable debate upon the points at issue before the country. It had been brought forward by Senator Foot, of Connecticut, just at the close of the previous year (December 29th, 1829), with a view to some arrangement concerning the sale of the public lands. But the public

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lands were soon lost sight of in a discussion involving the relative powers of the states and the national government. Robert Y. Hayne, a senator from South Carolina, took the ground that a state possessed the right of nullifying any act of congress which it should consider unconstitutional, inasmuch as the government, whereof congress was a part, resulted from a compact amongst the states. The opposite theory, that the government was established by the people of the United States as a whole, and not by the states as separate members, was taken chiefly by Daniel Webster, some years before a representative of his native New Hampshire, at present a senator from his adopted Massachusetts. The great speech of Webster (January 26th-27th, 1830) was, without contradiction, the ablest plea that had ever been made for the national character as well as the national government. It decided the fact, so far as argument in the senate chamber could do, that the general government, in its proper functions, is independent of all local institutions. As a necessary consequence, the claim of a state to nullify an act of congress fell to the ground. "I trust," said Webster, near the beginning of the following year, "the crisis has in some measure passed by." It was not the last time, however, that he had to raise his powerful voice in the defence of the constitution.

A year or more elapsed before the subject of the tariff was called up again. It was then decided by congress and the president to revise the provisions against which the South was still contending. Without abandoning the protective system, which, on the contrary, was distinctly maintained, the duties upon many of the protected articles were reduced, in order to satisfy the opponents of protection (July, 1832). Far from diverting the storm, the action upon the tariff did but hasten its approach. The legislature of South Carolina summoned a convention of the state, which met at Columbia, under the presidency of Governor Hamilton (November 19th). A few days sufficed to pass an ordinance declaring:

That the several acts, and parts of acts, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties on importation are unauthorised by the constitution of the United States, and violate the true intent and meaning thereof, and are null and void, and no law, nor binding upon the state of South Carolina, its officers and citizens; and that it shall be the duty of the legislature to adopt such measures and pass such acts as may be necessary to give full effect to this ordinance, and to prevent the enforcement and arrest the operation of the said acts, and parts of acts, of the congress of the United States within the limits of the state.

In all this there was nothing new to the nation. From the time when Kentucky and Virginia began upon a similar course, from the time when Massachusetts and Connecticut continued it, down to the more recent acts of Georgia and of South Carolina herself, nullification, in nominal if not in actual existence, had stalked throughout the land. A state that felt itself aggrieved by the general government was very apt to take to resolutions, often to positive statutes, against the laws or the measures of the Union. But South Carolina went further than any of her predecessors:

We, the people of South Carolina [concluded the ordinance of the convention] do further declare that we will not submit to the application of force, on the part of the federal government, to reduce this state to obedience, but that we will consider the passage by congress of any act to enforce the acts hereby declared to be null and void, otherwise than through the civil tribunals of the country, as inconsistent with the longer continuance of South Carolina in the Union; and that the people of this state will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government.

This was something more than nullification; it was secession. It has been very common to exclaim against the conduct of South Carolina. But with

the principles which she professed, supporting the claims of the state to be a sovereign member of a national confederacy, it is difficult to see how she could have acted otherwise. If we would censure anything, it must be the principles which led to nullification and to secession, rather than these, the mere and the inevitable results. In itself, as an instance of resolution against what was deemed injustice and oppression, the attitude of South Carolina is no object of indignation. On the contrary, there is something thrilling in the aspect of a people perilling their all to sustain their rights, even though they were mistaken as to what their rights really were. "The die has been at last cast," the governor informed the legislature, assembled a day or two after the adoption of the ordinance by the convention, "and South Carolina has at length appealed to her ulterior sovereignty as a member of this confederacy." The legislature unhesitatingly responded to the convention in a series of acts prohibiting the collection of duties, and providing for the employment of volunteers, or, if need were, of the entire militia, in the defence of the state.

If the state was resolute, the general government was no less so. The president was in his element. A crisis which he was eminently adapted to meet had arrived. It called forth all his independence, all his nationality. Other men—more than one of his predecessors—would have doubted the course to be pursued; they would have stayed to inquire into the powers of the constitution, or to count the resources of the government; nay, had they been consistent, they would have inclined to the support, rather than to the overthrow, of the South Carolina doctrine. Jackson did not waver an instant. He took his own counsel, as he was wont to do, and declared for the nation against the state; then ordered troops and a national vessel to the support of the government officers in South Carolina.

No act of violent opposition to the laws has yet been committed [thus the president declared in a proclamation]; but such a state of things is hourly apprehended; and it is the intent of this instrument to proclaim not only that the duty imposed on me by the constitution, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, shall be performed, but to warn the citizens of South Carolina that the course they are urged to pursue is one of ruin and disgrace to the very state whose right they affect to support.

The appeal to the South Carolinians was the more forcible in coming from one of themselves, as it were; Jackson being a native of their state. Addressing congress in an elaborate message (January 16th, 1833), the president argued down both nullification and secession, maintaining that "the result of each is the same; since a state in which, by a usurpation of power, the constitutional authority of the federal government is openly defied and set aside, wants only the form to be independent of the Union." Congress responded, after some delay, by an enforcing act, the primary object of which was to secure the collection of the customs in the South Carolina ports. Thus united stood the government in sustaining itself against the state by which it was defied. Nor did it stand alone. One after another, the states, by legislative or by individual proceedings, came out in support of the national principle. The principle of state sovereignty, that might have found support but for the extremity to which it had been pushed, seemed to be abandoned. South Carolina was left to herself, even by her neighbours, usually prone to take the same side. Only Virginia came forward, appealing to the government as well as to South Carolina to be done with strife.

The tariff was openly condemned by North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia; the last state proposing a southern convention, to take some measures of resistance to the continuance of a system so unconstitutional. It

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became plainer and plainer that if South Carolina was to be brought to terms by any other way than by force, or if her sister states of the South were to be kept from joining her sooner or later, it must be by some modification of the tariff. A bill was brought forward in the house, but without any immediate result. Henry Clay took the matter up in the senate. He had distinguished himself as the advocate of the Missouri Compromise. He was the author, in consultation with others, of the tariff compromise. This proposed that the duties on all imports exceeding twenty per cent. should be reduced to that rate by successive diminutions through the next ten years (till June 30th, 1842). "I wish," said Clay, "to see the tariff separated from the politics of the country, that business men may go to work in security, with some prospect of stability in our laws." Had there been no other motive for his course, this would have been enough to stamp it with wisdom. Others felt as he did. Unlike the Missouri question, the tariff question was disposed of without protracted struggles. The measure was supported by very general approval, not excepting the representatives of South Carolina, at the head of whom was Calhoun, lately surrendering the vice-presidency in order to represent his state in the senate. The compromise became a law (March 2nd), and South Carolina returned to her allegiance. "The lightning," as one of Clay's correspondents wrote to him, was "drawn out from the clouds which were lowering over the country."

Like all other compromises, the tariff compromise did not bring about an absolute decision of the points of controversy. To the opponents of protection it abated the amount of protection. To the champions of the protective system it secured the right of laying duties, but at the same time decided against the expediency, if not the right, of excessive duties. As for the subject that lay behind the tariff, not concealed, but overtopping it by an immensity of height, this, too, was decided in the same general way. The subordination of the state to the nation was not defined. But it was established on principles which no nullification could disturb, and no secession break asunder, except in national ruin.

#### JACKSON'S STRUGGLE WITH THE BANK AND THE FINANCIAL DISORDERS

Few matters are more important to a nation—especially to a money-making nation—than its finance. This being in a sound condition, the course of government and of the people is so far smoothed and secured. But if it is disturbed, either by those in authority or by those engaged in speculations of their own, the whole country suffers. Time and again had these things been proved in the United States; a fresh and a fearful proof was soon to occur. The administration of Jackson had but just begun (1829), when an attempt was made to interfere with the appointments in the United States Bank. The resistance of the bank is supposed to have excited the displeasure of the president, who, at all events, took occasion in his first message to throw out suggestions against the renewal of the bank charter, although this was not to expire for six or seven years to come. Congress, instead of complying with the presidential recommendation, showed a decided determination to sustain the bank. The next congress voted to renew the charter, but the president immediately interposed with a veto (July, 1832). Amidst many sound objections on his part was mingled much that must be set down as prejudice, not to say extravagance; he even went so far as to suppose the bank to be dangerous "to our liberty and independence."

Not content with opposing the rechartering of the bank, the president determined to humble it before its charter expired. To this, it must be confessed, he was in some degree goaded by the unsparing bitterness with which his veto had been assailed. On the other hand, the triumphant re-election of Jackson in 1832 by a large majority over Henry Clay, and with his right-hand man, Martin Van Buren, for vice-president, assured him of a support which would not fail him in any measures he might pursue. In his next message (December, 1832) he recommended the removal of the treasury deposits from the custody of the bank, but without obtaining the co-operation of congress. Things went on as they were until the early autumn of the following year, when (September, 1833) the president announced to his cabinet his resolution to remove the deposits on his own responsibility, assigning for his principal reasons the electioneering procedures against his administration, of which the bank was suspected, and the necessity of providing for some new method of managing the public revenue before the expiration of the charter incapacitated the bank from serving as it had hitherto done. The terms of the charter provided that the power of recalling the deposits lay with the secretary of the treasury. The secretary then in office, William J. Duane, declined to have anything to do with the removal. Two days afterwards he was displaced to make room for Roger B. Taney, then attorney-general, and subsequently chief-justice of the United States. The new secretary, not sharing the scruples of his predecessor, issued the proper order for the removal of the deposits at the time indicated by the president (October 1st).

Of the agitation attending these events it is difficult to conceive at this distance of time. If we account for the suspicions of the president against the bank, there still remain the accusations from the bank and from its friends against the president to be explained. Had Jackson declared himself the lord and master of the United States, there could scarcely have been a greater uproar. In the senate, at the instigation of Henry Clay, a resolve was adopted, "that the president, in the late executive proceeding in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both" (March, 1834). The same day Daniel Webster remarked, "Let all who mean to die as they live, citizens of a free country, stand together for the supremacy of the laws." Against the sentence of the senate, passed upon him without a hearing, the president issued a protest, as a "substitute for that defence which," said he, "I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form" (April). So one extreme led to another, until, near three years later, it was made a party measure to expunge from the records of the senate the resolution of censure (January, 1837).

As for the bank itself, it "waged war," said the president afterwards, "upon the people, in order to compel them to submit to its demands." It certainly appeared to do so; but the course taken by it was quite as much a defensive as an offensive one. The loss of the deposits involved a contraction of loans. These contractions affected other banks, which were obliged to curtail their own operations, until credit sank, capitalists failed, and labourers ceased to be employed. The sufferers turned against both sides—a part against the bank, which was represented as a monstrous despotism; a part against the president, who was represented as an equally monstrous despot. We seem to read of a nation gone wild, in reading of these things as they are told by their contemporaries.

While individuals were suffering, the government was in a state of depletion. Not only was the public debt entirely paid off (1835), but a large balance

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was left in the banks to which the public moneys had been transferred from the United States Bank. It was resolved by the administration to deposit, as the phrase went, all but a reserve of \$5,000,000 with the states, to be used according to their different circumstances (1836). A sum of \$28,000,000 was thus distributed, the states generally understanding that the share which each received was its own, not merely to be employed but to be retained (1837). Nothing was ever recalled by the government, great as its embarrassments soon became.

Into the old fissure between the North and the South a new wedge was driven during the present period. The action, hitherto confined to meetings and memorials, extended itself in publications, pamphlets, and newspapers, of which the movements were no longer occasional, but continuous and systematic (1832). This was abolitionism, so called from its demands that slavery should be abolished, and this immediately, without reference to the constitution or the institutions of the South, to the claims of the master or the fortunes of the slave. Whatever its motives, its course was professedly unscrupulous, sparing neither the interests against which it was directed nor those which it was intended to sustain. An immediate reaction arose in the North. Meetings were held, mobs were gathered against the places where the abolitionists met and the offices whence they issued their productions (1834). Then the tumult spread to the South. The mails thither were burdened with papers intended to excite a general insurrection, or at least a general alarm. As a natural consequence, the post-offices were broken into and the obnoxious publications destroyed (1835). That portion of the South which had begun of its own accord to move towards the abolition of slavery was at once arrested; while that other portion, always attached to slavery, began to talk of non-intercourse and of disunion. The matter was taken up by government, beginning with the president, who recommended a law to prohibit the use of the mail for the circulation of incendiary documents. So embittered did congress become as to refuse to receive memorials upon the subject of slavery, a subject often before provocative of angry passages, but never until now considered too delicate to be approached (1836). Abolitionism had resulted in conservatism, and that of a stamp as yet unknown to the most conservative.

Relations with the Indians were frequently disturbed. The process of removing them to the west of the Mississippi continued a cause of disorder and of strife. A war with the Sacs and Foxes, under Black Hawk, broke out on the northwest frontier, but was soon brought to an end by a vigorous campaign on the part of the United States troops and the militia, under Generals Scott and Atkinson (1832). Another war arose with the Seminoles, under their chief Osceola, in Florida. It was attended by serious losses from the beginning (1835). On the junction of the Creeks with the Seminoles, affairs grew still worse, the war extending into Georgia and Alabama (1836). The Creeks were subdued under the directions of General Jessup; but the Seminoles continued in arms amidst the thickets of Florida for many years.

Occasional disturbances occurred in foreign relations, especially respecting the indemnities still due on account of spoliation of American commerce. These were gradually arranged, Denmark (1830) and Naples (1834) meeting the claims of long standing against them; the more recent demands against Portugal and Spain being also satisfied, though not by immediate payments (1832, 1834).

The relations with France were more precarious. After twenty or thirty years' unavailing negotiation with the governments of Napoleon and his

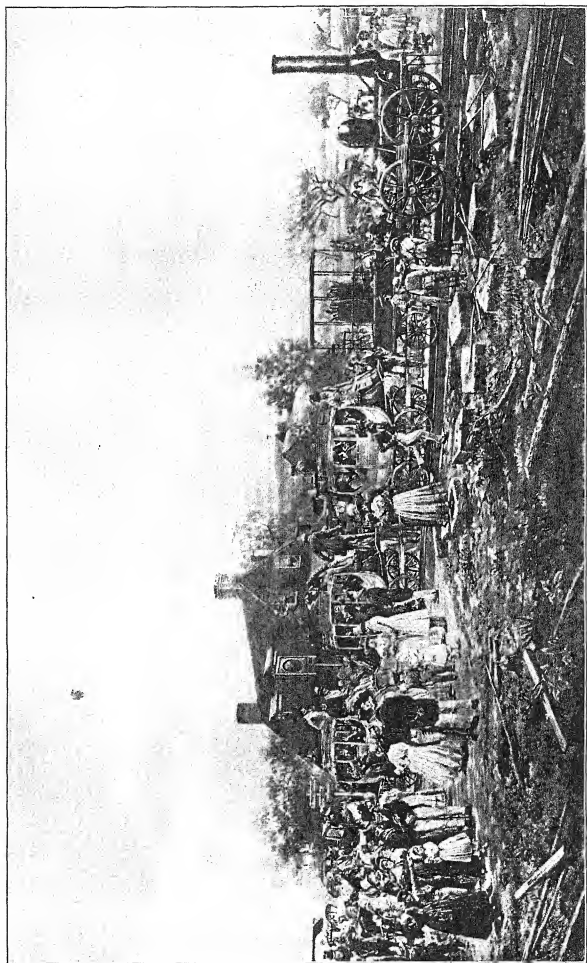
Bourbon successors, a treaty was concluded with the government of Louis Philippe, acknowledging the American claims to the amount of about \$5,000,000 (July, 1831). Three years afterwards the French chambers rejected the bill for the execution of the treaty (1834). Meantime the United States government had drawn a draft for the amount of the first instalment proposed to be paid by France, but only to have the draft protested. Thus doubly aggrieved, the administration proposed to congress the authorisation of reprisals upon French property, in case immediate provision for the fulfilment of the treaty should not be made by the French chambers (December, 1834). The mere proposal, though unsupported by any action of congress, was received as an affront in France, the French minister at Washington being recalled, and the American minister at Paris being tendered his passports. At this crisis Great Britain offered her mediation. It was accepted; but, without waiting for its exercise, the French government resolved to execute the treaty. The news came in May, 1836, that the \$5,000,000 were paid.<sup>d</sup>

A treaty of reciprocity had been concluded with Russia and Belgium, and everywhere the American flag commanded the highest respect. Two new states (Arkansas and Michigan) had been added to the Union. The original thirteen had doubled, and great activity prevailed in every part of the republic. Satisfaction with the administration generally prevailed, and it was understood that Van Buren would continue the policy of his predecessor, if elected. He received a large majority; but the people, having failed to elect a vice-president, the senate chose Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, who had been a candidate with Van Buren, to fill that station.

Much excitement was produced and bitter feelings were engendered towards President Jackson by his last official act. A circular was issued from the treasury department on the 11th of July, 1836, requiring all collectors of the public revenue to receive nothing but gold and silver in payment. This was intended to check speculations in the public lands, but it also bore heavily upon every kind of business. The "specie circular" was denounced, and so loud was the clamour that towards the close of the session in 1837 both houses of congress adopted a partial repeal of it. Jackson refused to sign the bill, and by keeping it in his possession until after the adjournment of congress prevented it becoming a law. On the 4th of March, 1837, he retired from public life, to enjoy that repose which an exceedingly active career entitled him to. He was then seventy years of age.<sup>e</sup>

#### JAMES PARTON'S PORTRAIT OF ANDREW JACKSON

People may hold what opinions they will respecting the merits or importance of this man, but no one can deny that his invincible popularity is worthy of consideration; for what we lovingly admire, that, in some degree, we are. It is chiefly as the representative man of the Fourth-of-July, or combative-rebellious period of American history, that he is interesting to the student of human nature. And no man will ever be able quite to comprehend Andrew Jackson who has not personally known a Scotch-Irishman. More than he was anything else, he was a North-of-Irelander. His father, his forefathers, his relatives in Carolina, had all walked the lowlier paths of life, and aspired to no other. This poor, gaunt, and sickly orphan places himself at once upon the direct road to the higher spheres. He lived in an atmosphere of danger and became habituated to self-reliance. Always escaping, he learned to confide implicitly in his star.



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THE FIRST RAILWAY TRAIN IN AMERICA



[1837 A.D.]

General Jackson's appointment-and-removal policy I consider an evil so great and so difficult to remedy, that if all his other public acts had been perfectly wise and right, this single feature of his administration would suffice to render it deplorable rather than admirable. I must avow explicitly the belief that, notwithstanding the good done by General Jackson during his presidency, his elevation to power was a mistake on the part of the people of the United States. The good which he effected has not continued, while the evil which he began remains.

Men of books contemplate with mere wonder the fact that during a period when Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Wirt, and Preston were on the public stage, Andrew Jackson should have been so much the idol of the American people that all those eminent men united could not prevail against him in a single instance. Autocrat as he was, Andrew Jackson loved the people, the common people, the sons and daughters of toil, as truly as they loved him, and he believed in them as they believed in him. He was in accord with his generation. He had a clear perception that the toiling millions are not a class in the community. He knew and felt that government should exist only for the benefit of the governed; that the strong are strong only that they may aid the weak; that the rich are rightfully rich only that they may so combine and direct the labours of the poor as to make labour more profitable to the labourer. He did not comprehend these truths as they are demonstrated by Jefferson and Spencer, but he had an intuitive and instinctive perception of them. And in his most autocratic moments he really thought that he was fighting the battle of the people and doing their will while baffling the purposes of their representatives. If he had been a man of knowledge as well as force, he would have taken the part of the people more effectually, and left to his successors an increased power of doing good, instead of better facilities for doing harm. He appears always to have meant well. But his ignorance of law, history, politics, science, of everything which he who governs a country ought to know, was extreme. He was imprisoned in his ignorance, and sometimes raged round his little, dim inclosure like a tiger in his den.

The calamity of the United States has been this: the educated class have not been able to accept the truths of the democratic creed. They have followed the narrow, conservative, respectable Hamilton—not the large, liberal, progressive Jefferson. But the people have instinctively held fast to the Jeffersonian sentiments. Hence, in this country, until very recently, the men of books have had little influence upon public affairs. To this most lamentable divorce between the people and those who ought to have been worthy to lead them, and who would have led them if they had been worthy, we are to attribute the elevation to the presidency of a man whose ignorance, whose good intentions, and whose passions combined to render him, of all conceivable human beings, the most unfit for the office. But those who concur in the opinion that the administration of Andrew Jackson did more harm than good to the country—the harm being permanent, the good evanescent—should never for a moment forget that it was the people of the United States who elected him to the presidency.<sup>9</sup>

#### VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION; THE PANICS OF 1837

Martin Van Buren, the eighth president of the United States, seemed to stand, at the time of his inauguration—on the 4th of March, 1837—at the opening of a new era. All of his predecessors in the high office of chief magis-

trate of the republic had been descended of Britons, and were engaged in the old struggle for independence. Van Buren was of Dutch descent, and was born after the great conflict had ended and the birth of the nation had occurred. But at the moment when Mr. Van Buren entered the presidential mansion as its occupant the business of the country was on the verge of a terrible convulsion and utter prostration. The distressing effects of the removal of the public funds from the United States Bank, in 1833 and 1834, and the operations of the "specie circular," had disappeared, in a measure, but as the remedies for the evil were superficial, the cure was only apparent. The chief remedy had been the free loaning of the public money to individuals by the state deposit banks; but a commercial disease was thus produced, more disastrous than the panic of 1833-1834. A sudden expansion of the paper currency was the result. The state banks which accepted these deposits supposed they would remain undisturbed until the government should need them for its use. Considering them as so much capital, they loaned their own funds freely. But in January, 1836, congress, as we have seen, had authorised the secretary of the treasury to distribute all the public funds, except \$5,000,000, among the several states, according to their representation. The funds were accordingly taken from the deposit banks, after the 1st of January, 1837, and these banks being obliged to curtail their loans, a serious pecuniary embarrassment was produced.

The immediate consequences of such multiplied facilities for obtaining bank loans were an immensely increased importation of foreign goods, inordinate stimulation of all industrial pursuits and internal improvements, and the operation of a spirit of speculation, especially in real estate, which assumed the features of a mania, in 1836. A hundred cities were founded and a thousand villages were "laid out" on broad sheets of paper, and made the basis of vast money transactions. Borrowed capital was thus diverted from its sober, legitimate uses to the fostering of schemes as unstable as water, and as unreal in their fancied results as dreams of fairy-land. Overtrading and speculation, which had relied for support upon continued bank loans, were suddenly checked by the necessary bank contractions, on account of the removal of the government funds from their custody; and during March and April, 1837, there were mercantile failures in the city of New York alone to the amount of more than \$100,000,000.<sup>1</sup> Fifteen months before [December, 1835], property to the amount of more than \$20,000,000 had been destroyed by fire in the city of New York, when 529 buildings were consumed. The effects of these failures and losses were felt to the remotest borders of the Union, and credit and confidence were destroyed.

Early in May, 1837, a deputation from the merchants and bankers of New York waited upon the president, and solicited him to defer the collection of duties on imported goods, rescind the "specie circular," and to call an extraordinary session of congress to adopt relief measures. The president declined to act on their petitions. When his determination was known, all the banks in New York suspended specie payments (May 10th, 1837), and their example was speedily followed throughout the country. On the 16th of May the legislature of New York passed an act authorising the suspension of specie payments for one year. The measure embarrassed the general government, and it was unable to obtain gold and silver to discharge its own obligations. The public good now demanded legislative relief, and an extraordinary session of congress was convened by the president on the

<sup>1</sup> In two days houses in New Orleans stopped payment, owing an aggregate of \$27,000,000; and in Boston 168 failures took place in six months.

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4th of September. During a session of forty-three days it did little for the general relief, except the passage of a bill authorising the issue of treasury notes, not to exceed in amount \$10,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

#### REPUDIATION IN MISSISSIPPI

While the national finances were slowly recovering themselves, the state finances, with some exceptions, appeared to be on the brink of ruin. The states had run a race of extravagance and hazard unparalleled in American history. In the two years preceding the commercial crisis the issue of state stocks—that is, the amount of money borrowed by the states—was nearly \$100,000,000. The inevitable consequences followed. While such as had anything to support their credit were deeply bowed, those that had nothing—those that had borrowed not so much to develop their resources as to supply the want of resources—fell, collapsed and shattered. Some states—Maryland (January, 1842) and Pennsylvania (August, 1842)—paid the interest on their debts only by certificates, and by those only partially. Others—Indiana (July, 1841), Arkansas (July, 1841), and Illinois (January, 1842)—made no payment at all. Two—Michigan (January, 1842) and Louisiana (December, 1842)—ceased not merely to pay but in part to acknowledge their dues, alleging that the frauds or failures of their agents, from which they had unquestionably suffered, released them from at least a portion of their obligations.

But in this, as in every other respect, in extent as well as in priority of insolvency, Mississippi took the lead. As early as January, 1841, Governor McNutt suggested to the legislature the “repudiating the sale of five millions of the bonds of the year 1838, on account of fraud and illegality.” Even if the sale was a fraudulent one, which many in as well as out of Mississippi denied, the penalty attached not to the bondholders, who had paid their money in good faith that it would be returned to them, but to the bank commissioners by whom the bonds were sold, or to the bank itself, by which the commissioners had been appointed. At all events, Mississippi deliberately repudiated her debts (1842). Her example was imitated at the same time by the neighbouring territory of Florida.

Eight states and a territory were thus sunk into bankruptcy, some of them into what was worse than bankruptcy. It was not, of course, without dishonour or without injury to the Union of which they were members. When a national loan was attempted to be effected abroad, not a bidder could be found for it, or for any part of it, in all Europe (1842). This was but a trifle, however, amid the storm of reproach that swelled against the United States. “I do not wonder,” wrote the Boston clergyman William Ellery Channing, “that Europe raises a cry of indignation against this country; I wish it could come to us in thunder.” Nor did it seem undeserved by the nation, as a whole, when Florida, still repudiating its debt as a territory, was admitted as a state (1845). Against this sign of insensibility on the part of the nation there were happily to be set some proofs of returning honour on the part of the states, Pennsylvania taking the lead in wiping away her debts and her stains (1845).

<sup>1</sup> In his message to congress at this session the president proposed the establishment of an independent treasury for the safe-keeping of the public funds and their entire and total separation from banking institutions. This scheme met with vehement opposition. The bill passed the senate, but was lost in the house. It was debated at subsequent sessions, and finally became a law on the 4th of July, 1840. This is known as the Sub-Treasury Scheme.

## TEXAS SECEDES FROM MEXICO

One of the later communications of President Jackson to congress had been upon the subject of Texas and its independence. He was decided in recommending caution, for reasons which will presently appear (December, 1836). But, congress declaring its recognition of the new state, Jackson assented in the last moments of his administration. A quarter of a century before, parties from the United States began to cross over to join in the Mexican struggle against Spain (1813). It was then uncertain whether Texas formed a part of Mexico or of Louisiana, the boundary being undetermined until the time of the treaty concerning Florida (1819-1821). At that time Texas was distinctly abandoned to Spain, from whose possession it immediately passed to that of her revolted province of Mexico. Soon after, on Mexican invitation, a number of colonists from the United States, under the lead of Stephen F. Austin, of Missouri, undertook to settle the still unoccupied territory (1821). It was no expedition to plunder or to destroy, but what it professed to be—to colonise. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the enterprise itself, as well as those created by the continual changes in the Mexican government, it prospered to such a degree that several thousand settlers were gathered in during the ten years ensuing.

Strong in their numbers, stronger still in their energies, the Texans aspired to a more definite organisation than they possessed. Without any purpose, at least professed, of revolution, they formed a constitution, and sent Austin to ask the admission of Texas, as a separate state, into the Mexican republic (1833). This was denied, and Austin thrown into prison. But no outbreak followed for more than two years. Then the Mexican government, resolving to reduce the Texans to entire submission, despatched a force to arrest the officers under the state constitution, and to disarm the people. The Texan Lexington was Gonzales, where the first resistance was made (September 28th, 1835). The Texan Philadelphia was a place called Washington, where a convention declared the independence of the state (March 2nd, 1836) and adopted a constitution (March 17th). The Texan Saratoga and Yorktown, two in one, was on the shores of the San Jacinto, where General Houston, commander-in-chief of the insurgents, gained a decisive victory over the Mexican president, Santa Anna (April 21st). Six months afterwards Houston was chosen president of the republic of Texas. In his inaugural speech he expressed the desire of the people to join the United States. Nothing could be more natural. With few exceptions, they were emigrants from the land to which they wished to be reunited. The cession of the Louisiana claims to Texas in the Florida treaty had been vehemently opposed by many who would therefore be earnest to recover the territory then surrendered. Again and again was the effort made by the United States to get back from Mexico what had been ceded to Spain (1825-1835). But the very fact that slavery existed in Texas was a strong reason with another considerable party in the North to oppose its admission to the Union. In their eyes, the Texans seemed a wild and lawless set, unfit to share in the established institutions of the United States. To these objections must be added one, very generally entertained, on account of the claim of Mexico to the Texan territory. Notwithstanding various complications, the independence of Texas was recognised by the United States, as has been mentioned, leaving the project of annexation to the future. When Texas, soon after the opening of Van Buren's administration, presented herself for admission to the Union, her offers were declined, and then withdrawn (1837).

[1837-1840 A.D.]

## TROUBLES WITH CANADA

The attention of the country was turned in another direction. An insurrection in Canada was immediately supported by American parties, one of whom, in company with some Canadian refugees, after pillaging the New York arsenals, seized upon Navy Island, a British possession in the Niagara river. The steamer *Caroline*, engaged in bringing over men, arms, and stores to the island, was destroyed, though at the time on the American shore, by a British detachment (December, 1837). The deed was instantly avowed by the minister of Great Britain at Washington as an act of self-defence on the British side. Three years afterwards (November, 1840) one Alexander McLeod, sheriff of Niagara, in Canada, and as such a participator in the destruction of the *Caroline*, was arrested in New York on the charge of murder, an American having lost his life when the steamer was destroyed. The British government demanded his release, in doing which they were sustained by the United States administration, on the ground that McLeod was but an agent or soldier of Great Britain. But the authorities of New York held fast to their prisoner, and brought him to trial. Had harm come to him, his government stood pledged to declare war; but he was acquitted for want of proof (1841). Congress subsequently passed an act requiring that similar cases should be tried only before United States courts. The release of McLeod did not settle the affair of the *Caroline*; this still remained. There were, or there had been, other difficulties upon the Maine frontier, where the boundary line had never yet been run. Collisions took place, and others, between the Maine militia and the British troops, had been but just prevented.<sup>a</sup>

## HARRISON'S AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION

A national whig convention had been held at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania, on the fourth of December (1839), when General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, the popular leader in the northwest, in the War of 1812, was nominated for president, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for vice-president. Never before was the country so excited by an election, and never before was a presidential contest characterised by such demoralising proceedings.<sup>1</sup> The government, under Mr. Van Buren, being held responsible by the opposition for the business depression which yet brooded over the country, public speakers arrayed vast masses of the people against the president, and Harrison and Tyler were elected by overwhelming majorities. And now, at the close of the first fifty years of the republic, the population had increased from three and a half millions, of all colours, to seventeen millions. A magazine writer of the day, in the *Democratic Review*, in comparing several administrations, remarked that "the great events of Mr. Van Buren's administration, by which it will hereafter be known and designated, are the divorce of bank and state in the fiscal affairs of the federal government, and the return, after half a century of deviation, to the original design of the constitution."

<sup>1</sup> Because General Harrison lived in the West and his residence was associated with pioneer life, a log-cabin became the symbol of his party. These cabins were erected all over the country, in which meetings were held; and, as the hospitality of the old hero was symbolised by a barrel of cider, made free to all visitors or strangers, who "never found the latch-string of his log-cabin drawn in," that beverage was dealt out unsparingly to all who attended the meetings in the cabins. These meetings were scenes of carousal, deeply injurious to all who participated in them, and especially to the young. Thousands of drunkards in after years dated their departure from sobriety to the "hard-cider" campaign of 1840.

Harrison was then an old man, having passed almost a month beyond the age of sixty-eight years. Precisely one month after he uttered his oath of office the new president died, on the 4th day of April, 1841.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution the vice-president became the official successor of the deceased president, and on the 6th of April the oath of office was administered to John Tyler. He retained the cabinet appointed by President Harrison until September following, when all but the secretary of state resigned.

The extraordinary session of congress called by President Harrison commenced its session on the appointed day (May 31st, 1841) and continued until the 13th of September following. The Sub-Treasury Act was repealed and a general Bankrupt Law was enacted. This humane law accomplished a material benefit. Thousands of honest and enterprising men had been crushed by the recent business revulsion, and were so laden with debt as to be hopelessly chained to a narrow sphere of action. The law relieved them; and while it bore heavily upon the creditor class, for a while, its operations were beneficent and useful. When dishonest men began to make it a pretence for cheating, it was repealed. But the chief object sought to be obtained during this session, namely, the chartering of a bank of the United States, was not achieved. Two separate bills for that purpose were vetoed by the president, who, like Jackson, thought he perceived great evils to be apprehended from the workings of such an institution. The course of the president was vehemently censured by the party in power, and the last veto led to the dissolution of his cabinet. Mr. Webster patriotically remained at his post, for great public interests would have suffered by his withdrawal at that time.

The year 1842 was distinguished by the return of the United States exploring expedition under Lieutenant Wilkes, the settlement of the northeastern boundary question by the Ashburton Treaty, essential modifications of the tariff, and domestic difficulties in Rhode Island.<sup>c</sup>

The Treaty of Washington, [or Ashburton Treaty] ratified by the senate (August 20th), embraced almost every subject of dissension with Great Britain. It settled the northeastern boundary; it put down the claim to a right of visit, and in such a way as to lead to the denial of the claim by European powers who had previously admitted it. Such were the advantages gained by the United States on both these points, the leading ones of the treaty, that it was styled in England the Ashburton Capitulation. The treaty also provided for the mutual surrender of fugitives from justice; an object of great importance, considering the recent experiences on the Canada frontier. For the affair of the *Caroline*, an apology, or what amounted to one, was made by the British minister. Even the old quarrel about impressment was put to rest, not by the treaty, but by a letter from Webster to Ashburton, repeating the rule originally laid down by Jefferson that "the vessel being American shall be evidence that the seamen on board are such," adding, as the present and future principle of the American government, that "in every regularly documented American merchant vessel, the crew who navigate it will find their protection in the flag which is over them." In short, every difficulty with Great Britain was settled by the treaty, or by the accompanying negotiations, except one, the boundary of Oregon, on which no serious difference had as yet appeared.<sup>d</sup>

Difficulties in Rhode Island originated in a movement to adopt a state constitution of government, and to abandon the old charter given by Charles II, in 1663, under which the people had been ruled for one hundred and eighty years. Disputes arose concerning the proper method to be pursued in making

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the change, and these assumed a serious aspect. Two parties were formed, known, respectively, as the "suffrage" or radical party, the other as the "law-and-order" or conservative party. Each formed a constitution, elected a governor and legislature, and finally armed (May and June, 1843) in defence of their respective claims. The "suffrage" party elected Thomas W. Dorr governor, and the "law-and-order" party chose Samuel W. King for chief magistrate. Dorr was finally arrested, tried for and convicted of treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The excitement having passed away, in a measure, he was released in June, 1845, but was deprived of all the civil rights of a citizen. These disabilities were removed in the autumn of 1853. The state was on the verge of civil war, and the aid of federal troops had to be invoked to restore quiet and order. A free constitution, adopted by the "law-and-order" party in November, 1842, to go into operation on the first Tuesday in May, 1843, was sustained, and became the law of the land.<sup>e</sup>

## THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

Other states were organising themselves more peaceably. Arkansas, the first state admitted since Missouri (June 15th, 1836), was followed by Michigan (January 26th, 1837). Wisconsin, organised as a single territory (1836), was presently divided as Wisconsin and Iowa (1838). Then Iowa was admitted a state (March 3rd, 1845); again in 1846, but not actually entering until 1848. Florida also in 1845 became a member of the Union.

All the while Texas remained the object of desire and of debate. The administration continued its negotiations, now with Mexico, deprecating the continuance of hostilities with Texas, and then again with Texas itself, proposing new motives of alliance and new means of annexation with the United States. President Tyler was strongly in favour of consummating the annexation. But the North was growing more and more adverse to the plan.

The annexation of Texas was regarded as necessary to the interests of slavery, both in that country and in the United States. Not only was an immense market for slaves closed, but an immense refuge for slaves was opened, in case Texas should cease to be slaveholding. "Annexation," wrote John C. Calhoun, then secretary of state, "was forced on the government of the United States in self-defence" (April, 1844). Such, then, was the motive of the secretaries and the president, all southern men, and devotedly supported by the south, in striving for an addition to the slaveholding states in the shape of Texas. The more they strove on this ground, the more they were opposed in the free states. It was the Missouri battle over again. It was more than that: in that, said the North, we contended against the admission of one of our own territories, but in this contest we are fighting against the admission of a foreign state.

Like all the other great differences of the nation, this difference concerning Texas was susceptible of compromise. Both senate and house united in joint resolutions (March 1st, 1845). Texas assented to the terms of the resolutions (July 4th), and was soon after formally enrolled amongst the United States of America (December 29th). The democratic party, espousing the project of annexation before it was fulfilled, carried the election of James K. Polk as president and George M. Dallas as vice-president. They found the annexation of Texas accomplished. But the consequences were yet to be seen and borne.

## WAR WITH MEXICO

Mexico had all along declared the annexation of Texas by the United States would be an act of hostility. As soon as congress resolved upon it, the Mexican minister at Washington demanded his passports (March 6th, 1845), and the Mexican government suspended intercourse with the envoy of the United States (April 2nd). The cause was the occupation of a state which they still claimed as a province of their own, notwithstanding it had been independent now for nine years, and as such recognised by several of the European powers in addition to the United States. With the United States, the preservation of Texas was not the only cause of war. Indeed, for the time, it was no cause at all, according to the administration. If there was any disposition to take up arms, it came from what the president styled "the system of insult and spoliation" under which Americans had long been suffering; merchants losing their property, and sailors their liberty, by seizures on Mexican waters and in Mexican ports. In spite of a treaty, now fourteen years old (1831), the wrongs complained of had continued.

In annexing Texas, the United States government understood the territory to extend as far as the Rio Grande. For considering this the boundary there were two reasons: one, that the Texans had proclaimed it such; and the other, that it was apparently implied to be such in the treaty ceding the country west of the Sabine to Spain, a quarter of a century before. Accordingly, American troops were moved to Corpus Christi (August, 1845), and, six months afterwards (March, 1846), to the Rio Grande, with orders "to repel any invasion of the Texan territory which might be attempted by the Mexican forces." On the other side, Mexico protested altogether against the line of the Rio Grande. The river Nueces, according to Mexican authority, was the boundary of Texas. Even supposing Texas surrendered by the Mexicans, which it was not, they still retained the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande—a territory containing but few settlements, and those not Texan, but purely Mexican. In support of this position, the Mexican general Arista was ordered to cross the Rio Grande and defend the country against the invader (April, 1846).

During these movements a mission was sent from the United States to Mexico (November, 1845). The minister went authorised to propose and to carry out an adjustment of all the difficulties between the two countries. But he was refused a hearing—the Mexican government, fresh from one of its revolutions, insisting that the question of Texas must be disposed of, and on Mexican terms, before entering upon any general negotiations. The bearer of the olive branch was obliged to return (March, 1846). As the American troops, some three thousand strong, under General Taylor, approached the Rio Grande, the inhabitants retired, at one place, Point Isabel, burning their dwellings. This certainly did not look much like being on American or on Texan ground. But Taylor, obedient to his orders, kept on, until he took post by the Rio Grande, opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras (March 28th, 1846). There, about a month later (April 24th), he was thus addressed by the Mexican general Arista: "Pressed and forced into war, we enter into a struggle which we cannot avoid without being unfaithful to what is most sacred to men." A Mexican force was simultaneously sent across the stream, to what the Americans considered their territory. A squadron of dragoons, sent by Taylor to reconnoitre the Mexicans, fell in with a much superior force, and, after a skirmish, surrendered. The next

[1846 A.D.]

day but one, Taylor, as previously authorised by his government, called upon the states of Texas and Louisiana for five thousand volunteers. As soon as the news reached Washington, the president informed congress that "war exists, and exists by the act of Mexico herself" (May 11th). Congress took the same ground, and gave the president authority to call fifty thousand volunteers into the field (May 13th). It was ten days later, but of course before any tidings of these proceedings could have been received, that Mexico made a formal declaration of war (May 23rd). The question as to which nation began hostilities must forever depend upon the question of the Texan boundary. If this was the river Nueces, the United States began war the summer before. If, on the contrary, it was the Rio Grande, the Mexicans, as President Polk asserted, were the aggressors. But there is no possible way of deciding which river it was that formed the actual boundary. The assertion of Mexico that it was the Nueces is as reasonable as the declaration of Texas, supported by the United States, that it was the Rio Grande.

The forces between which hostilities commenced were both small, the United States army being the smaller of the two. But this disparity was as nothing compared with that between the nations. The United States went to war with Mexico very much as they would have gone to war with one or more of their own number. Mexico, broken by revolutions, had neither government nor army to defend her; there were officials, there were soldiers, but there was no strength, no efficiency in either. Doubtless Mexico trusted to the divisions of her enemy, to the opposition which parties in the United States would make to the war. But the parties of the United States were one, in contrast with the parties of Mexico.

On another point the Mexicans could build up better founded hopes. At the very time that hostilities opened between the United States and Mexico there was serious danger of a rupture between the United States and Great Britain. It sprang from conflicting claims to the distant territory of Oregon. Those of the United States were based, first, upon American voyages to the Pacific coast, chiefly upon one made by Captain Gray, in the *Columbia*, from which the great river of the northwest took its name (1792); secondly, upon the acquisition of Louisiana with all the Spanish rights to the western shores (1803); and thirdly, upon an expedition under Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clark, of the United States army, by whom the Missouri was traced towards its source, and the *Columbia* descended to the Pacific Ocean (1803-1806). Against these the British government asserted various claims of discovery and occupancy. Twice the two nations agreed to a joint possession of the country in dispute (1818, 1827); twice the United States proposed a dividing line, once under Monroe, and again under Tyler. The rejection of the latter proposal had led to a sort of war-cry,<sup>1</sup> during the presidential election then pending (1844), that Oregon must be held. President Polk renewed the offer, but on less favourable terms, and it was rejected (1845). Agreeably to his recommendation, a twelve-months' notice, preliminary to the termination of the existing arrangements concerning the occupation of Oregon, was formally given by the United States government (1846). Meanwhile emigration to Oregon had been proceeding on so large a scale during the few years previous that there were some thousands of Americans settled upon the territory. It was a grave juncture, therefore, that had arrived. But it was happily terminated on proposals, now emanating from Great Britain, by which the line of forty-nine degrees was constituted the boundary; the

[<sup>1</sup> "Fifty-four forty or fight," referring to the boundary claimed at 54° 40'.]

right of navigating the Columbia being secured to the British (June 15th, 1846). Thus vanished the prospect of a war with Great Britain, in addition to the war with Mexico. But its existence, if only for a time, explains a part at least of the confidence with which the Mexicans entered into the strife. It does away, on the other hand, with the apparent want of magnanimity in the Americans to measure themselves with antagonists so much their inferiors.

The Mexican general Arista commenced the bombardment of the American position, afterwards called Fort Brown from its gallant defender, Major Brown (May 3rd). General Taylor was then with the bulk of his troops at Point Isabel. Having made sure of that post, he marched back to the relief of Fort Brown, and on the way engaged with the enemy at Palo Alto (May 8th) and at Resaca de la Palma (May 9th). With a force so much inferior that the most serious apprehensions had been excited for its safety, the Americans came off victors in both actions. Such was the effect upon the Mexicans that they at once recrossed the Rio Grande, and even retreated to some distance on their side of the river. Taylor followed, carrying the war into the enemy's country, and occupying Matamoros (May 18th). A long pause ensued, to wait for reinforcements, and indeed for plans, the war being wholly unprepared for on the American side. But the news of the first victories aroused the whole nation. Even the opponents of the war yielded their principles so far as to give their sympathies to the brave men who had carried their arms farther from the limits of the United States than had ever before been done by an American army. Volunteers gathered from all quarters in numbers for which it was positively difficult to provide.

At length, with considerably augmented forces, Taylor set out again, supported by Generals Worth and Wool among many other eminent officers. Monterey, a very important place in this part of Mexico, was taken after a three days' resistance under General Ampudia (September 21st-23rd). An armistice of several weeks followed. Subsequently Taylor marched southward as far as Victoria; but on the recall of his troops to take part in other operations, he fell back into a defensive position in the north (January, 1847). There, at Buena Vista, he was attacked by a comparatively large army under Santa Anna, then generalissimo of Mexico, who, deeming himself secure of his prey, sent a summons of surrender, which Taylor instantly declined. The dispositions for the battle had been made in great part by General Wool, to whom, with many of the other officers, the victory achieved by the Americans deserves to be ascribed, as well as to the resolute commander. It was a bloody engagement, continuing for two successive days (February 22nd, 23rd). Taylor was never more truly the hero than when he wrote to Henry Clay, whose son had fallen in the fight, that, in remembering the dead, "I can say with truth that I feel no exultation in our success." Santa Anna, meanwhile, was in full retreat, leaving the Americans in secure possession of all the northeastern country. Six months later Taylor sent a large number of his remaining men to act elsewhere (August); then, leaving General Wool in command, he returned to the United States (November).

Soon after the fall of Monterey a force under General Wool was detached to penetrate into the northern province of Chihuahua. It did not go by any means so far. But at about the same time an expedition from the north, headed by Colonel Doniphan, marched down upon the province, taking possession first of El Paso (December 27th), and then, after a battle with the Mexicans, under Heredia, at the pass of Sacramento (February 28th, 1847),

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of Chihuahua, the capital (March 1st). Doniphan presently evacuated his conquest (April). Early in the following year Chihuahua became the object of a third expedition, under General Price, who, coming from the same direction as Doniphan, again occupied the town (March 7th, 1848), defeating the Mexicans at the neighbouring Santa Cruz de las Rosales (March 16th). The whole story of the Chihuahua expeditions is that of border forays rather than of regular campaigns.

## THE CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA

Both Doniphan and Price made their descents from New Mexico, which had been taken possession of by the Americans under General Kearny in the first months of the war (August, 1846). So scanty and so prostrate was the population as to offer no resistance, not even to the occupation of the capital, Santa Fé (August 18th). But some months after, when Kearny had proceeded to California, and Doniphan, after treating with the Navajo Indians, had gone against Chihuahua, an insurrection, partly of Mexicans and partly of Indians, broke out at a village fifty miles from Santa Fé. The American governor, Charles Bent, and many others, both Mexicans and Americans, were murdered; battles also were fought, before the insurgents were reduced, by Price (January, 1847).

Ere the tidings of the war reached the Pacific coast, a band of Americans, partly trappers and partly settlers, declared their independence of Mexico at Sonoma, a town of small importance not far from San Francisco (July 4th, 1846). The leader of the party was John C. Frémont, a captain in the United States engineers, who had recently received instructions from his government to secure a hold upon California. A few days after their declaration Frémont and his followers joined the American commodore Sloat, who, aware of the war, had taken Monterey (July 7th), and entered the bay of San Francisco (July 9th). Sloat was soon succeeded by Commodore Stockton; and he, in conjunction with Frémont, took possession of Ciudad de los Angeles, the capital of Upper California (August 13th). All this was done without opposition from the scattered Mexicans of the province, or from their feeble authorities. But some weeks later a few braver spirits collected, and, driving the Americans from the capital, succeeded likewise in recovering the greater part of California (September, October). On the approach of General Kearny from New Mexico, a month or two afterwards, he was met in battle at San Pasqual (December 6th), and so hemmed in by the enemy as to be in great danger, until relieved by a force despatched to his assistance by Commodore Stockton. The commodore and the general, joining forces, retook Ciudad de los Angeles, after two actions with its defenders (January 10th, 1847). A day or two later Frémont succeeded in bringing the main body of Mexicans in arms to a capitulation at Cowenga (January 13th).

California was again, and more decidedly than before, an American possession. Its conquerors, having no more Mexicans to contend with, turned against one another, and quarrelled for the precedence as vigorously as they had struggled for victory. Lower California was afterwards assailed, but under different commanders. La Paz and San José, both inconsiderable places, were occupied in the course of the year. On the opposite shore, Guaymas was taken by a naval force under Captain Lavalette (October), and Mazatlan by the fleet under Commodore Shubrick (November). From time to time the Mexicans rallied against the invaders, but without success.

It was all a series of skirmishes, fought in the midst of lonely mountains and on far-stretching shores, rather than of ordinary battles, that had reduced California beneath the American power.

#### THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

And now to return to the eastern side. From the first, a blockade of the ports in the gulf of Mexico was but poorly maintained. Then the American fleet embarked upon various operations. Twice was Alvarado, a port to the south of Vera Cruz, attacked by Commodore Conner, and twice it was gallantly defended (August 7th, October 15th, 1846). Then Commodore Perry went against Tabasco, a little distance up a river on the southern coast; but, though he took some prizes and some hamlets, he did not gain the town (October 23rd-26th). The only really successful operation was the occupation of Tampico, which the Mexicans abandoned on the approach of their enemies (November 15th).

Early in the following spring the fleet and the army combined in an attack upon Vera Cruz. Anticipations of success, however high amongst the troops and their officers, were not very generally entertained even by their own countrymen, Vera Cruz, or its castle of San Juan de Ulúa, having been represented over and over again, in Europe and in America, as impregnable. Nevertheless, a bombardment of a few days obliged the garrison, under General Morales, to give up the town and the castle together (March 23rd-26th, 1847). Once masters there, the Americans beheld the road to the city of Mexico lying open before them; but here again their way was supposed to be beset by insurmountable difficulties. They pressed on, nine or ten thousand strong, General Scott at their head, supported by Generals Worth, Pillow, Quitman, and Twiggs, with many officers of tried and of untried reputation. However skilful the leaders, or however valiant the men, it was a daring enterprise to advance upon the capital. In other directions, along the northern boundary, the war had been carried into remote and comparatively unpeopled portions of the country. Here the march lay through a region provided with defenders and with defences, where men would fight for their homes, and where their homes, being close at hand, would give them aid as well as inspiration. The march upon Mexico was by all means the great performance of the war.

Its difficulties soon appeared. At Cerro Gordo, sixty miles from Vera Cruz, Santa Anna posted thirteen thousand of his Mexicans in a mountain pass, to whose natural strength he had added by fortification. It took two days to force a passage, the Americans losing about five hundred, but inflicting a far greater loss on their brave opponents (April 18th-19th). Here, however, they paused; a part of the force was soon to be discharged, and Scott decided that he would make his dismissals and wait for the empty places to be filled. He accordingly advanced slowly to Puebla, while the Mexicans kept in the background, or appeared only as guerillas (May 28th). The guerilla warfare had been prognosticated as the one insuperable obstacle to the progress of the American army; it proved harassing, but by no means fatal. During the delay ensuing on land, the fleet in the gulf, under Commodore Perry, took Tusan and Tabasco, both being but slightly defended (April 18th-June 15th). At length, reinforcements having reached the army, making it not quite eleven thousand strong, it resumed its march, and entered the valley of Mexico (August 10th).

There the Mexicans stood, Santa Anna still at their head, thirty-five

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thousand in their ranks, regular troops and volunteers, old and young, rich and poor, men of the professions and men of the trades—all joined in the defence of their country, now threatened at its very heart. They wanted much, however, that was essential to success. Hope was faint, and even courage sank beneath the errors and the intrigues of the commanding officers, to whom, speaking generally, it was vain to look for example or for guidance. Behind the army was the government, endeavouring to unite itself, yet still rent and enfeebled to the last degree. Even the clergy, chafed by the seizure of church property to meet the exigencies of the state, were divided, if not incensed. It was a broken nation, and yet all the more worthy of respect for the last earnest resistance which it was making to the foe. Never had armies a more magnificent country to assail or to defend than that into which the Americans had penetrated. They fought in defiles or upon plains, vistas of lakes and fields before them, mountain heights above them, the majesty of nature everywhere mingling with the contention of man.

Fourteen miles from the city, battles began at Contreras, where a Mexican division under General Valencia was totally routed (August 19th-20th). The next engagement followed immediately at Churubusco, or Cherebusco, six miles from the capital, Santa Anna himself being there completely defeated (August 20th). An armistice suspended further movements for a fortnight, when an American division under Worth made a successful assault on a range of buildings called Molino del Rey, close to the city. This action, though the most sanguinary of the entire war—both Mexicans and Americans surpassing all their previous deeds—was without results (September 8th). A few days later the fourth and final engagement in the valley took place at Chapultepec, a fortress just above Molino del Rey. Within the lines was the Mexican Military College, and bravely did the students defend it, mere boys outvying veterans in feats of valour. In vain, nevertheless; the college and the fortress yielded together (September 12th-13th). The next day Scott, with sixty-five hundred men, the whole of his army remaining in the field, entered the city of Mexico (September 14th).

Santa Anna retired in the direction of Puebla, which he vainly attempted to take from Colonel Childs. The object of the Mexican general was to cut off the communication between Scott and the seaboard; but he did not succeed. A few last actions of an inferior character, a few skirmishes with bands of partisans, and the war was over in that part of the country. The American generals betook themselves to quarrels and arrests; Scott being some months afterwards superseded by General Butler (February, 1848).

Now that their exploits have been described, the United States armies are to be understood for what they were. It was no regular force, prepared by years of discipline to meet the foe, that followed Taylor, Scott, and the other leaders to the field. The few regiments of United States troops were lost, in respect to numbers, though not to deeds, amid the thousands of volunteers that came swarming from every part of the Union. To bring these irregular troops into any effective condition was more difficult than to meet the Mexicans. On the other hand, there was an animation about them, a personal feeling of emulation and of patriotism, which made the volunteers a far more valuable force than might have been supposed.<sup>1</sup> After all, however, it was to the officers, to the pupils of West Point, to the intelligent and, in many cases, devoted men, who left their occupations at home to

<sup>1</sup> The skill and daring of the officers and the discipline, endurance, and courage of the men during the war with Mexico were as noticeable as the absence of these qualities during the War of 1812.—J. R. SOLEY.<sup>AJ</sup>

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sustain what they deemed the honour of their country abroad, that the successes of the various campaigns are chiefly to be ascribed. The effect of the war was to give the nation a much more military character than it had hitherto sustained, even in its own eyes.

The war had not continued three months when the United States made an overture of peace (July, 1846). It was referred by the Mexican administration to the national congress, and there it rested. In announcing to the American congress the proposal which he had made, President Polk suggested the appropriation of a certain sum as an indemnity for any Mexican territory that might be retained at the conclusion of the war. In the debate which followed, an administration representative from Pennsylvania, David Wilmot, moved a proviso to the proposed appropriation: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any territory on the continent of America which shall hereafter be acquired by or annexed to the United States by virtue of this appropriation, or in any other manner whatsoever." The proviso was hastily adopted in the house, but it was too late to receive any action in the senate before the close of the session (August). In the following session the proviso again passed the house, but was abandoned by that body on being rejected by the senate.

The Mexicans were reluctant to yield any territory, even that beyond the Rio Grande which had been claimed as a part of Texas. It went especially against their inclinations to open it to slavery, the instructions of the commissioners being quite positive on the point that any treaty to be signed by them must prohibit slavery in the ceded country. "No president of the United States," replied Commissioner Trist, "would dare to present any such treaty to the senate."

The result of battles rather than of negotiations was a treaty signed at Guadalupe-Hidalgo, a suburb of the capital. By this instrument Mexico ceded the whole of Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California, while the United States agreed to surrender their other conquests, and to pay for those retained the sum of \$15,000,000, besides assuming the old claims of their own citizens against Mexico to the amount of more than \$3,000,000 (February 2nd, 1848). The treaty contained other provisions, some of which were modified at Washington, and altered accordingly at Queretaro, where the Mexican congress was called to ratify the peace. Ratifications were finally exchanged at Queretaro (May 30th), and peace proclaimed at Washington (July 4th). The Mexican territory—that is, the portion which remained—was rapidly evacuated. Thus ended a conflict of which the motives, the events, and the results have been very variously estimated. But this much may be historically said—that on the side of the United States the war had not merely a party but rather a sectional character. What sectional causes there were to bring about hostilities we have seen in relation to the annexation of Texas. What sectional issues there were to proceed from the treaty we have yet to see.<sup>d</sup>



## CHAPTER X

### CIVIL DISCORD

[1848-1865 A.D.]

The Civil War, described by Mommson as "the mightiest struggle and most glorious victory as yet recorded in human annals," is one of those gigantic events whose causes, action, and sequences will be of perennial concern to him who seeks the wisdom underlying the march of history. — RHODES.<sup>o</sup>

THE presidential campaign of 1848 was significant because of the very evident desire on the part of both parties to evade committing themselves upon the vital questions of the day. The democratic national convention met first at Baltimore, May 22nd, 1848. Lewis Cass of Michigan led from the start in the balloting, his two principal competitors being James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire. President Polk received no support whatever. Cass, who was preferred by Southern delegates on account of his opposition to the Wilmot Proviso, was named on the fourth ballot, and General William O. Butler of Kentucky received the nomination for vice-president. A resolution declaring that non-intervention with slavery in either states or territories was "true republican doctrine" was overwhelmingly rejected, and was taken as an expression of the general desire of the party to evade the slavery question. The platform adopted was simply a reiteration of the principles declared for in 1840 and 1844.

The whig convention met at Philadelphia on June 7th. Their choice of a presidential candidate was significant of their desire to follow the example of their democratic competitors. Both Clay and Webster were passed over and General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, a slave-holder, whose political beliefs were practically unknown, was selected. The second place on the ticket was given to Millard Fillmore, a former New York congressman with a fair record.

In June the faction of New York democrats known as Barnburners met with dissatisfied representatives from several other states and named ex-President Martin Van Buren for the presidency. The Barnburners,

mostly followers of Silas Wright, and including such able young leaders as John A. Dix, Preston King, and Samuel J. Tilden, were opposed to the extension of slavery to the territories. Their opponents within their own party in New York, known as Hunkers, were led by William L. Marcy. The Barnburners nomination of Van Buren was ratified in August by a convention held at Buffalo. There was born the Free-soil party, whose platform declared for "free soil for a free people," and against the extension of slavery to the territories. With them now united the remnants of the Liberty party of 1844.

The democratic defection in New York state determined the result of the election. Outside of New York the Free-soil movement drew from Taylor: in New York from Cass. As a result Taylor

carried New York and was elected; that state's thirty-six votes in the electoral college, where the vote stood 163 to 127, being exactly his plurality over Cass. Van Buren received in the nation 291,263 votes, sufficient to prevent either Cass or Taylor from obtaining a majority of the popular vote.



ZACHARY TAYLOR  
(1784-1850)

Twelfth President of United States

#### SLAVERY AND THE TERRITORIES

Every day it was becoming more and more certain that some solution of the problem of slavery must be reached if the Union was not to be endangered. The campaign just closed had shown the serious disintegration of parties over the question. As the Free-soil spirit of the North rose, so did the pro-slavery aggressiveness of the South. The sectional lines of the contest were becoming daily more marked.

Calhoun had introduced in the senate in 1847 a set of resolutions declaring that congress had no constitutional power to exclude slavery from the territories. This ground the Southern members were now disposed to insist upon. "As yet," says Woodrow Wilson, "the real purposes of parties had not reached their radical stage. As yet the abolitionists with their bitter contempt for the compromises of the constitution, their ruthless programme of abolition whether with or without constitutional warrant, and their readiness for separation from the Southern States should abolition prove impossible, had won but scant sympathy from the masses of the people, or from any wise leaders of opinion. The Free-soilers were as widely separated from them as possible both in spirit and in opinion. They had no relish for revo-

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lution, no tolerance for revolutionary doctrine. The issue was not yet the existence of slavery within the states, but the admission of slavery into the territories. The object of the extreme Southern men was to gain territory for slavery; the object of the men now drawing together into new parties in the North was to exclude slavery altogether from the new national domain in the West."

The discovery of gold in California in January, 1848, tended to bring the question to a position where a decision could not be evaded. The unprecedented rush of immigration to the gold-fields gave a population of eighty thousand to the region by 1850. Before congress had decided under what conditions California should be organised as a territory she was already seeking to be admitted as a state. The emigrants were from all sections of the country, but Northern men and foreigners were largely in the majority.

President Taylor's policy favoured letting the new communities form their own constitutions, and decide for themselves what attitude they should take regarding slavery. In accordance with this policy he sent a confidential agent to California to urge the settlers to organise and apply at once for admission as a state. This plan was followed, and in the fall of 1849 a constitution prohibiting slavery was adopted. When congress met in December, 1849, President Taylor resolutely urged upon them the acceptance of his policy, confident that it was a safe solution of the perplexing problem. But congress, controlled by party leaders who lacked Taylor's clean-cut way of looking at the matter, hesitated.<sup>a</sup>

#### CLAY'S COMPROMISE PROPOSALS<sup>1</sup>

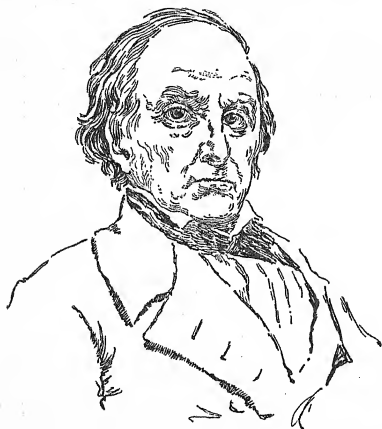
It was under these circumstances that Henry Clay came forward, with the dignity of age upon him, to urge measures of compromise. He proposed, January 29th, 1850, that congress should admit California with her free constitution; should organise the rest of the Mexican cession without any provision at all concerning slavery, leaving its establishment or exclusion to the course of events and the ultimate choice of the settlers; should purchase from Texas her claim upon a portion of New Mexico; should abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia, but promise, for the rest, non-interference elsewhere with slavery or the interstate slave trade; and should concede to the South an effective fugitive slave law. The programme was too various to hold together. There were majorities, perhaps, for each of its proposals separately, but there was no possibility of making up a single majority for all of them taken in a body. After an ineffectual debate, which ran through two months, direct action upon Mr. Clay's resolutions was avoided by their reference to a select committee of thirteen, of which Mr. Clay was made chairman. On May 8th this committee reported a series of measures, which it proposed should be grouped in three distinct bills. The first of these—afterwards dubbed the Omnibus Bill, because of the number of things it was made to carry—proposed the admission of California as a state, and the organisation of Utah and New Mexico as territories, without any restriction as to slavery, the adjustment of the Texas boundary line, and the payment to Texas of \$10,000,000 by way of indemnity for her claims on a portion of New Mexico. The second measure was a stringent Fugitive Slave Law. The third prohibited the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

[<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from Woodrow Wilson's *Division and Reunion* (Epochs of American History), by permission of Longmans, Green, & Company. Copyright, 1893, by Longmans, Green, & Company.]

## THE COMPROMISE DEBATED

This group of bills of course experienced the same difficulties of passage that had threatened Mr Clay's group of resolutions. The Omnibus Bill, when taken up, was so stripped by amendment in the senate that it was reduced, before its passage, to a few provisions for the organisation of the territory of Utah, with or without slavery, as events should determine; and Clay withdrew, disheartened, to the sea-shore to regain his strength and spirits. Both what was said in debate and what was done out of doors seemed for a time to make agreement hopeless.

Clay, although he abated nothing of his conviction that the federal government must be obeyed in its supremacy, although bolder and more courageous than ever, indeed, in his avowal of a determination to stand by the Union and the constitution in any event, nevertheless put away his old-time imperiousness, and pleaded as he had never pleaded before for mutual accommodation and agreement. Even Webster, slackened a little in his constitutional convictions by profound anxiety for the life of the constitution itself, urged compromise and concession.<sup>b</sup> His position was clearly stated in his great "Seventh of March Speech," which proved a turning point in the action of congress, in popular sentiment,



DANIEL WEBSTER  
(1782-1852)

and in the history of the country. "The speech produced a wonderful sensation," says Rhodes<sup>c</sup>, "none other in our annals produced an immediate effect so mighty and striking." Yet a careful examination of the speech scarcely discloses a reason for the harsh reception it received at the North. From 1846 to 1848 the prohibition of slavery in the territory to be acquired, or already acquired, from Mexico, seemed to the North of the most vital importance, for the latitude of the country gave reason to believe that its products would be those of the slave states, and that it would naturally gravitate toward them politically. By 1850, however, the situation had completely changed. California, receiving an extraordinary increase in its population through the discovery of gold, had organised a state government and adopted a constitution which prohibited slavery. New Mexico, then comprising parts of the later New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, and Nevada, was by that time found to differ greatly from the Southern States as to climate and products, and to be economically much more closely connected with the North. Indeed, no longer than two months after Webster's speech

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was delivered, a state government was formed by the people of the territory which declared for the absolute prohibition of slavery. "It certainly is no lack of consistency in a public man," says Rhodes,<sup>c</sup> "to change his action in accordance with the change in circumstances. To insist upon a rigid principle when it is no more applicable or necessary is not good politics; yet great blame has been attached to Webster because he did not (in this speech) insist on the Wilmot Proviso."<sup>a</sup>

Calhoun, equally anxious to preserve the constitution, but convinced of the uselessness to the South of even the constitution itself, should the institutions of southern society be seriously jeopardized by the action of congress in the matter of the territories, put forth the programme of the Southern party with all that cold explicitness of which he was so consummate a master. The maintenance of the Union, he solemnly declared, depended upon the permanent preservation of a perfect equilibrium between the slave holding and the free states: that equilibrium could be maintained only by some policy which would render possible the creation of as many new slave states as free states; concessions of territory had already been made by the South, in the establishment of the Missouri compromise line, which rendered it extremely doubtful whether that equilibrium could be preserved; the equilibrium must be restored, or the Union must go to pieces; and the action of congress in the admission of California must determine which alternative was to be chosen. He privately advised that the fighting be forced now to a conclusive issue; because, he said, "we are stronger now than we shall be hereafter, politically and morally."



WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD  
(1801-1872)

#### SEWARD AND CHASE : TAYLOR'S ATTITUDE <sup>1</sup>

Still more significant, if possible — for they spoke the aggressive purposes of a new party — were the speeches of Senator Seward of New York and Senator Chase of Ohio, spokesmen respectively of the Free-soil whigs and Free-soil democrats. Seward demanded the prompt admission of California, repudiated all compromise, and, denying the possibility of any equilibrium between the sections, declared the common domain of the country to be

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devoted to justice and liberty by the constitution not only, but also by "a higher law than the constitution." While deprecating violence or any illegal action, he avowed his conviction that slavery must give way "to the salutary instructions of economy and to the ripening influences of humanity"; that "all measures which fortify slavery or extend it tend to the consummation of violence—all that check its extension and abate its strength tend to its peaceful extirpation." Chase spoke with equal boldness to the same effect.

Seward was the president's confidential adviser. General Taylor had surrounded himself in his cabinet, not with the recognised masters of whig policy, but with men who would counsel instead of dictating to him. Several of these advisers were Seward's friends; and the president, like Seward, insisted that California be admitted without condition or counterbalancing compromise.

The Texan authorities, when they learned of the action of New Mexico in framing a constitution at the president's suggestion, prepared to assert their claims upon a portion of the New Mexican territory by military force; the governor of Mississippi promised assistance; and Southern members of congress who called upon the president expressed the fear that Southern officers in the federal army would decline to obey the orders, which he had promptly issued, to meet Texan force with the force of the general government. "Then," exclaimed Taylor, "I will command the army in person, and any man who is taken in treason against the Union I will hang as I did the deserters and spies at Monterey." The spirited old man had a soldier's instinctive regard for law, and unhesitating impulse to execute it. There was a ring as of Jackson in this utterance.<sup>b</sup>

Despite the hostility of the extremists of both sections the idea of compromise eventually triumphed. A state convention in Mississippi in the previous year had issued an address to the people of the South proposing a convention of Southern delegates at Nashville in June. As the date set drew near, however, there was seen to be little interest in it, outside Mississippi and South Carolina. The fears of the union men throughout the nation were raised to a high pitch of excitement by the thought of what the assembly might do. But their fears proved unjustified. Delegates from nine states met on June 3rd. None of the border states were represented nor were North Carolina or Louisiana. And instead of adopting a fiery address threatening disunion, it expressed a confident hope for some sort of a compromise. It proved to be, as Rhodes<sup>c</sup> says, "not a wave, but only a ripple of Southern sentiment."

#### DEATH OF TAYLOR. COMPROMISE EFFECTED

One very potent factor still remained in opposition to the measures of Clay's committee. And this was President Taylor himself. Neither the persuasion nor warnings of Clay could move him. All the influence of the administration was exerted against the compromise. But before there was any necessity or opportunity for an open rupture the president was removed by death. He had imprudently exposed himself to the sun on the 4th of July, illness developing into typhoid fever followed, and on the 9th he died. Throughout the North and in the border states the sorrow and regret at his death were felt by all irrespective of party. Never a partisan in any sense of the word, he had accepted the whig nomination with the declaration that "he would not be the president of a party, but the president of the whole people." He had tried courageously to live up to this ideal, and although

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he could not, any more than Clay or Webster, have stayed the hand of destiny, still had he lived to finish his work his measure of success might have been greater than theirs.

For the second time in its history the whig party had to face the situation presented by the accession of a vice-president who was not in accord with the late administration's policy. For Millard Fillmore, a whig of the Webster school, like the Massachusetts statesman, was an advocate of compromise. He had told President Taylor privately that in case it devolved upon him to give the casting vote on the Clay measures in the senate he should vote for them. The country at large did not know officially what his stand would be, but it was felt instinctively that there would be a reversal of policy. Clay saw new hope for the success of his schemes in the change in the executive. Seward, who knew his old rival in New York politics, lamented that "Providence had at last led the man of hesitation and double opinions to the crisis where decision and singleness are indispensable."

President Fillmore did not thwart his party as Tyler had done, but the immediate reconstruction of his cabinet with Webster as secretary of state left room for no doubt as to what his policy on compromise was to be. In rapid succession the committee's compromise measures were now pushed through senate and house, and at once received the approval of the president. The compromise of 1850 was at last complete.<sup>a</sup>

The result was to leave the Missouri compromise line untouched—for the line still ran all of its original length across the Louisiana purchase of 1803—but to open the region of the Mexican cession of 1848 to slavery, should the course of events not prevent its introduction. The slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia, but the North was exasperated by the Fugitive Slave Law, which devoted the whole executive power of the general government within the free states to the recapture of fugitive slaves. This part of the compromise made it certain that antagonisms would be hotly excited, not soothingly allayed. Habits of accommodation and the mercantile spirit, which dreaded any disturbance of the great prosperity which had already followed on the heels of the discovery of gold in California, had induced compromise; but other forces were to render it ineffectual against the coming crisis.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY

It was while the compromise measures were before congress, while the nation was absorbed in watching the outcome of the great domestic drama, that a treaty of great importance was signed (April 19th, 1850) at Washington by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the British minister, and the secretary of state, John M. Clayton. The discovery of gold in California had been followed by an unprecedented rush of population to the Pacific Coast. One of the most frequented routes of travel lay across the Central American isthmus, and already both British and American companies were seeking from Nicaragua permission to dig a canal from ocean to ocean through her territory. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, as it was called, established a joint Anglo-American protectorate over any ship-canal that might be constructed across the isthmus, either by way of Nicaragua, Panama, or Tehuantepec. The treaty is regarded by so competent a critic as Rhodes<sup>c</sup> as favouring an unrestricted commercial intercourse, and therefore as being in line with American traditional policy. He admits, however, that it gave rise to many disputed questions, since England and the United States very naturally viewed the matter from

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different standpoints. Even at home it was severely criticised in the senate. It is not strange, therefore, that it should soon after have become the subject of controversy with England.<sup>a</sup>

## NORTH AND SOUTH IN 1850

The abolitionists had never ceased to din the iniquity of slavery into the ears of the American people. Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, with nearly all the other political leaders of 1850, had united in deploring the wickedness of these fanatics, who were persistently stirring up a question which was steadily widening the distance between the sections. They mistook the symptom for the disease. Slavery itself had put the South out of harmony with its surroundings, and still more out of harmony with the inevitable lines of the country's development. Even in 1850, though they hardly yet knew it, the two sections had drifted so far apart that they were practically two different countries.

The case of the South was one of arrested development. The South remained very much as in 1790; while other parts of the country had developed, it had stood still. The remnants of colonial feeling, of class influence, which advancing democracy had wiped out elsewhere, retained all their force here, aggravated by the effects of an essentially aristocratic system of employment. The ruling class had to maintain a military control over the labouring class and a class influence over the poorer whites. It had even secured in the constitution provision for its political power in the representation given to three-fifths of the slaves. The twenty additional members of the house of representatives were not simply a gain to the South; they were still more a gain to the "black districts," where whites were few, and the slave-holder controlled the district. Slave-owners and slave-holders together, there were but 350,000 of them; but they had common interests, the intelligence to see them and the courage to contend for them. The first step of a rising man was to buy slaves; and this was enough to enroll him in the dominant class. From it were drawn the representatives and senators in congress, the governors, and all the holders of offices over which the "slave power," as it came to be called, had control. Not only was the South inert; its ruling class, its ablest and best men, were united in defence of tendencies which were alien and hostile to those of the rest of the country.

Immigration into the United States was not an important factor in its development until about 1847. In 1847 it rose to 235,000, in 1849 to 300,000, and in 1850 to 428,000; all told, more than two and a quarter million persons from abroad settled in the United States between 1847 and 1854. The wealth-increasing influence of such a stream of immigration may be calculated. Its political effects were even greater and were all in the same direction. Leaving out the dregs of the immigration, which settled down in the seaboard cities, its best part was a powerful nationalising force. It had not come to any particular state, but to the United States; it had none of the traditional prejudices in favour of a state, but a strong feeling for the whole country; and the new feelings which it brought in must have had their weight not only on the gross mass of the people, but on the views of former leaders. And all the influences of this enormous immigration were confined to the North and West, whose divergence from the South thus received a new impetus. The immigration avoided slave soil as if by instinct. And, as the sections began to differ further in aims and policy, the North began to gain heavily in ability to ensure its success.

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## POLITICAL TENDENCIES TOWARD DISUNION

Texas was the last slave state ever admitted; and, as it refused to be divided, the South had no further increase of numbers in the senate. Until 1850 the admission of a free state had been so promptly balanced by the admission of a slave state that the senators of the two sections had remained about equal in number; in 1860 the free states had thirty-six senators and the slave states only thirty. As the representation in the house had changed from thirty-five free-state and thirty slave-state members in 1790 to one hundred and forty-seven free-state and ninety slave-state in 1860, and as the electors are the sum of the numbers of senators and representatives, it is evident that political power had passed away from the South in 1850. If at any time the free states should unite they could control the house of representatives and the senate, elect the president and vice-president, dictate the appointment of judges and other federal officers, and make the laws what they pleased. If pressed to it, they could even control the interpretation of the laws by the supreme court. No federal judge could be removed except by impeachment, but an act of congress could at any time increase the number of judges to any extent, and the appointment of the additional judges could reverse the opinion of the court. All the interests of the South depended on the one question whether the free states would unite or not.

In circumstances so critical a cautious quiescence and avoidance of public attention was the only safe course for the "slave power," but that course had become impossible. The numbers interested had become too large to be subject to complete discipline; all could not be held in cautious reserve; and, when an advanced proposal came from any quarter of the slave-holding lines, the whole army was shortly forced up to the advanced position. Every movement of the mass was necessarily aggressive; and aggression meant final collision. If collision came, it must be on some question of the rights of the states; and on such a question the whole South would move as one man. Everything thus tended to disunion.

The Protestant churches of the United States had reflected in their organisation the spirit of the political institutions under which they lived. Acting as purely voluntary associations, they had been organised into governments by delegates, much like the "conventions" which had been evolved in the political parties. The omnipresent slavery question intruded into these bodies and split them. The Baptist church was thus divided into a Northern and a Southern branch in 1845, and the equally powerful Methodist church met the same fate the following year. Two of the four great Protestant bodies were thus no longer national; it was only by careful management that the integrity of the Presbyterian church was maintained until 1861.

The political parties showed the same tendency. Each began to shrivel up in one section or the other. The notion of "squatter sovereignty," attractive at first to the Western democracy, and not repudiated by the South, enabled the democratic party to pass the crisis of 1850 without losing much of its Northern vote, while Southern whigs began to drift in, making the party continually more pro-slavery. This could not continue long without beginning to decrease its Northern vote, but this effect did not become plainly visible until after 1852. The efforts of the whig party to ignore the great question alienated its anti-slavery members in the North while they did not satisfy its Southern members. The whig losses were not at first heavy, but they were enough to defeat the party almost everywhere in the presidential election of 1852.<sup>e</sup>

## WEBSTER'S DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE

Webster's tenure of the office of secretary of state was marked by two diplomatic episodes of something more than ordinary interest. The first, which occurred in the fall of 1850, culminated in his famous Hülsemann letter, one of the most striking of all his state papers. During the previous year President Taylor had despatched a special agent to Europe to watch and report upon the progress of events in Hungary, where the revolution under Louis Kossuth was then in progress. This action had angered the Austrian government and a diplomatic correspondence ensued. Hülsemann, the Austrian *chargé d'affaires*, sent a haughty, dictatorial letter to Webster, who jumped at the opportunity it gave him, and replied in a letter which terminated the controversy. In this reply which, as Rhodes<sup>c</sup> aptly says, was little more than "a stump-speech in disguise," Webster asserted the right of the United States, compared with which "all the possessions of the house of Hapsburg were but as a patch on the earth's surface," to "watch" revolutions wherever they occurred, declared the sympathy of America for any people "struggling for a constitution like our own," and assured the Austrian representative that the nation had no thought now of departing from its traditional policy of keeping out of European embroilments. The letter was received with enthusiasm by all parties, and possibly accomplished for the moment the purpose for which Webster said he had written it—namely, "to touch the national pride, and make a man feel sheepish and look silly who should speak of disunion."

The other diplomatic question with which Webster was engaged was of a very different sort. It grew directly out of the Lopez expedition to Cuba in the summer of 1851. Lopez led an army of Americans and adventurers into the island but was taken and garroted. The capture and execution of some of his American followers led to a riot in New Orleans in which the house of the Spanish consul was sacked and the Spanish flag torn in tatters. Spain at once protested, but Webster conducted the affair to a happy conclusion, with a promise of a military salute for the Spanish flag, and a cash indemnity, subsequently voted by congress.

## UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

During the summer of 1852 appeared a subtle but powerful influence which was to play a more important part in arousing and creating anti-slavery sentiment in the North than any amount of abolition pamphlets or political tirades. This was Harriet Beecher Stowe's moving and pathetic novel of slavery, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Unquestionably overdrawn, in that it related as of ordinary occurrence incidents that were probably exceptional, its powerful and vivid portrayal of the horrors and wrongs of slavery stirred the sympathetic hearts of the North to their profoundest depths. Perhaps never has a work of fiction exerted such a wide and lasting influence. Within the year over three hundred thousand copies were sold. Strangely enough its popularity was not confined to the North alone; its sales in the South indicated that even in the land of slavery it was widely read. The book was at once dramatised and produced on the stage with unprecedented success.

The slave-holders were not long, however, in awaking to the realisation that it was an increasingly dangerous menace to their cherished institution, and scores of publications of varying merit were rushed through the press in

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the attempt to discredit or deny the truth of Mrs. Stowe's story. That the essential features of her picture were correct has now been generally accepted. It is the ground held by Rhodes,<sup>c</sup> one of the fairest and most impartial of American historians, who says: "If we bear in mind that the novelist, from the very nature of the art, deals in characteristics and not with average persons, the conclusion is resistless that Mrs. Stowe realised her ideal." Channing<sup>d</sup> pithily suggests the book's tremendous influence with the remark that "the Northern boys who read Uncle Tom's Cabin in 1852-1858 were the voters of 1860 and the soldiers of 1861-1865."<sup>a</sup>

#### THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW<sup>1</sup>

For a short time after the passage of the compromise measures the country was tranquil. But the quiet was not a healthful quiet: it was simply the lethargy of reaction. There was on all hands an anxious determination to be satisfied — to keep still, and not arouse again the terrible forces of disruption which had so startled the country in the recent legislative struggle; but nobody was really satisfied. That the leaders who had made themselves responsible for the compromise were still profoundly uneasy was soon made abundantly evident to everyone. Mr. Webster went about anxiously reprov-ing agitation. These measures of accommodation between the two sections, he insisted, were a new compact, a new stay and support for the constitution; and no one who loved the constitution and the union ought to dare to touch them. Mr. Clay took similar ground. Good resolutions were everywhere devoted to keeping down agitation. Party magnates sought to allay excitement by declaring that there was none.

But the Fugitive Slave Law steadily defeated these purposes of peace. The same section of the constitution which commanded the rendering up by the states to each other of fugitives from justice had provided also that persons "held to service or labour in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another," should be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service might be due; and so early as 1793 congress had passed a law intended to secure the execution of this section with regard to both classes of fugitives. Apparently it had been meant to lay the duty of returning both fugitives from justice and fugitives from service upon the state authorities; but while considerations of mutual advantage had made it easy to secure the interstate rendition of criminals, there had been a growing slackness in the matter of rendering up fugitive slaves. The supreme court of the United States, moreover, had somewhat complicated the matter by deciding, in the case of *Prigg versus Pennsylvania* (1842), that the federal government could not impose upon state officials the duty of executing a law of the United States, as it had sought to do in the legislation of 1793. Local magistrates, therefore, might decline to issue warrants for the arrest or removal of fugitive slaves. In view of the increasing unwillingness of the free states to take any part in the process, the Southern members of congress insisted that the federal government should itself make more effective provision for the execution of the constitution in this particular; and it was part of the compromise accommodation of 1850 that this demand should be complied with.

Doubtless it would have been impossible to frame any law which would have been palatable to the people of the free states. But the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 seemed to embrace as many irritating provisions as possible. In

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order to meet the views of the supreme court the whole duty of enforcing the act was put upon officers of the United States. Warrant for the arrest or removal of a fugitive slave was to proceed in every case from a judge or commissioner of the United States; this warrant was to be executed by a marshal of the United States, who could not decline to execute it under a penalty of \$1,000, and who would be held responsible under his official bond for the full value of any slave who should escape from his custody; all good citizens were required to assist in the execution of the law when called upon to do so, and a heavy fine besides civil damages to the owner of the slave was to be added to six months' imprisonment for any assistance given the fugitive or any attempt to effect his rescue; the simple affidavit of the person who claimed the negro was to be sufficient evidence of ownership, sufficient basis for the certificate of the court or commissioner; and this certificate was to be conclusive as against the operation of the writ of *habeas corpus*.

#### RESISTANCE AND MISUNDERSTANDING

The law, moreover, was energetically and immediately put into operation by slave owners. In some cases negroes who had long since escaped into the Northern states, and who had settled and married there, were seized upon the affidavit of their former owners, and by force of the federal government carried away into slavery again. Riots and rescues became frequent in connection with the execution of process under the law. One of the most notable cases occurred in Boston, where, in February, 1851, a negro named Shadrach was rescued from the United States marshal by a mob composed for the most part of negroes and enabled to escape into Canada.

It was impossible to quiet feeling and establish the compromise measures in the esteem of the people while such a law, a part of that compromise, was being pressed to execution in such a way. Neither section, moreover, understood or esteemed the purpose or spirit of the other. "Many of the slaveholding states," Clay warned his fellow whigs in the North, when they showed signs of restlessness under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, "and many public meetings of the people in them, have deliberately declared that their adherence to the Union depends upon the preservation of that law, and that its abandonment would be the signal of the dissolution of the Union." But most Northern men thought that the South had threatened chiefly for effect, and would not venture to carry out half her professed purpose, should she be defeated. Southern men, on their part, esteemed very slightly the fighting spirit of the North. They regarded it disdainfully as a section given over to a self-seeking struggle for wealth, and they knew commercial wealth to be pusillanimous to a degree when it came to meeting threats of war and disastrous disturbances of trade.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1852

Such were the conditions under which the presidential campaign of 1852 took place. The democratic convention met at Baltimore on June 1st. The principal candidates for the presidential nomination were General Lewis Cass of Michigan, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, who had been Polk's secretary of state, and former gov-

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ernor William L. Marcy of New York. The two-thirds rule, however, rendered the choice of any one of these candidates impossible, and on the fifth day Virginia pointed the way to a solution of the problem by giving her votes to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, a man who had scarcely been mentioned before the convention. He gained steadily until the forty-eighth ballot, when a stampede gave him the nomination. Pierce was a handsome man in the prime of life, who had represented his state in both houses of congress and had served as a brigadier-general under General Scott in the Mexican War. But, as a recent historian well says, in none of these positions had he won distinction for anything so much as for a certain grace and candour of bearing. Nathaniel Hawthorne, a college mate and boyhood friend, has left a pleasant picture of Pierce in the campaign life which he loyally wrote in his support; but the novelist's epitome of the candidate's qualifications for the presidency gave little promise of any ability to cope with the problems he would be called upon to solve if elected. William R. King of Alabama was named for vice-president.

The whig convention which met two weeks later in the same place was divided in its support of President Fillmore, Webster, his secretary of state, and General Winfield Scott, whose sole claim to the nomination was his successful campaign in the Mexican War. After balloting for three days the Southern delegates, who had at first almost unanimously voted for Fillmore, threw their support to Scott, who was nominated by a majority vote on the fifty-third ballot. The nomination for vice-president went to William A. Graham of North Carolina.

The platforms put forward by the two parties were significant of the peculiar political situation, for in addition to their ordinary declarations of principles both added a strong assertion of their complete acceptance of the compromise measures of 1850, and their determination to take them as a final settlement of the question of slavery extension. The democratic platform went even further and declared for a faithful adherence to the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 as one of the main foundations of its political creed.

The Free-soil party, in its convention held at Pittsburg in August, boldly denounced the shrinking cowardice of the two great parties in refusing to consider the question of slavery extension a vital one, and announced their programme as "No more slave states, no more slave territories, no nationalised slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." John P. Hale of New Hampshire was named as their candidate for the presidency and George W. Julian of Indiana for the vice-presidency.

The campaign was not a spirited one. After the first glow of enthusiasm it was characterised by apathy. Thousands of whigs, repelled by both their party's platform and candidates, but still not ready to unite with a third party, showed little interest in the election. The democrats, feeling themselves again united, were confident of victory. The Free-soil party did not muster its full strength. People felt that it was not so much a contest for principles as for spoils. Before election day the two great champions of compromise had passed away. Henry Clay died on June 29th, and Webster, broken-spirited over what he felt to be a final end of all his ambitions, on October 23rd. Democratic confidence proved not to be misplaced. Pierce, although his popular majority was small, carried every state except four, and received two hundred and fifty-four electoral votes to forty-two for Scott. At the same time the democratic majorities were increased in both houses of congress. The defeat was the death knell of the whig party. Its

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vacillating, wavering policy; its failure to take up boldly the cause of liberty; its inability to cope with national problems when it had the opportunity, had lost it the confidence and faith of its supporters. Before another four years had passed it had been supplanted as one of the great national parties by a party not then born—the republican.

#### THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PIERCE ADMINISTRATION

Franklin Pierce was inaugurated March 4th, 1853, the youngest man up to that time to assume the office of president. In his inaugural address he made a vigorous appeal for the Union; he assured the country of his unequivocal adherence to the principles of the compromise of 1850, and declared that its provisions should be “unhesitatingly carried into effect.” As the only portion of the compromise that called for executive action was the Fugitive Slave Act it was well understood that although it was not mentioned by name this phrase applied to that law. His assertion that “the acquisition of certain possessions not within our jurisdiction” was “eminently important for our protection,” and that his administration would not be controlled “by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion,” was taken to point clearly to the possible annexation of Cuba, which the pro-slavery men favoured in order to offset the formation of new free states in the northwest.

The new president's cabinet and diplomatic appointments demonstrated even more certainly than his inaugural address what influences guided him. The state portfolio was first offered to John A. Dix of New York, but his association with the Free-soil movement in 1848 made him an object of distrust to the Southern democrats, and William L. Marcy finally received the appointment. The appointment as secretary of war of Jefferson Davis, the most extreme of the Southern state-rights leaders and one of the bitterest foes of the compromise, was received with a shock by Union men of all sections. Nor did the selection of the shifty Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts bring assurance to New England and the North. The diplomatic appointments pointed plainly toward the acquisition of Cuba. Buchanan was sent to England, where it was thought he might be able to overcome that country's known jealousy of American designs on the island. The assignment of the Madrid mission to Pierre Soulé of Louisiana, who had gone on record as a believer that Cuba might be and ought to be obtained by other means than purchase, was a source of annoyance to the Spanish court, and was commonly commented upon as a gratuitous insult to a friendly power.

A noteworthy diplomatic event of the first year of Pierce's administration was Secretary Marcy's vigorous assertion of the protecting power of American citizenship in foreign lands in relation to the case of Martin Koszta. Koszta was a Hungarian revolutionist of 1848, who had escaped to the United States, where he had taken out his first citizenship papers. Returning to Smyrna on a business trip, he was there kidnapped and carried on board an Austrian brig-of-war, whose captain placed him in irons. Captain Ingraham of the American sloop-of-war *Saint Louis*, demanded his release as an American citizen, and as a compromise he was delivered, pending a settlement, into the custody of the French consul-general. The Austrian government demanded reparation for what it termed an outrage. Secretary Marcy, with his eye on the democratic presidential nomination, set out to write a reply that would strike the public chord as Webster's famous Hülse-mann letter had done. His judicious exposition of the American theory of citizenship, and his declaration of the right of the United States to afford

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protection to those who had become "clothed with the national character," as Koszta had, was received with great favour by Americans of both parties, and has been sustained and followed by his successors in the state department.

It was admitted before the year was far gone by the best friends of the administration that the president needed all the glory a vigorous foreign policy could bring him. For the promise of his inaugural had not been fulfilled. His complete lack of executive ability, his deficiency in initiative power, his fatal indecision of character, were daily proving his unfitness to cope with the great problems of the nation. "No one," says Rhodes,<sup>c</sup> "could deny that he had grown less by his elevation, like a little statue on a great pedestal." Still to the outward eye the democratic party seemed to be more solidly intrenched in power than almost any party since the foundation of the Union, the state elections of 1853 increased its hold on the nation, and there appeared to be no cloud on the horizon that could threaten its continued supremacy for a long period of time. But forces were already actively at work which were soon to bring it to a rude awakening.

#### THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL (1854 A.D.)

Congress met on December 3rd, 1853. The message which President Pierce addressed to that body congratulated the country that anti-slavery agitation had ceased, and that both parties had agreed to uphold the compromises of 1820 and 1850 by which the status of slavery appeared to be definitely settled on every inch of American territory. A bill for the organisation of Nebraska Territory, which was to comprise what was then known as the "Platte country"—Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Montana, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming—had passed the house at the previous session and had been reported to the senate. This same bill, in which there was no reference whatever to slavery, was now (December, 1853) reintroduced in the senate and referred to the committee on territories, of which the chairman was Stephen A. Douglas. On January 4th, 1854, Senator Douglas reported the bill to the senate in a new form, which must be considered nothing more nor less than a personal bid for Southern democratic support in the coming presidential campaign. In its new form the bill expressly provided that any states subsequently made up out of the Nebraska territory should decide for themselves whether they should be slave or free states in entire disregard of the prohibition contained in the Missouri Compromise (1820). After recommitment the measure known to history as the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was reported. It provided for two territories instead of one, the southern lying between 37° and 40° to be known as Kansas, the northern section to be called Nebraska. The bill proposed further that in extending the federal laws to these territories an exception should be made of that section (the 8th) of the act by which Missouri was admitted, "which being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention by congress with slavery in the states and territories, as recognised by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, is hereby declared inoperative and void." Thus was the Missouri Compromise, which the anti-slavery men had long considered an immovable bulwark in the path of the aggressions of the "slave power," to be summarily repealed. And in its place was to be adopted the principles of "squatter or popular sovereignty" first advanced by Cass during the discussion of the Oregon question in 1846-1847. A final clause provided for the extension of the Fugitive Slave Law to the new territories.<sup>a</sup>

## FUTILE OPPOSITION: EFFECTS OF THE ACTS

No bolder or more extraordinary measure had ever been proposed in congress; and it came upon the country like a thief in the night, without warning or expectation, when parties were trying to sleep off the excitement of former debates about the extension of slavery. Southern members had never dreamed of demanding a measure like this, expressly repealing the Missouri Compromise, and opening all the territories to slavery; and no one but Douglas would have dared to offer it to them — Douglas, with his strong, coarse-grained, unsensitive nature, his western audacity, his love of leading, and leading boldly, in the direction whither, as it seemed to him, there lay party strength. Mr. Pierce, it seems, had been consulted about the measure beforehand, and had given it his approbation, saying that he deemed it founded "upon a sound principle, which the compromise of 1820 infringed upon," and to which such a bill would enable the country to return.<sup>b</sup>

Seward, Chase, Sumner, and Wade bravely led a band of anti-slavery senators in opposition. But their efforts were of no avail. Northern democrats carried away with the idea that the new principle of "squatter sovereignty" could be made to weld the democrats of all sections together into an irresistible political force that would sweep the whig party from the arena of national politics, gave their united support to Douglas' bill. The opposition could muster hardly more than a dozen votes, and the measure passed the senate by thirty-four to fourteen. In the house it was carried through by a narrower margin, forty-four Northern democrats refusing to support it, but was eventually passed by a vote of 113 to 100. President Pierce signed the bill on May 30th and it became a law. "This," says Alexander Johnston,<sup>c</sup> "was the greatest political blunder in American history." For the Kansas-Nebraska Act took a vast region, the character of which for over a generation had been considered as finally fixed as far as slavery was concerned, "and threw it into the arena as a prize for which the sections were to struggle; and the struggle always tended to force as the only arbiter." Rhodes<sup>c</sup> calls it the most momentous measure that had ever passed congress, and his summary of its effects well bears out this judgment. He considers that it sealed the doom of the whig party, and led directly to the formation of a new party pledged to the principle of no extension of slavery. It had a share also in rousing Lincoln and giving definiteness to his political ambitions. To some extent, also, it gained over the Germans to the republican point of view, and unified the party spirit of New England. In the North-west it was instrumental in advancing the ideas of the new republican party.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS: THE OSTEND MANIFESTO

The foreign relations of the United States during the Pierce administration were marked by two events that had a more or less direct bearing on the domestic struggle for slavery extension. On June 30th, 1854, Mexico and the United States exchanged ratifications of a treaty by which the southwestern boundary was finally fixed, and the United States, upon payment of the sum of \$10,000,000, gained the Mesilla valley, a district comprising about twenty million acres of land in the southern part of what is now Arizona and New Mexico. The district, known as the Gadsden Purchase, from James Gadsden, the American minister to Mexico who negotiated the settlement, was scarcely fit for cultivation. But at the North the acquisition was generally accepted as an indication of the steadily growing force

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of the idea of territorial aggrandisement, particularly in the direction where the regions acquired would be likely to be slave rather than free territory.

The next incident showed the tendency even more clearly marked. Pierre Soulé, who had been sent as minister to Spain, had achieved considerable notoriety at Madrid by fighting a duel with the marquis de Turgot, the French ambassador, in which the latter was crippled for life. In communications with the Spanish government over the seizure by Cuban authorities of the American ship *Black Warrior* he had, by overstepping his instructions, come dangerously near to bringing about a break in diplomatic relations between Spain and the United States. However inadequately the American minister represented the American nation, he certainly was a fit representative of the growing desire of the South to add new slave territory to the United States. In the spring and summer of 1854, however, new developments hurried the two countries to the verge of hostilities. These were the indiscreet filibustering schemes of the radical pro-slavery leaders of whom Governor Quitman of Mississippi was chief, which aimed at wresting Cuba from Spanish rule, and its annexation as a slave state or states. The strong feeling aroused at the north by the Kansas-Nebraska Act probably alone prevented the leaders of the Southern propaganda from forcing the president and congress into war. But the counsels of Secretary Marcy and other Northern democrats prevailed in the end, and the president issued a proclamation (June 1st) warning the filibusterers that infractions of the neutrality laws would be punished. The arrest of Quitman who was placed under bonds to keep the peace, actually followed and gave assurance that the administration was in earnest.

A palace revolution in Spain, the chief result of which was a change in ministry, held out hopes to the friends of Cuban annexation in the United States, and pressure was brought to bear on the president with the result that Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, the American ministers to England, France, and Spain respectively, were directed to meet and discuss the Cuban question. They came together at Ostend, Belgium, and there, October 18th, 1854, they drew up the report known as the Ostend Manifesto.

The joint decision of the diplomats was that an earnest effort should at once be made for the purchase of Cuba, for which they thought the sum of \$120,000,000 would be a liberal payment. The purchase, they declared, would not only be advantageous to the United States; but, in their belief, the Union would "never enjoy repose nor possess public security as long as Cuba is not embraced within its boundaries." Therefore, they argued, if Spain should refuse to sell the island, the United States, proceeding on the "great law" that "self preservation is the first law of nature with states as well as with individuals," would be fully justified in wresting it by force of arms from Spanish control.

The real purport of the manifesto was perhaps not absolutely clear at the moment. Rhodes<sup>a</sup> declares that the anti-Nebraska men regarded it as the recommendation of an offer to Spain of \$120,000,000 to give up the agitation for emancipation of slaves in Cuba. They also thought it implied the overt intention to add two or three slave states to the Union; virtually giving notice that if peaceful purchase would not effect the extension of slavery, other and more violent measures must be resorted to. The policy set forth in the manifesto was indeed promptly disavowed by Secretary Marcy and his sharp reply was followed by the immediate resignation of Soulé. But the action of the democratic party in subsequently nominating for president

the first signer of the document caused it to be labelled in the public mind as one of the cardinal sins of the Pierce administration.

#### THE STRUGGLE IN KANSAS

"The Kansas-Nebraska Act," remarks Woodrow Wilson, "sowed the wind; the whirlwind was not long in coming." The storm broke first in the very region the act had opened to slavery. Seldom had there been a case in the history of the nation where the charge of broken faith and violated guarantees could be with so much justice brought forward. In a few short months the political situation was entirely changed, and the anti-slavery men of the north were drawn nearer together than they ever had been before. Greeley declared that Pierce and Douglas had made more abolitionists in three months than Garrison and Wendell Phillips could have made in half a century. And it was a characteristic of this newly created anti-slavery power that it cast aside the timidity that had hitherto paralysed the northern politicians of both great parties; and eagerly sought an opportunity to measure strength with its southern adversaries. The ambiguity of the act gave the opportunity and the trial of strength took place on the plains of Kansas with very little delay.

The ambiguity of the law lay in the fact that no provision was made as to when or how the "squatter sovereigns" of the new territories should make their choice as to whether they would accept or prohibit slavery. But North and South saw at once that under the circumstances the first on the field would have a decided advantage, and both sections prepared to occupy the disputed land. The slave-holders were earliest on hand, for they had only to cross the Missouri, and in bands of a hundred or more they poured across the border, armed and equipped as though for a military expedition. Hard on their heels came crowds of settlers from the free states sent out by the emigrant aid societies that had sprung up in every northern state from Maine to Iowa almost as soon as congress had passed the act. In the diverse character of these two streams of settlers lay the secret of the ultimate triumph of the free-state idea. The slave-holders, or very much the greater part of them, were not bona fide settlers at all. In entering Kansas they had no idea of giving up their residence in Missouri, or Arkansas, or Mississippi, from which states most of them came. Their only idea was to organise the state and secure its admission as a slave state. They never intended to make it their home. The free-state settlers, on the other hand—or by far the majority of them—carried their families and household goods with them, and looked forward to building homes for themselves in the new commonwealth. They were more energetic, more intelligent than their adversaries. And the greater mobility of the northern industrial population aided materially in the result. Finally, the spirit that led them on was higher and the ties that bound them to their new homes were necessarily stronger. In the long run they were sure to win.

The initial advantage, however, as might have been expected, was with the pro-slavery men. The law was scarcely in force ere most of the best land along the west shore of the Missouri had been staked out by slave-holders from Missouri. The first party of New England settlers was sent out by the Emigrant-Aid Society in July. For the most part the North had taken up the challenge which the act contained. They intended to accept the new principle of popular sovereignty without more ado and, by sending

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more settlers into the territory than their adversaries, thereby win the state for the cause of freedom.

The first territorial governor sent out by President Pierce was Andrew H. Reeder, a Pennsylvania democrat with Southern leanings, and a firm believer in "popular sovereignty." The election of a territorial delegate in November, 1854, was scarcely contested by the free-state men, and resulted in a pro-slave triumph with the aid of seventeen hundred Missourians, members of the organisations known as "Blue Lodges," who crossed the river for the purpose of voting.

Five thousand armed Missourians, imported for election day, easily carried the election for members of the territorial legislature for the pro-slavery cause in March, 1855. Seven months' contact with the lawless methods of the Southern party had revolutionised Governor Reeder's opinions, and made him an ardent free-state man. The new legislature unseated the few free-state men who had been elected and proceeded to adopt a code of laws, utterly out of tune, as Rhodes<sup>c</sup> points out, with republican government in the nineteenth century. The protests of Jefferson Davis and other ultra-southern leaders prevailed with the president, and Reeder was superseded as governor by Wilson Shannon. Meanwhile the free-state men, largely reinforced by new settlers, proceeded to organise an effective opposition. In October, 1855, Reeder was chosen unanimously as their delegate to congress, and through their convention at Topeka they formed themselves into a state, and framed and adopted a constitution which prohibited slavery. In January, 1856, Charles S. Robinson was elected governor under the Topeka constitution. There were thus two state governments directly opposed to each other. Then followed what is known as the "Wakarusa War," in which an armed attack on the free-state capital, Lawrence, was only prevented by the prudence of the free-state men and the politic counsels of the pro-slavery leader, David R. Atchison.

#### THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The first great result of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was to throw political parties into an unprecedented confusion. And at the very first succeeding national election the majority which had put the act through the house was overturned. As by a common impulse, all "anti-Nebraska" men of all parties drew away from their old associates and began to search for a common ground where they could act in unison. The largest single element in this new category were whigs who naturally hesitated to affiliate at once with their former Free-soil adversaries. Their first step, therefore, was to identify themselves with the Know-Nothings, who now, as a recent historian has aptly said, "volunteered with reference to the slavery question to be Do-Nothings." The American party, or Know-Nothings, as they were called because of their evasive replies to all questions concerning their membership and purposes, was a secret, oath-bound organisation pledged to oppose the nomination for office of foreign-born citizens, and to combat the influences of the Catholic church. It had been successful in some municipal elections in the east, and had made a fair showing of strength in several state elections. Its ambition now was to become a national party and take the place in the political world formerly occupied by the whigs. Every inducement was therefore held out to whigs to join the organisation.<sup>a</sup>

A desperate attempt was made to create a diversion, and by sheer dint of will to forget the slavery question altogether. Southern whigs for a time

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retained their party name, and tried to maintain also their party organisation; but even in the South the Know-Nothings were numerously joined, and for a brief space it looked as if they were about to become in fact a national party. In the elections of 1854 they succeeded in electing, not only a considerable number of congressmen, but also their candidates for the governorship in Massachusetts and Delaware. Before the new house met in December, 1855, the Know-Nothings had carried New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Kentucky, and California, and had polled handsome votes which fell very little short of being majorities in six of the Southern States.<sup>b</sup>

Already in 1854, however, the foundations had been laid of a new party that was to offer a far better opportunity for political action to anti-Nebraska men than could be offered by any oath-bound society, whose character, despite its cry of "America for the Americans," was in its very essence undemocratic and un-American. In February and March, while the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was still before congress, two meetings of whigs, democrats, and Free-soilers took place at Ripon, Wisconsin, at the second of which preliminary measures were taken for the formation of a new coalition party, the keystone of which should be opposition to the aggressions of the slave power. The name "Republican" was suggested as an appropriate one for the new party. Other similar meetings soon followed in other parts of the North, entirely disassociated with the Wisconsin movement. The most notable of the subsequent meetings was that held at Jackson, Michigan, on July 6th, 1854. It was the first state convention held in the interest of the new anti-slavery party. A full state ticket was nominated, and the name Republican, proposed by Jacob M. Howard, was adopted as the official name of the organisation. In Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Vermont, state conventions of the "Anti-Nebraska" men were held on July 13th, the anniversary of the enactment of the Ordinance of 1787. In the two last named states, Michigan's lead in adopting the name Republican for the new party was followed.<sup>a</sup>

Within the first year of its existence it obtained popular majorities in fifteen states, elected, or won over to itself, one hundred and seventeen members of the house of representatives, and secured eleven adherents in the senate. Representatives of all the older parties came together in its ranks, in novel agreement, their purposes mastered and brought into imperative concert by the signal crisis which had been precipitated upon the country by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It got its programme from the Free-soilers, whom it bodily absorbed; its radical and aggressive spirit from the Abolitionists, whom it received without liking; its liberal views upon constitutional questions from the whigs, who constituted both in numbers and in influence its commanding element; and its popular impulses from the democrats, who did not leave behind them, when they joined it, their faith in their old party ideals.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE ASSAULT ON SUMNER

Meanwhile the affairs of Kansas had occupied a large proportion of the time of congress. Feeling ran high on both sides, and the debates were characterised by an intense bitterness. On May 19th Senator Sumner began his great speech on *The Crime against Kansas*. It was a forcible arraignment of the administration and the pro-slavery leaders, but it was marred by intemperate language and stinging characterisations of certain democratic leaders, particularly Douglas and Senator Butler of South Carolina, whom he

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likened to Don Quixote and Sancho Panza. Although the speech produced a great sensation, it is doubtful, had it not been for its almost tragic sequel, whether it would have had as much weight or influence as the really masterful arguments of Seward, Hale, Wade, and Collamer who preceded him. "The whole speech," says Channing,<sup>d</sup> "shows to what depth a scholar can descend when thoroughly aroused." The sequel showed some of the effects produced by slavery on civilisation."

Two days after Sumner's speech was delivered the senator, while sitting in his seat in the senate chamber during a recess, was set upon by Preston Brooks, a South Carolina congressman and a nephew of Senator Butler, and before he could rise to defend himself was hammered into insensibility by the crushing blows from the vengeful South Carolinian's heavy cane. Sumner's iron constitution alone prevented fatal results, but it was found that he had sustained a severe injury to his spinal column. For three years and a half his seat remained vacant as a mute protest against the barbarous methods of the extreme Southern party.

At once throughout the North Sumner was looked upon as a martyr to the cause of human liberty. Five hundred thousand copies of *The Crime against Kansas* were printed and distributed. The assault of Brooks was condemned as a dastardly and cowardly act by the press, the pulpit, and in the very halls of congress. In the South, on the other hand, Brooks was universally heralded as the champion of Southern rights and liberties; he was lauded as the chivalrous defender of his state's honour. He became the recipient of numerous testimonials, mostly in the shape of gold-headed canes, appropriately inscribed. An investigating committee of the house reported in favour of his expulsion, but the pro-slavery majority would go no further than a vote of censure. Brooks thereupon resigned his seat and was at once re-elected by his constituents almost unanimously. Remarks in the senate led to Brooks challenging Senator Henry Wilson and Representative Anson Burlingame to duels. The senator refused, but Burlingame, probably to the surprise of Brooks and most Southern members, accepted. The duel was never fought, however, for when the Canadian side of the Niagara was suggested as the meeting place, Brooks took the opportunity to withdraw on the ground that he could not, in the existing state of public feeling, safely cross the Northern States to Canada.

Perhaps the greatest importance of this unhappy affair lay in its influence on politics; for, as Senator Wilson / points out, "it entered largely into the presidential campaign that soon commenced and became one of the battle-cries of freedom and of the new party that then appealed for the first time for the suffrages of the nation."

#### "BLEEDING KANSAS"

While congress was busy debating the Kansas situation in the spring of 1856, the problem was taking on a more serious aspect in Kansas itself. Both sides realized that open civil war was imminent and prepared accordingly. Among the new free-state immigrants came a colony from New Haven, armed with Sharpe's rifles, supplied them largely through the energies of Henry Ward Beecher, whence these fire-arms become known by the name of Beecher's Bibles. From the South came Colonel Buford with a well-trained band of fighting men who looked upon service in Kansas as a crusade. At the suggestion of Lecompte, the pro-slavery chief justice of the territory, the grand jury found indictments for treason against ex-Governor Reeder, Governor

Robinson of the free-state government, and Colonel James Lane. Robinson was arbitrarily arrested at Lexington, Missouri, on his way east. Reeder escaped in disguise.

On May 21st — the day before Brooks' attack on Sumner — the United States marshal, Donaldson, with the bands of Atchison, Buford, and Stringfellow, which he had enrolled as a posse to carry out his commands, swooped down upon Lawrence, confiscated cannon, arms, and ammunition of the free-state settlers and destroyed printing offices, hotels, and private residences. The coincidence of this attack with the assault on Sumner aroused the spirit of the North as nothing else had done, and the determination to make Kansas a free state was greatly strengthened. In Kansas the feeling of dismay among free-state men that followed the sack of their capital gave way to a renewed determination to win, in which, with many, the idea of retaliation or revenge was not wanting. Principal among those who were moved to action by the events at Lawrence was John Brown, "a zealot of the Covenanting or Cromwellian stamp" Goldwin Smith<sup>g</sup> calls him, who had settled at Ossawatimie with his two sons. Brown was an ascetic and fanatic of an extreme type. He had long brooded over the wrongs of slavery. Drawing his inspiration from the Old Testament, he took as his favourite text the declaration that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." Imbued with the determination of killing a number of pro-slavery adherents, equal to the number — five as he counted it — who had already lost their lives in the free-state cause, he organised a secret retaliatory expedition which he led into the Pottawottomie valley, and there carried out his purpose by a series of brutal murders, that goes by the name of the "Pottawottomie massacre." Without attempting to justify these atrocities Rhodes<sup>c</sup> points out that "we should hesitate before measuring the same condemnation to the doer and the deed. John Brown's God was the God of Joshua and Gideon. To him, as to them, seemed to come the word to go out and slay the enemies of his cause."

The outrage was denounced by both parties, and the free-state men were quick to disavow any connection or sympathy with its perpetrators. But the fires already kindled could not be stayed, and at once Kansas was in all the horrors of a bloody civil war. The whole territory armed for the fray. Guerilla bands of both parties wandered over the country, laying waste the settlements and fighting whenever they met. The free-state legislature which met at Topeka on July 4th was dispersed by Colonel E. V. Sumner with a body of federal troops.

Four days earlier the majority of the special congressional committee sent to investigate the situation in the territory reported that the pro-slavery elections had been carried by fraud, recommended that neither party's delegates should be seated, and declaring it as their opinion that the Topeka constitution embodied the will of a majority of the people. Throughout the summer of 1856 the civil war continued unabated. Governor Shannon, despairing of ever bringing order out of the chaos and disgusted at the attitude of the pro-slavery party whom he had sought to aid, resigned. Late in August his place was filled by the appointment of John W. Geary, a Pennsylvania democrat, with a record for gallantry in the Mexican War. Governor Geary was by far the ablest executive yet sent to the territory. He at once set himself to the task of establishing order; he dealt harshly with all breakers of law irrespective of party. By the end of September he was able to report to Washington, "Peace now reigns in Kansas."

But an impartial administration was the last thing in the world the pro-slavery men in Kansas wanted, and before another month had passed they

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were denouncing him on every side, some going to the length of threatening assassination. The clamour for his removal extended over the entire South. Finally, when Geary had come to the conclusion that he was not being supported by the administration, he resigned in disgust.

## PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1856

The presidential campaign which opened while the bloody struggle in Kansas was at its height was a four-cornered contest. The first party to place a presidential ticket in the field was the American, or "Know-Nothing," the national convention of which assembled at Philadelphia, February 22nd, 1856. Ex-President Fillmore was named for president and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee, an adopted son of Andrew Jackson, for vice-president. A platform already prepared by the national council of the organisation was presented to the convention. In this an attempt was made to divert attention from the slavery question, and by the simple process of ignoring it confine the issues to the organisation's favourite theme of the exclusion of foreign and un-American influences. A minority of Northern delegates, after attempting to secure a positive declaration on slavery refused to take part in the nominations and withdrew.

On the same day met the first national convention of the new republican party. Delegates from twenty-three states, pursuant to a call of several state organisations, assembled at Pittsburgh, and after adopting a ringing address written by Henry J. Raymond, declaring for a free Kansas, and the exclusion of slavery from all the territories, issued a call for a nominating convention to meet at Philadelphia, on June 17th following.

The democratic convention met at Cincinnati on June 2nd. Availability, rather than personal preferences, decided the nominations. Southern delegates largely favoured the renomination of Pierce, or the selection of Douglas, but the assault on Sumner and the attack on Lawrence had aroused the distrust of many Northern democrats, and there was an evident disinclination to go before the country with either of the two men who were generally held to be directly responsible for these outrages. A strong Northern sentiment favoured the nomination of Buchanan who had been out of the country as minister to England and was supposed to be uncommitted to any particular course in Kansas. The additional advantage of his hailing from a doubtful state which it was of the highest importance to carry, cast the balance in his favour and, after the Douglas men had declared for him, he was nominated on the seventeenth ballot. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, as the representative of the slave-power, was named for vice-president. The platform adopted contained a strong declaration of the party's devotion to and acceptance of the principles contained in the compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Finally, after insisting that there were "questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic questions whatever," a hope was expressed that the influence of the United States might be made paramount in the gulf of Mexico, and the declaration made that this country ought to control the routes of inter-oceanic travel across Central America.

The republican convention came together at Philadelphia on June 17th. Delegates were present from all the Northern states and from Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. In spite of an unusual unanimity in political beliefs the effort to secure a fit presidential candidate proved a far from easy task. William H. Seward, who was probably the best representative of the

principles for which the party stood was not as yet in thorough accord with the party organisation and hesitated to lead what he considered, as at best, a very forlorn hope. Salmon P. Chase, who next to Seward would have been the most acceptable candidate, was passed over on account of his Free-soil record, which it was feared would repel old whig voters. Before the convention met a strong movement had been started in favour of the nomination of John C. Frémont, a son-in-law of Senator Benton of Missouri, who had won distinction as an explorer and, after playing an active part in the conquest of California, had represented that state for a few months in the United States senate. The fact that he had already been nominated by the seceding Know-Nothings was urged in his behalf. With Seward and Chase practically eliminated, his nomination was now easily accomplished. William L. Dayton of New Jersey was named for vice-president. In a brief but emphatic platform the party declared that it denied "the authority of congress, of a territorial legislature, of any individual or association of individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, while the present constitution shall be maintained." The administration policy in Kansas was denounced and the demand made that the territory be immediately admitted as a free state. The Ostend Manifesto embodying "the highwayman's plea that might makes right," was characterised as a shame and dishonour to American diplomacy. A transcontinental railroad and river and harbour improvements were urged.

The last convention to meet was that of the remnants of the old whig party, which assembled at Baltimore, September 17th, and endorsed the nominations of Fillmore and Donelson. Stanwood<sup>h</sup> declares that the canvass which followed was an extraordinary one. It was, however, sluggish enough in the South, where Buchanan and Fillmore were the only candidates; the former having the support of all slave-holders and of all persons of allied interests. That implies virtually a solid South; for the system of slavery was so interwoven with all interests in this portion of the union, that there could be no opportunity for open opposition. In the North, however, the republicans conducted a campaign which rivalled the campaign of 1840 in enthusiasm, but which had a deeper-seated motive, and hence a more sincere and lasting impetus. Never, indeed, in the entire history of the Union had there been such a stirring of the hearts of the masses. The tumultuous enthusiasm that seems to foreigners to be one of the characteristics of the American people was given free vent. Immense public meetings were held, and the stump-speakers practised their arts with probably more than wonted conviction. Nevertheless, the enthusiasts were destined to disappointment, for the election in the autumn went against them. In Vermont, to be sure, the republicans polled more than three-quarters of the votes, and in Maine the same party had a majority of almost eighteen thousand. The October election in Ohio also gave a majority; on the other hand, the returns were unfavourable in Indiana and Pennsylvania. The republicans got such satisfaction as they could out of the claim that the Quakers had failed to vote; but this at best was cold comfort.<sup>a</sup>

Buchanan and Breckinridge received 174 electoral votes, as against 114 for Frémont and 8 (Delaware) for Fillmore. But although defeated the surprising strength shown by the republicans with an acknowledgedly weak candidate was startling, and boded ill for continued democratic success, when once the movement was full grown. Frémont's popular vote was 1,341,264, while Buchanan's was only 1,838,169 and Fillmore's 874,534. But from a sectional point of view the result was most significant, for the republicans carried every Northern state but New Jersey, Pennsylvania,

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Indiana, and Illinois, and their vote in these states was large enough to cause them to be considered doubtful in any future contest. The campaign marked the final disappearance of the whig and "Know-Nothing" parties. Henceforth the real struggle was to be between the democratic and republican parties, which grew every day less national and more sectionalised in character.<sup>a</sup>

THE DRED-SCOTT DECISION (1857 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>

A brief struggle brought the business of the country out of the financial difficulties which prevailed for some months in 1857; but the strain of politics was not so soon removed, and a decision of the supreme court now hurried the country forward towards the infinitely greater crisis of civil war. Dred Scott was the negro slave of an army surgeon. His master had taken him, in the regular course of military service, from Missouri, his home, first into the state of Illinois, and then, in May, 1836, to Fort Snelling, on the west side of the Mississippi, in what is now Minnesota; after which, in 1838, he had returned with him to Missouri. Slavery was prohibited by state law in Illinois, and by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 in the territory west of the Mississippi; and after returning to Missouri the negro endeavoured to obtain his liberty by an appeal to the courts, on the ground that his residence in a free state had operated to destroy his master's rights over him. In course of appeal the case reached the supreme court of the United States. The chief, if not the only, question at issue was a question of jurisdiction. Was Dred Scott a citizen within the meaning of the constitution; had he had any rightful standing in the lower courts? To this question the court returned a decided negative. The temporary residence of the negro's master in Illinois and Minnesota, in the course of his official duty and without any intention to change his domicile, could not affect the status of the slave, at any rate, after his return to Missouri. He was not a citizen of Missouri in the constitutional sense, and could have therefore no standing in the federal courts. But, this question decided, the majority of the judges did not think it *obiter dicta* to go further, and argue as to the merits of the case regarding the status of slaves and the authority of congress over slavery in the territories. They were of the opinion that, notwithstanding the fact that the constitution spoke of slaves as "persons held to service and labour," men of the African race, in view of the fact of their bondage from the first in this country, were not regarded as persons, but only as property, by the constitution of the United States; that, as property, they were protected from hostile legislation on the part of congress by the express guarantees of the constitution itself; and that congress could no more legislate this form of property out of the territories than it could exclude property of any other kind, but must guarantee to every citizen the right to carry this, as he might carry all other forms of property, where he would within the territory subject to congress. The legislation, therefore, known as the Missouri Compromise was, in their judgment, unconstitutional and void.

The opinion of the court sustained the whole Southern claim. Not even the exercise of squatter sovereignty could have the countenance of law; congress must protect every citizen of the country in carrying with him into the territories property of whatever kind, until such time as the territory in which he settled should become a state, and pass beyond the direct jurisdic-

[<sup>a</sup> Reprinted by permission of Longmans, Green, & Company. Copyright, 1898, by Longmans, Green, & Company.]

tion of the federal government. Those who were seeking to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories were thus stigmatised as seeking an illegal object and acting in despite of the constitution.<sup>6</sup>

From the opinion of the majority justices Curtis and McLean dissented, the former in an opinion of great power declaring that he did not consider it "to be within the scope of the judicial power of the majority of the court to pass upon any question respecting the plaintiff's citizenship in Missouri, save that raised by the plea to the jurisdiction."

The immediate effect of the extraordinary decision was political rather than judicial. The South, seeing in it an endorsement, by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, of the theories long before advanced by Calhoun that it was the duty of congress to protect slavery in the territories, assumed a bolder and more truculent attitude than ever. The North, stunned at first by the blow, gradually came to realise that it really helped to clarify and simplify the great issue before the people. "By this presentation of the iniquity (of slavery) naked and in its most repulsive form, Taney [chief justice] did no small harm to the party which he intended to aid," writes Goldwin Smith,<sup>7</sup> who further characterises the judgment as "a gratuitous aggression and an insult to humanity." More radical opinion declared that by this decision the supreme court had abdicated its functions and sullied its ermine by descending into the political arena. Lincoln voiced republican opinion when he declared: "We know the court that made it has often overruled its own decisions, and we shall do what we can to have it overrule this. We offer no resistance to it." Douglas found satisfaction in the fact that the Missouri Compromise, which his Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed, was now held to be unconstitutional, and he and his Northern democratic supporters generally accepted the judgment with a satisfaction that blinded itself to the fact that it also rendered their favourite theory of "squatter sovereignty" a dead letter.

#### THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION

The character of the advisers with whom President Buchanan surrounded himself was rightly taken at the North to indicate that the new administration would be dominated by and run in the interests of the pro-slavery party. General Cass, who accepted the state portfolio, was understood to be but a figurehead, as Buchanan would direct his own foreign policy. As was expected Howell Cobb, appointed secretary of the treasury, became the master-spirit of the administration.

The Kansas question was still a pressing one. Governor Geary had resigned on the very day of Buchanan's inauguration. The president at once appointed as governor his life-long friend, Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, who had been secretary of the treasury in Polk's cabinet. Walker was himself a slave-holder and his appointment was hailed with delight by the South. With the president's promise to uphold him in dealing justly with both parties he began his administration full of hope. Before he had been in the territory a month he realised that three-fourths of the population were of the free-state party and his high sense of honour made him at once determine to refuse to be an instrument in subverting or nullifying the popular will. The free-state party refused to take part in the election of delegates to a constitutional convention held on June 15th, 1857, and as a result only pro-slavery delegates were chosen. This convention, assembling at Lecompton in September, made short work of framing the notorious instrument known as the Lecompton Constitution, with provisions for the establishment and safeguarding of slavery.

[1858 A.D.]

Governor Walker had promised, relying on the word of Buchanan, that any constitution framed should be submitted to a vote of the people, and therefore declared himself against a movement presently set under way by the ultra-Southern leaders to admit Kansas at once under the pro-slavery Lecompton Constitution. His subsequent action in refusing to sanction flagrant frauds in the October elections gave the free-state party for the first time control of the legislature, and aroused the fury of the pro-slavery men who now began to exert at Washington the same influence that had already undermined the authority of governors Reeder and Geary and made of them earnest free-state advocates.

In order to make a pretence of fair play the Lecompton convention now reassembled and made the preposterous proposal to submit to the people not the constitution they had framed but merely the question of its adoption "with slavery" or "without slavery." This was done. Again the free-state voters refused to go to the polls, and the constitution was adopted "with slavery" by a large majority. Thereupon the territorial legislature with its free-state majority, submitted the entire constitution to the people who rejected it by a large majority, the pro-slavery men this time refraining from voting.

Finally, on February 2nd, 1858, President Buchanan, who had by this time fallen under the spell of the pro-slavery leaders as completely as Pierce had done, sent the Lecompton Constitution to congress with a special message urging that Kansas be admitted under it. The president's action gave an opportunity to Stephen A. Douglas which he, greatly to the credit of his reputation as a consistent statesman rather than a truckling politician, accepted boldly. Four years before, in the hope of winning Southern support to help him to the presidency, he had sacrificed his reputation for sincerity and independence. It had all gone for naught. Now he stood out boldly, and true to his principles of popular sovereignty, refused to consent to force any sort of a constitution upon the people of Kansas. The stand of Douglas made it forever impossible for him to secure a nomination at Southern hands, but it won for him again the undisputed position of leader of the Northern democracy. The Lecompton Constitution, though approved by the senate in spite of Douglas, was defeated in the house through the combination of his followers, now known as the "anti-Lecompton" democrats, with the republicans. Attempts at compromise failed and after the Lecompton Constitution, in accordance with the terms of the English bill, had again been rejected by the voters of Kansas at the polls (August 2nd, 1858), the South at length reluctantly abandoned the attempt to make Kansas a slave state.<sup>a</sup>

#### THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE (1858) <sup>1</sup>

The elections of 1858 showed a formidable gain in strength by the republicans, and bore an ominous warning for the democrats. Everywhere the republicans gained ground; even Pennsylvania, the president's own state, went against the administration by a heavy vote. The number of republicans in the senate was increased from twenty to twenty-five, from ninety-two to a hundred and nine in the house; and in the latter chamber they were to be able to play the leading part, since there were still twenty-two "Know-Nothings" in the house, and thirteen "anti-Lecompton" democrats, the followers

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of Senator Douglas. Douglas himself was returned with difficulty to his seat in the senate, and his canvas for re-election had arrested the attention of the whole country. The republicans of Illinois had formally announced that their candidate for the senate would be Abraham Lincoln, a man whose extraordinary native sagacity, insight, and capacity for debate had slowly won for him great prominence in the state, first as a whig, afterwards as an anti-Nebraska man and republican. Lincoln and Douglas "took the stump" together, and the great debates between them which ensued both won for Lincoln a national reputation and defined the issues of the party struggle as perhaps nothing less dramatic could have defined them. In Lincoln's mind those issues were clear-cut enough. "A house divided against itself," he declared, "cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other." He forced Douglas upon the dilemma created for him by the Dred-Scott decision. What became of the doctrine of popular sovereignty if the people of the territories could not interfere with slavery until they came to frame a state constitution? Slavery could not exist, replied Douglas, without local legislation to sustain it; unfriendly legislation would hamper and kill it almost as effectually as positive prohibition. An inferior legislature certainly cannot do what it is not within the power of congress to accomplish, was Lincoln's rejoinder. The state elections went for the democrats, and Mr. Douglas was returned to the senate; but Lincoln had made him an impossible presidential candidate for the Southern democrats in 1860 by forcing him to deny to the South the full benefits of the Dred-Scott decision.<sup>b</sup>

#### JOHN BROWN'S RAID

The news flashed over the wires from Virginia on the morning of October 17th, 1859, caused a cry of horror to go up from every section of the union. A small army of abolitionists and free negroes, the report said, had raised the standard of revolt in the Old Dominion and seized the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry. The slaves of Virginia, according to the report, were rising against their masters and flocking to the standard of freedom. At the North the news created the most intense excitement. Throughout the South the awful thought that a slave insurrection, so long feared and so fearfully dreaded, had at length come, produced a panic. Excited imaginations pictured the devastation of property and homes, the nameless horrors to which the women and children would be subjected, the destruction indeed of the whole structure of Southern society. The early reports proved to be greatly exaggerated. John Brown, known already for his bloody exploits in the free-state cause in Kansas, had entered the village of Harper's Ferry on the night of October 16th with a score of followers, including four of his own sons; had there seized the United States arsenal, and had made prisoners of the guards and several citizens who had fallen into his hands. The slaves, even in the immediate neighbourhood were apparently ignorant of his intentions, and remained quietly on their plantations. At daybreak the country people and villagers had risen and compelled him to shut himself and his companions up in the armory. In the desultory firing several had been killed on either side. The arrival of a militia company from Charlestown, and a detachment of United States marines under Colonel Robert E. Lee, rendered the retreat of Brown impossible, and he retired to the engine-house in the armory yard, where he prepared to sell his life dearly. The next morning Lee's marines battered



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### JOHN BROWN GOING TO EXECUTION

(From the painting by Thomas Hovenden, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



[1860 A.D.]

down the door of the engine-house with a ladder and after a severe struggle succeeded in capturing Brown and his five remaining followers.

Brown was given a fair but hasty trial at Charlestown, and was found guilty of treason, of conspiring and advising slaves to rebel, and of murder in the first degree. He was sentenced to be hanged, and the sentence was carried out on December 2nd following. Brown's manliness, his unquestionable sincerity and belief in the righteousness of his cause, and the Christian fortitude with which he met his end aroused the admiration even of his enemies. At the North widespread sympathy for the doer was tempered somewhat by agreement as to the lawlessness of the deed. In the light of subsequent events, however, Brown's act was magnified to heroic proportions; he came to be looked upon as the protomartyr of the cause of negro freedom, and "his soul marching on" became an inspiration.<sup>a</sup>

#### SCHOULER'S ESTIMATE OF JOHN BROWN <sup>1</sup>

John Brown was no Cæsar, no Cromwell, but a plain citizen of a free republic, whom distressing events drove into a fanaticism to execute purposes for which he was incompetent. He detested slavery, and that detestation led him to take up arms not only against slavery but against that public opinion which was slowly formulating how best to eradicate it. Woe to the conquered. The North made no appeals for that clemency which slaveholders had alone to consider. Brown had not been lenient to masters, nor were masters bound to be lenient to him. And yet Brown was an enthusiast, and not a felon; the essence of his crime was unselfish. Like the French country maiden who went to Paris to plunge her dagger into a bloody ruler's heart, he meant to rescue good morals from the usurpation of human laws. Corday fulfilled her solitary plan because it was reasonable; John Brown failed in his plan because it was unreasonable: but both, as actors and martyrs, flashing upon the world's attention like new meteors, left examples of self-sacrifice, the one upon the guillotine and the other upon the gallows, which a people could not refrain from exalting. The virgin damsel of grace and beauty, and the grim old man of sixty, stern and sanguinary, who led on his sons, take equal hold of posterity's imagination; of each one it has been said by acute observers that the immediate effect of their deeds was injurious to politics; and yet society in the long centuries is stronger for being thus taught that despotism over fellow men is not safely hedged in by authority. Brown's stalwart, unique, and spectral figure led on, grotesque but terribly in earnest, the next time Virginia's soil was invaded — not, however, for executing any such unfeasible scheme of making the slaves their own avengers, but to apply the war powers of the nation against disloyal masters.<sup>i</sup>

#### THE NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF 1860

The divergence of North and South in population, wealth, and resources was growing greater every year. The political preponderance of the North was also increasing. Since Buchanan's election two new free states had been admitted to the union, Minnesota in 1858 and Oregon in 1859. As the time for naming presidential candidates drew near everyone recognised that more than ever before the coming campaign was to be a battle of the sections.

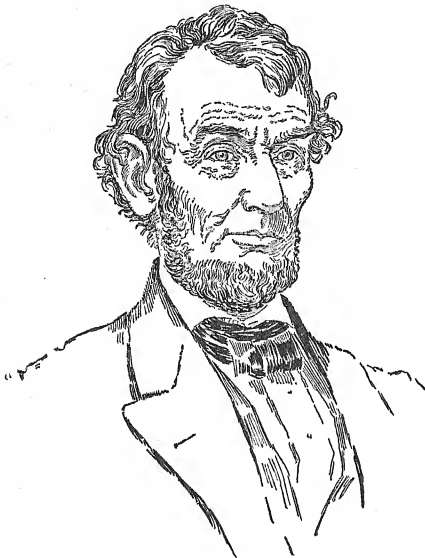
The convention of the democratic party assembled at Charleston, South

[<sup>i</sup> Reprinted by permission of Dodd, Mead & Company. Copyright, 1894, by James Schouler.]

[1860 A.D.]

Carolina, April 23rd, 1860, the delegates realising fully that they might be called upon to decide questions momentous alike to their party and to the nation. The bold stand taken by Douglas against the cherished policy of the pro-slavery party in Kansas, and the subsequent death of one of his principal supporters, Senator David C. Broderick of California, in a duel with a pro-slavery politician, had aroused the courage and spirit of Northern democrats as never before. They were prepared, for almost the first time

in their history, to assert their rights and refuse longer to be made the tools of the slave power. Eight days were spent in wrangling over a platform. The Southern delegates insisted on pronouncing for the pro-slavery theories advanced in the Dred-Scott decision. The Northern men, however, refused to do more than acquiesce in the Southern demand for Cuban annexation and for the repeal of legislation in the North intended to hinder the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. After an acrimonious debate a platform embodying declarations favouring the last two points was approved by the Northern majority. The majority of the Southern delegates at once withdrew and after an ineffectual attempt to secure a two-thirds majority



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

(1809-1865)

Sixteenth President of United States

for any candidate, the remaining members adjourned to meet again in Baltimore, June 18th.

Meanwhile the seceding Southern delegations met together in another hall in Charleston and adopted the radical pro-slavery platform rejected by the regular convention. When the latter re-convened in Baltimore on the day set, the tendency of the Douglas delegates to carry things with a high hand resulted in a still further secession of delegates, largely from Southern and border states. The regular convention thereupon proceeded to nominate Douglas for the presidency and Benjamin Fitzpatrick of Alabama for the vice-presidency. Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia was subsequently named

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by the national committee to take the place of Fitzpatrick, who refused to run. The second group of seceders joined by some of the original seceders named John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon, which nominations were soon after endorsed by the remnants of the first seceders at Charleston. Thus, after the bitterest struggle in its history, the democratic party had at last been torn asunder. It presented the spectacle of two avowedly sectional party groups appealing to the suffrage, not of the nation but of a section.

Before this, however, both the republicans and a new party which took the name of Constitutional Union had made their nominations. The latter party — which was made up largely of former Know-Nothings and Northern whigs who could not as yet bring themselves to join the republican party — met at Baltimore, May 9th. They adopted, instead of a regular platform, a single resolution declaring for the preservation of the union under the constitution, and named John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for president and vice-president respectively.

All eyes were now turned to the republican party, which met in convention at Chicago on May 16th. The platform contained a strong appeal for the maintenance of the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and a declaration that the federal constitution, the rights of the states, and the union of the states must be preserved. While disavowing any intention to interfere with the established institutions of any state, it denounced the "new dogma" promulgated in the Dred-Scott decision as political heresy, asserting that the normal condition of all federal territories was that of freedom, and that it was the duty of the national government to maintain that condition by law. The immediate admission of Kansas as a free state was demanded, and a protective tariff, internal improvements, and a Pacific railway favoured.

William H. Seward of New York was now, as in 1856, the leading candidate for the presidential nomination and led all others on the first ballot. But, as Woodrow Wilson <sup>b</sup> says, he "was regarded as a sort of philosophical radical, whom careful men might distrust as a practical guide." Salmon P. Chase of Ohio was also a candidate, but his past political affiliations still counted against him. A solution seemed to point to the selection of a less well-known candidate, and on Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, whose political principles had been so unmistakably set forth in his debate with Douglas, a majority of the delegates finally united on the third ballot. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, a former democrat, was nominated for vice-president.

#### THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN

With the subsequent nominations of the two democratic factions already noted, the various presidential tickets were complete. The vital principles upon which the four parties based their appeals to the voter have been thus tersely summed up by Alexander Johnston <sup>c</sup>: "The Bell party wished to have no discussion of slavery; the Douglas democrats rested on squatter sovereignty and the compromise of 1850, but would accept the decision of the supreme court; the republicans demanded that congress should legislate for the prohibition of slavery in the territories; and the Southern democrats demanded that congress should legislate for the protection of slavery in the territories."

With the issue thus clearly drawn, and four candidates to choose from, the republicans had an immense initial advantage. Indeed, it may probably be said that the outcome of the campaign that ensued was scarcely in doubt

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from the first. The hopeless breach in the democratic ranks made it out of the question that either faction should carry the national election. The Constitutional Unionists were not well organised, and their appeal was at best a negative one. Indeed, the republicans alone were both confident and united. The only possible danger in the way of their success was in the possibility that the election might be thrown into the house of representatives.

Nevertheless the ensuing canvass was hotly contested. The republicans adopted the tactics of the Harrison campaign of 1840 and throughout the North enthusiasm was aroused by torch-light processions and enormous mass meetings. At the South were heard on every side mutterings of secession and war. The September and October state elections foreshadowed the election of Lincoln, which the results in November more than justified. The republicans carried every Northern state except New Jersey and elected four out of the seven electors even in that state. Douglas received only the votes of Missouri and three from New Jersey. Bell carried the three border states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Breckinridge carried the entire South. However, while Lincoln and Hamlin received 180 electoral votes to 103 for all other candidates, they received only a minority of the popular votes. The figures for the latter showed the following results: Lincoln and Hamlin, 1,866,452; Douglas and Johnson, 1,376,957; Breckinridge and Lane, 849,781, and Bell and Everett, 588,879.

#### SECESSION

"There could be no mistake," says Goldwin Smith,<sup>7</sup> "about the significance of the election by Northern votes of a president who looked forward to seeing slavery 'put where the people would be satisfied that it was in course of ultimate extinction.'" Among the more radical Southerners there is no question but that the result was really welcomed. Conditions in the cotton states were such that their policy no matter how extreme would undoubtedly dominate the section and overcome whatever conservative opposition there was. These extremists made it a point to misrepresent the intentions and principles of the republican party, and their arguments convinced the majority of their people that in dealing with slavery Lincoln and his advisers would not scruple to disregard constitutional guarantees. As proof of this assertion they pointed to the legislation enacted in almost every Northern state which commonly went by the name of "personal liberty laws," the intent of which was plainly to nullify the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and secure for fugitive slaves legal privileges which the federal statutes denied. Pro-slavery agitators made no distinction between the republican party and the detested abolitionists; yet, as Woodrow Wilson,<sup>b</sup> a Southern writer, points out, "the vast majority of its adherents were almost as much repelled by the violent temper of the abolitionists as were the Southern leaders themselves." It was this extreme view of the Southern radicals that now became the view of the greater part of the South. When this stage was reached it was manifestly impossible longer to preserve the Union.

South Carolina was the only state in which presidential electors were still chosen by the legislature. After casting their votes for Breckinridge electors on November 6th, the legislators remained in session to await the result in the nation. The governors of the cotton states had taken counsel together regarding the course to be pursued in the event of Lincoln's election, and it had been practically agreed that should one state feel called upon to secede from the Union she would receive the support of the others. Upon this

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assurance the South Carolina legislature now acted. Provision was made for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and a convention was called which met in Charleston, December 20th. This body at once proceeded to repeal the action taken by a previous South Carolina convention, May 23rd, 1788, whereby the federal constitution had been ratified, and declared the dissolution of the union "subsisting between South Carolina and other states under the name of the United States of America." South Carolina had spoken, and there were few who did not accept her voice as the voice of the South.

#### THE CONFEDERATE STATES

Within a month after South Carolina had passed her ordinance of secession, four other states — Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia — in the order named, had left the Union. In each state there was a strong minority which opposed the movement not so much from a disbelief in the right of secession as from a conviction of its inexpediency. But in each case the delegates elected to the special state conventions showed a clear majority for secession. Throughout the South the convention, as Alexander Johnston<sup>e</sup> has pointed out, "was looked upon as the incarnation of the sovereignty of the state." The action of these secession conventions was therefore generally accepted as final without any attempted ratification by the people.

On February 4th, 1861, the very day that the Peace Convention met at Washington, representatives from six "cotton states" met at Montgomery, Alabama, to organise a provisional government. The states represented were those above mentioned and Louisiana, which had seceded January 26th. Texas had passed an ordinance of secession, despite the sorrowful protests of Sam Houston, but it had been submitted to the people and not yet ratified. The Montgomery convention adopted a provisional constitution and chose as provisional president and vice-president Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. The name Confederate States of America was adopted. The constitution was made permanent by the vote of the convention (or congress as it now called itself) on March 11th, and under it Davis and Stephens were chosen for a six years' term in the succeeding November without opposition.

Under what claim of constitutional right the Montgomery convention acted, says Alexander Johnston, "passes comprehension." Even granting the right of secession, he continues, that a state convention summoned to decide that question "should go on without any further popular authority or mandate to send delegates to meet those of other states and form a new



JEFFERSON DAVIS

(1808-1889)

national government, which could only exist by warring on the United States, was a novel feature in American constitutional law."

In none of the border states was there at this time a strong popular feeling in favour of secession. But in most of them the belief in state sovereignty and the abstract right of secession was a powerful force to be considered, and the inclination to take up arms to resist any attempt of the federal government to coerce a seceding state was strong. The course of events soon forced upon the border states a decision on this very point, and four of them—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—eventually, in the course of the spring of 1861, threw in their fortunes with the cotton states. With their addition the Confederacy reached its final number—eleven.<sup>a</sup>

### *The Theory of Secession*<sup>1</sup>

The legal theory upon which this startling and extraordinary series of steps was taken was one which would hardly have been questioned in the early years of the government whatever resistance might then have been offered to its practical execution. It was for long found difficult to deny that a state could withdraw from the federal arrangement as she might have declined to enter it. But constitutions are not mere legal documents; they are the skeleton frame of a living organism; and in this case the course of events had nationalised the government once deemed confederate. Twenty states had been added to the original thirteen since the formation of the government and almost all of these were actual creations of the federal government first as territories then as states. Their populations had no corporate individuality such as had been possessed by the people of each of the colonies. They came from all parts of the Union and had formed communities which were arbitrary geographical units rather than natural political units. Not only that, but north of the Missouri compromise line the population of these new states had been swelled by immigration from abroad; and there had played upon the whole northern and northwestern section those great forces of material development which made steadily for the unification of interests and purposes. The West was the great make-weight. It was the region into which the whole national force had been projected, stretched out and energised—a region, not a section; divided into states by reason of a form of government, but homogeneous, and proceeding forth from the Union.

These are not lawyer's facts; they are historian's facts. There had been nothing but a dim realisation of them until the war came and awoke the national spirit into full consciousness. They have no bearing upon the legal intent of the constitution as a document, to be interpreted by the intention of its framers; but they have everything to do with the constitution as a vehicle of life. The South had not changed her ideas from the first because she had not changed her condition. She had not experienced, except in a very slight degree, the economic forces which had created the great Northwest and nationalised the rest of the country; for they had been shut out from her life by slavery. The South withdrew from the Union because, she said, power had been given to a geographical, a sectional party, ruthlessly hostile to her interests; but Doctor von Holst<sup>2</sup> is certainly right when he says: "The Union was not broken up because sectional parties had been formed, but sectional parties were formed because the Union had actually become sec-

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tionalised." There had been nothing active on the part of the South in this process. She had stood still while the rest of the country had undergone profound changes; and, standing still, she retained the old principles which had once been universal. Both she and her principles, it turned out, had been caught at last in the great national drift, and were to be overwhelmed. Her slender economic resources were no match for the mighty strength of the nation with which she had fallen out of sympathy.

### *The Constitution of the Confederacy*<sup>1</sup>

The constitution framed by the Montgomery convention, although in most respects a reproduction of the constitution of the United States, was made very explicit upon all points of controversy under the older instrument. The Southern leaders were not dissatisfied with the constitution of the United States as they understood it; they were dissatisfied only with the meanings which they conceived to have been read into it by a too loose and radical interpretation. In the new constitution which they framed for themselves it was explicitly stated that in the adoption of the instrument each state acted "in its sovereign and independent character." Protective tariffs were specifically prohibited, as well as all internal improvements at the general charge. It embodied the principle of the recognition and protection of slavery in all the territories of the new government. It added to the separate weight of the individual states by providing that in the senate, when the question was the admission of a new state, the vote should be taken by a poll of the states; and by according to each of the several state legislatures the right to impeach confederate officials whose duties were confined to their own territory. The demand of three states was made sufficient to secure the calling of a convention for the amendment of the constitution. The states were denied, on the other hand, the privilege which they had enjoyed under the federal constitution, of granting the franchise to persons not citizens under the general law of naturalisation.

Such other changes of the federal constitution as were introduced were changes, for the most part, only of detail, meant to improve the older instrument where experience was thought to have shown it susceptible of alteration for the better. The presidential term was lengthened to six years, and the president was made ineligible for re-election. The president was given the right to veto individual items of appropriation bills, and congress was forbidden to make any appropriations not asked for and estimated by the heads of the executive departments, except by a two-thirds vote, unless such appropriations were for the legitimate expenses of congress itself or for the payment of just claims, judicially determined, upon the government. Congress was given the right to bring itself into closer co-operative relations with the executive by granting seats, with the privileges of debate, to the heads of the executive departments; and it was granted a partial oversight of the president's relations with his subordinates by the provision that, except in the cases of the chief executive and diplomatic agents of the government, no official should be removed except for cause explicitly stated to the senate. The power to emit bills of credit was withheld from congress. The slave trade was prohibited, and congress was empowered to prevent even the introduction of slaves from the states of the Union.

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Much as there was among these changes that was thoroughly worth trying, it was of course impossible to test anything fairly amidst the furious storms of civil war. One of the most interesting of them—the permission to introduce the heads of the executive departments into congress—had actually been practised under the provisional government of 1861; but under the formal constitution the houses, as was to have been expected, never took any steps towards putting it into practice.

The congress was inclined from time to time to utter some very stinging criticisms upon the executive conduct of affairs. It could have uttered them with more dignity and effect in the presence of the officers concerned, who were in direct contact with the difficulties of administration. It might then, perhaps, have hoped in some sort to assist in the guidance of administration. As it was, it could only criticise, and then yield without being satisfied.<sup>b</sup>

#### LAST MONTHS OF BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION

The position of President Buchanan in the months intervening between Lincoln's election and inauguration was a difficult and delicate one. The situation demanded tact, decision of character, statesmanship of the highest order. And none of these did Buchanan possess. Although honest at heart and desirous of preserving the Union, his sympathies were and always had been strongly with the South. To this sentiment he gave expression in his message to congress in December, 1860. This message gave hope to the Southern leaders: for although he deprecated and advised against secession as not being called for by Lincoln's election, he at the same time denied the power of either president or congress to prevent secession. This the South justly took to be an intimation that they would be allowed to withdraw unmolested as far as Buchanan was concerned. By the North the message was received with mingled anger and astonishment. General Cass, the secretary of state, at once resigned his portfolio and was succeeded by Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, then attorney-general, a man of greater ability and decision of character. The secession of South Carolina brought out the strong points in Black's character, and he took at once a determined stand for the Union, in which he was ably seconded by Edwin M. Stanton, who now became attorney-general, and Jos ph Holt, who supplanted Floyd as secretary of war. Their influence led Buchanan to refuse to receive the commissioners sent by South Carolina to treat with the federal authorities concerning the surrender of the forts in Charleston harbour. The pro-Union members of the cabinet received a powerful addition to their strength in January by the appointment of John A. Dix of New York to the secretaryship of the treasury; and his ringing despatch to the revenue officers at New Orleans, "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag shoot him on the spot," aroused the greatest enthusiasm at the North. The new influences at work on Buchanan showed themselves in his special message of January 8th, in which he declared it the duty of the president to use force if necessary to collect the public revenues or protect the national property.

Meanwhile in congress and out of it measures were undertaken looking toward compromise. As early as December 18th John J. Crittenden of Kentucky had introduced into the senate the measure which goes by the name of the Crittenden Compromise. This was considered by a committee including Seward, Wade, Douglas, Jefferson Davis, and Toombs. The compromise consisted of a proposed constitutional amendment restoring the old line of 36° 30' as a limit south of which congress should have no power to interfere

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with slavery in any state or territory. But the Northern republican senators refused to accept it and the amendment was lost. In the house a series of resolutions embodying a similar plan of compromise failed of passage.

The failure of the compromise measures was followed, as state after state seceded, by the withdrawal of the senators and representatives from those states, thus leaving the republicans strongly intrenched in both houses. Several conciliatory measures were now passed by the majority in futile and even cringing endeavour to avert the crisis. One provided for a constitutional amendment forever forbidding congress to meddle with slavery in any state where it already existed, without the consent of that state. Other measures organised the territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota without a word about the prohibition of slavery. But all such overtures were too late.

Already the seceding states had given evidence of their intention to cut every tie that bound them to the Union, by seizing the government property, consisting of custom houses, forts, and arsenals, within their borders. Before the close of Buchanan's administration every fort, navy yard, or federal building within the seven seceding states had been seized, with the exception of Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour, Fort Pickens, Key West, and the Dry Tortugas. The eyes of the nation were centred on Charleston harbour, where Major Robert Anderson had removed his handful of troops from Fort Moultrie on the mainland to the stronger position of Fort Sumter. The move was an intimation that the fort was not to be given up without a struggle. The determination of both parties was further emphasised when on January 9th the steamship *Star of the West*, which Buchanan had at length been prevailed upon to send to relieve the fort with supplies, was fired upon by the South Carolina shore batteries, and compelled to return with its mission unaccomplished. The first shot of the Civil War had been fired.

#### THE INAUGURATION OF LINCOLN; FORT SUMTER

Never was a presidential inauguration awaited with such intense interest as that of Abraham Lincoln, March 4th, 1861. Seven states had left the Union and set up a government of their own. Would the new president, the country asked, attempt compromise where congress had failed, or would he proceed vigorously to assert the rights and enforce the laws of the Union with the almost certain result of driving several border states to join their Southern neighbours.

Lincoln's inaugural address was moderate, even conciliatory. He declared that he had neither the intention nor the right of interfering with slavery where it existed. He even expressed his willingness to accept the Fugitive Slave Law. Not a word was said as to the restriction of slavery extension. But with the question of the preservation of the Union he was more explicit. "No state upon its own mere motion," he declared, "can lawfully get out of the Union." Any ordinance that attempted to bring about such a dissolution was, he held, null and void. He would, he declared unequivocally, execute the laws of the Union and defend and maintain its authority in every state. To such an expression of his purposes there could be but one meaning—civil war. And the president's choice of advisers, including such men as Seward for secretary of state and Chase for secretary of the treasury, was taken to mean that the North stood behind him.

The immediate attention of the country remained centred in Charleston

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harbour, where Major Anderson still held Fort Sumter. His provisions were running low, and unless relieved he must soon surrender. South Carolina sent a new set of commissioners to Washington to attempt an adjustment of the difficulties. The cabinet hesitated and tried to dissuade the president from acting. At last, however, a decision was reached and notice was sent both to Major Anderson and to Governor Pickens of South Carolina (April 8th) that a vessel was under way to carry provisions to the fort. President Davis called his cabinet together to decide what should be done. Despite the impassioned opposition of Toombs, the Confederate secretary of state, who declared that the first shot fired by the South would "strike a hornet's nest" from which legions would swarm out and sting them to death, General Beauregard was authorised to demand the fort's surrender, and in case of refusal to reduce it.<sup>a</sup>

#### THE FALL OF SUMTER; UPRISING OF THE NORTH<sup>1</sup>

With telegrams from the Davis government directing him to proceed, Beauregard at two in the afternoon of April 11th demanded the surrender of Fort Sumter, and after some vain parleying with Major Anderson, which lasted through the night, opened his cannonade by early dawn of the 12th. Startling was the spectacle for this continent, and in scope and consequences unparalleled in the world's history. Throngs of Southern soldiers and civilians poured into Charleston on every train, and the wharves and housetops swarmed with eager gazers. But surrounding the fight in imaginary presence were the millions of anxious inhabitants, North and South, dilating with various emotions, as the telegraph and bulletins of the daily press spread details of the combat through the amphitheatre of a nation. As the ensign of the Union on that slender staff waved its folds, more in reproof than defiance, from the brick ramparts of the little island midway down this harbour, the target of disloyal batteries from three different directions, hearts hardened towards one another with each fratricidal shot. And through the thickening smoke, as the roar of artillery went on, might be dimly discerned now and then a vessel of the provisioning fleet, defining the coast horizon with its spectral hull, watching, but unable to succour. The result of such an unequal duel was not long doubtful. Anderson's brave little garrison, a mere handful for such a contest, and a force barely sufficient to keep a few of the answering guns active, had already exhausted their rations of bread. On the morning of the 13th the barracks of the fort caught fire, and while officers and men were engaged for hours in getting the flames under control so as to save the powder magazine from exploding, the flagstaff fell, struck for the tenth time by hostile shot. Senator Louis T. Wigfall, who was now serving on Beauregard's staff, crossed over in a boat and volunteered honourable terms of surrender, which Beauregard confirmed after Anderson had accepted them. On Sunday, the 14th, Anderson and his command marched out with their property and all the honours of war, saluting the flag they had so gallantly defended; after which they were transferred to the *Baltic* (one of the vessels of the relief squadron), which waited outside, to sail for New York. The captured fort passed simultaneously into the formal custody of a Confederate garrison.

The curtain dropped upon this lurid drama, and sickened hearts at the North knew what next must follow. The same Monday morning's paper on

[<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from James Schouler's *History of the United States*, by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co. Copyright, 1899, by James Schouler.]

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the 15th of April, which described Sumter's last tableau, published the president's proclamation, bearing that date, but made and signed Sunday, which called at once into service seventy-five thousand militia for three months, and summoned congress to convene in extra session on the coming July 4th. The phraseology of that proclamation scrupulously observed requirements of the old and imperfect act of 1795, which afforded the only legislative warrant for this new emergency. There was no heart certainly at the North to cavil or criticise when that sober appeal, following the Sumter spectacle, made men at last realise that the loved Union was in danger, and that nothing but heroic sacrifice, as in the days of old, could save it from destruction. This was eloquence enough; and the document inspired pen and tongue like a Pentecost wherever through the rich and populous North the news travelled that Fort Sumter had fallen.

At once the great Union party of the nation sprang to its feet; not, indeed, with all the border allies hoped for, but, throughout the vast and populous region of free states, rallying the loyal in every city, town, and hamlet, and mustering tens and hundreds of thousands among the inhabitants, where thousands alone had been looked for. Party presses, some of them but lately protesting against coercion of the South, vied with one another in eagerness to sustain the president's summons, while the few that hung back were silenced by an indignant community or made to recant. The steamer that bore Anderson and his men into New York harbour, on the 18th of April, brought the flags of Moultrie and Sumter, and enthusiasm was wild to welcome those gallant defenders. All hearts at the free North beat in patriotic unison. Honest democrats and conservatives forgot their old antipathies and fraternised with republicans of every stripe for the old union of states, "one and inseparable." The inspiring utterances of Jackson and Daniel Webster were a thousand times repeated. The surviving ex-presidents of the North, Buchanan among them, gave encouragement. Among Northern statesmen once recreant to freedom, Cass, from his final retirement in Michigan, sent God-speed; while Douglas, for the few brief weeks left to him, threw aside his late sophistries, and, whole-souled in the new cause of upholding the Union, died illustrious. Everett, whose palmy years of eloquence had been given to maintaining, were it possible, a Union of compromise and smothered animosities, now flamed into a pillar of guiding strength by his splendid example.

The strong, sanguine enthusiasm of this first genuine uprising gave token that the republic would not, should not, perish. In public halls, on the village green, or wherever else a united gathering might impress its strongest force, citizens met in mass to be stirred to fervency as at some religious revival. Spokesmen of varying political antecedents occupied the platform together to bear their testimony as honest patriots. Boston rocked thus in old Faneuil Hall; at New York City was held an immense mass-meeting in Union Square, on the 20th of April, under the shadow of Washington's monument, and the ablest leaders of parties hitherto opposing addressed the crowd from three several stands. At a Chicago gathering, where the speaker raised his hand to take the oath of allegiance, the whole audience solemnly rose and repeated the words with him. There were flag-raising, moreover, at which the national colours, red, white, and blue, were hoisted. One deep-rooted sentiment pervaded old and young throughout these free states—to serve, to sacrifice, but never to surrender. Only two sides of the question were possible at such a crisis—for the Union or against it; only two classes of citizens—patriots or traitors. "Fort Sumter is lost,"

said the New York *Tribune* "but freedom is saved." If there were a few men doubtful or disposed to palliate, they were swallowed into the resistless torrent of sympathy with the administration.]

John Codman Ropes,<sup>k</sup> in his remarkable study of the Civil War, unhappily left unfinished, has expressed perhaps better than any other writer the underlying elements of strength and weakness in the North and South. We are fortunate in being able to quote the following:<sup>a</sup>

#### THE OPPOSING PARTIES <sup>1</sup>

Thus the lines were finally drawn. Twenty-two states remained united. These states were preparing to assert their sovereignty by force of arms over the whole length and breadth of the land. Opposed to them stood the eleven states which had seceded, now constituting the Confederate States of America, equally resolute to maintain by the sword their claim to independence.

#### *Population and Material Resources*

The parties to this conflict were in many respects unequally matched. The populations of the twenty-two states which adhered to the Union aggregated upwards of twenty-two millions, of whom less than half a million were slaves. The populations of the eleven states which had left the Union numbered together but little over nine millions, of whom about three millions and a half were slaves. There were thus about four times as many free white people on the Union side as there were on the Confederate side. The slaves, however, instead of being a source of anxiety and apprehension, as many in the North confidently predicted would be the case, proved perfectly subordinate. They were trusted to take care of the families where the able-bodied white men had gone to the war, and they never betrayed their trust. They were largely employed in building fortifications. They raised the crops on which the entire South subsisted during the whole war.

In material prosperity the North was far in advance of the South. In accumulated capital there was no comparison between the two sections. The immigration from Europe had kept the labour market of the North well stocked, while no immigrants from Ireland or Germany were willing to enter into a competition with negro slaves. The North was full of manufactories of all kinds; the South had very few of any kind. The railroad systems of the North were far more perfect and extensive, and the roads were much better supplied with rolling-stock and all needed apparatus. The North was infinitely richer than the South in the production of grain and of meat, and the boasted value of the South's great staple, cotton, sank out of sight when the blockade closed the Southern ports to all commerce.

Accompanying these greater material resources there existed in the North a much larger measure of business capacity than was to be found in the South. This was of course to be expected, for the life of the plantation was not calculated to familiarise one with business methods, or to create an aptitude for dealing with affairs on a large scale. The great merchants and managers of large railroads and other similar enterprises in the North were able to render valuable assistance to the men who administered the state and national governments, and their aid was most generously given.

[<sup>a</sup> Reprinted from J. C. Ropes' *Story of the Civil War*, by permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons. Copyright, 1898, by John Codman Ropes.]

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*Army and Navy*

The command of the sea naturally fell at once into the hands of the North. With the exception of the losses caused by the unnecessary destruction of the vessels of war in the Gosport Navy Yard, the whole fleet of the United States, all the permanent establishments except the navy yard at Pensacola, and the entire personnel of the navy with the exception of a comparatively few officers remained under the control of the government. There were by no means so many resignations from the regular navy as from the regular army. To the naval officer, whether at sea or in a foreign port, the United States must always have appeared as one nation. The flag under which he sailed was contrasted with the flags of the nations of Europe. He could not but feel—as a rule, that is—that his country was the country which the Stars and Stripes represented, and not the state of his origin. Hence there were comparatively few instances of naval officers who resigned their commissions and tendered their services to their states. Yet there were some instances of this; Buchanan, Tattnall, Semmes, and Hollins were perhaps the most conspicuous of these. On the other hand, Farragut, who rose to be the head of the navy during the war, came from a state which seceded, Tennessee. Moreover, the mercantile marine of the United States, which, in 1861, was second only to that of Great Britain, was almost wholly owned in the North. It was chiefly in the New England States that the ships were built. The sailors, so far as they were Americans, and the greater part of them were Americans, were all Northerners. The owners were nearly all merchants in the Northern Atlantic cities. Hence the government had no difficulty in recruiting the navy to any extent, both in officers and men, from a large class thoroughly familiar with the sea.

The regular army suffered to a marked extent by the resignation of officers belonging in the states which had seceded. The privates and non-commissioned officers with hardly an exception remained faithful to the flag, and continued loyally to serve the government. Not a few officers also belonging in the seceding states, of whom the most distinguished were General Winfield Scott and General George H. Thomas, recognised the United States as their country and cheerfully remained in the army and served throughout the war.

It may be remarked that both sides had to depend to a considerable extent on Europe for supplies of arms and ammunition. This was, of course, much more true of the South than of the North, for the principal arsenals and manufactories of arms were situated in the Northern states. But, so far as importations were needed, it was obviously a perfectly simple matter for the North to procure them, while the vessels containing these precious cargoes for the South were always compelled to run the blockade, and were often captured in the attempt.

The financial situation of the North was, as has been intimated above, vastly superior to that of the South. Had the Confederate government promptly seized all the cotton in the country, paying for it at the market price in Confederate money, and sent it to England before the blockade had become fully established, and there stored it to be sold from time to time as occasion might require, available funds would have been forthcoming sufficient to meet the largest requirements. But this course, though suggested, was not carried out, and finances of the Southern Confederacy fell into the most deplorable condition long before the end of the war.

*Difficulties of an Invasion*

Superior as the North was in numbers and in resources of every kind, and important as was her command of the sea, it was nevertheless by no means certain that she would succeed in the task which she had laid out for herself. The conquest of the eleven states was in truth a gigantic undertaking. The attempt was certain to be resisted by practically the entire population. This resistance would be made under the direction of generals of high attainments, of acknowledged ability, and of some experience in war. It would be made by upwards of five millions of people of pure American stock, who would be certain to fight with all the fierceness and determination of men fighting in defence of their country against invasion and conquest. There would be on the side of the South no hesitations, no dissensions, no thoughts of surrender. Whatever would be gained would have to be won by hard fighting. It was not possible that the North should make her numerical superiority count to its full extent on a battle-field in the South. All that invading power, even if greatly superior in population, can effect is to preserve a certain superiority in numbers in the theatre of war; how great that superiority shall be must depend on the means of transportation and subsistence and on the number of men required to hold the lines of communication and supply. The number which can be ranged in line of battle on any particular field cannot, therefore, be decided beforehand unless the most careful study has been given to the question by the military authorities. It should also be remembered that while in an invasion every step taken in advance necessarily carries the active army farther from its base of supplies and from its reinforcements, the enemy are by the same causes impelled towards a concentration of their available forces, so that, whatever disparity of strength may have existed at the outset, it is quite possible that at the moment of the decisive collision the forces may be practically equal.

*Military Aptitude of the North and South*

Finally, if we would estimate correctly the relative power of the parties to this conflict, we must take account of their respective aptitudes for war. The South undoubtedly possessed a more military population than the North, and we do not find that one part of the South excelled another—to any marked degree, at any rate—in the possession of military instincts and aptitudes. Several of the Southern states—Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana among others—possessed excellent military academies. The population, almost wholly occupied in agricultural pursuits, was necessarily accustomed to life in the open air, to horses, to hunting and fishing, to exposure, to unusual physical exertion from time to time. Such conditions of life naturally foster a martial spirit. Then the aristocratic régime which prevailed in the slave-holding states was conducive to that preference of military over civil pursuits which has so generally been characteristic of aristocracies. The young men of the better classes eagerly embraced the profession of arms, as offering by far the noblest opportunities for the exercise of the higher virtues and for attaining the greatest distinction in the state. They made excellent officers, while those below them in the social scale, sharing as they did largely in the same feelings and possessed by the same ideas of life and duty, made admirable private soldiers and warrant

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officers. Endowed with a marvellous capacity of endurance, whether of physical exertion or of lack of food, uncomplaining, ever ready for a fight, the soldiers of the South were first-rate material in the hands of the able officers who so generally commanded them. Their want of strict discipline was, it is true, notorious, but it was chiefly noticeable on the march, where straggling, to an extent unknown in the Federal armies, was a not infrequent feature. They loved fighting for its own sake, and no more willing troops ever responded to the call of their leaders. Their knowledge of woodcraft, gained by lives spent on the plantation or the farm, was always of great service, and often gave them a decided advantage over the numerous town-bred soldiers of the Federal armies.

In the North, on the other hand, there was very little of this enthusiastic sentiment about a military life. One may fairly say that it was rarely to be seen in the Eastern and Middle States; and although it is true that the young men of the West responded with more unanimity and probably with more alacrity to the often repeated summonses to leave peaceful pursuits and take the field, yet this was rather due to the comparative newness of the civilisation in the West than to any specific martial quality in the population. The truth is that the Northern people, whether in the East or the West, were busy, pre-occupied, full of schemes for the development of the country, and for the acquisition of private fortunes; happy and contented in their manifold industries, they detested equally the wastefulness and cruel sacrifices inseparable from fighting. The poetry of war hardly entered into the mind of the Northern volunteer; most certainly the *gaudium certaminis* did not influence his decision to enlist. His course was determined wholly by a sense of duty; for he looked upon the war as a grievous interruption to the course of his own life as well as to the normal development of his country's history. He regarded the Southerners as wholly to blame; and he determined to put them down, cost what it might. His devotion to his country was as deep and strong and unreserved as was that of his Southern opponent; he was as brave, as patient, as unfaltering, as persistent; but he did not take so much interest in the game; he went into camp, he drilled, he marched, he fought, without a thought of saving himself either labour or danger; but it was all weary work to him—distasteful; in his judgment the whole thing was unbecfitting a country as far advanced in civilisation as the United States was—it was a sort of anachronism. Hence it cannot be doubted that the Southern volunteers frequently scored successes over their Northern adversaries for the simple and sole reason that to them the game of war was not only a perfectly legitimate pursuit, but one of the noblest, if not the noblest, that could claim the devotion of brave and free men. They went into it *con amore*; they gave to its duties their most zealous attention; and they reaped a full measure of the success which those who throw themselves with all their hearts into any career deserve and generally attain.

Taking all these things together, then, it was plain enough that the task of subjugating the South was certain to be one of great difficulty, even though the resources of the North were so much superior to those of the South. It was also unlikely that the resources of the North would be employed with any great amount of skill and judgment, at any rate at first. The president of the United States was known to be a man of no military training or experience. He was hardly likely to find, at the outset, generals who could plan and carry out the campaigns of invasion which the scheme of conquest required for its accomplishment. The Southern president, on the other hand, was a military man by education and experience; he had been graduated

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from West Point; he had distinguished himself at Monterey and Buena Vista; he had been secretary of war. His army-list was certain to be made out intelligently, and it was known that he had a choice of excellent officers from among whom to select his ranking generals.

When we add to the considerations above presented that the South was about to fight for her own defence against invasion, to struggle for her independence against armies which were undertaking to conquer her, it was easy to see that all her energies would be aroused, and that it might safely be predicted that the advantage would not always be on the side of the heaviest battalions.<sup>k</sup>

#### PREPARING FOR THE CONFLICT

The president's call to arms was responded to with unprecedented enthusiasm. The quota of every Northern state was filled many times over. At the South, too, enthusiasm was unbounded. Within the week Virginia had seceded and her militia had seized the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the Gosport Navy Yard, which was fired before it was abandoned by the Union officers. North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas followed the lead of the "Old Dominion." On April 19th occurred the first bloodshed of the war. The 6th Massachusetts regiment, passing through Baltimore on its way to Washington, was attacked by a mob in the streets, shots were exchanged, and four soldiers and a dozen or more of their assailants were killed.

The struggle between the opposing parties in the remaining border states was bitter. In spite of the active efforts of governors Jackson of Missouri and Magoffin of Kentucky, the people of these states after some hesitation declared for the Union. The forty western counties of Virginia refused to abide by Virginia's determination to secede. They now sent delegates to Wheeling, where a state government was organised. Subsequently this government applied to Washington for a division of the state, and congress, adopting the fiction that this was the only constituted government of the state and therefore could consent to a division, admitted the western counties under the name of West Virginia (1863).

Meanwhile the opposing forces were drawing together, and by the end of May an army of sixty thousand was collected in and around Washington. President Davis had issued a call for one hundred thousand volunteers, and the Confederate capital had been re-established in Richmond. Around these two hostile capitals the struggle was soon sure to be begun.

Governor Francis H. Pierpont, provisional governor of the western counties of Virginia, called on President Lincoln for aid in preserving the region for the Union. In response a force was sent under Gen. George B. McClellan and the first real fighting in the Civil War ensued. McClellan, in a short but vigorous campaign, succeeded in clearing western Virginia of Confederates, and re-establishing railway connections between Washington and the West. This early success brought McClellan into the prominence that resulted soon after in his advancement to more important commands.

#### CONGRESS AND THE WAR (1861-1862)

Congress, in response to a call of President Lincoln, convened in special session at Washington on July 4th, 1861. The problems that confronted it

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were greater and more numerous than any body of American legislators had ever before been called upon to solve. Armies were to be enlisted and organised, a navy to be built, the civil service to be reconstructed. For all these purposes funds were needed, and the national treasury was almost empty. President Lincoln's message was a remarkably clear statement of the steps he had already taken to preserve the Union and of the immediate measures required. The legislators responded enthusiastically and loyally. In a little over a month's time measures were passed providing for large increases in the regular army and navy; authorising the president to call for five hundred thousand volunteers for three years or during the war; authorising the secretary of the treasury to borrow \$250,000,000 by issuing bonds or treasury notes; increasing the import duties, and providing for an income tax of 3 per cent. on all incomes of over \$800 per year. On August 6th, the last day of the session, all the acts of the president taken before the meeting of congress, including the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, were ratified, and he was broadly authorised to confiscate any property used or intended to be used in furtherance of the Confederate cause.

During its next regular session (December, 1861-July, 1862) congress continued its policy of strengthening the finances of the government, and employing every resource to crush the rebellion. The policy was adopted and unhesitatingly persisted in until the end of the war of stimulating industries by high protective tariffs and then utilising their resources by an elaborate system of direct taxation. Specie payment had been suspended by agreement between the government and the banks in December, 1861, and to meet the new conditions, congress, in February, 1862, passed the Legal Tender Act. By this act treasury notes, familiarly known as "greenbacks," were issued to the amount of \$150,000,000, subsequently reaching \$450,000,000, and were made legal tender for every purpose except payment of import duties and interest on the public debt. Supplementary to this the National Bank Act (February 15th, 1863), by which the present national banking system was established, was passed a year later. In May, 1862, the Homestead Act was passed, and in July a bill providing for a Pacific Railway. In the latter month, too, the Morrill Tariff Act became a law.

#### THE OPENING CAMPAIGN IN MISSOURI

The disunionist activities of Governor Jackson in Missouri and his endeavours to carry that state into the Confederacy hastened the opposing parties into hostilities west of the Mississippi. Jackson, on the pretense of maintaining the state's neutrality, had issued a call for fifty thousand volunteers to defend it against its northern invaders. General Nathaniel Lyon, taking counsel with General Frank P. Blair, had thereupon taken possession of the state capital, Jefferson City, in June. In the following month he established his base at Springfield, where he was joined by a force under Colonel Franz Sigel, bringing his total command up to six thousand men. Against him early in August marched a Confederate force of ten thousand under generals Sterling Price and Ben McCulloch. On the banks of Wilson's Creek, ten miles from Springfield, a fierce battle was fought August 9th, in which the gallant Lyon, after being twice wounded, was killed while leading his troops. The Federal forces, outnumbered almost two to one, fought on stubbornly for an hour longer, and then retired to Rolla, whither the Confederates, their own army sadly depleted by the struggle, made no attempt to follow them. Any possible advantage the result of the battle might have given them was

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thrown away largely through the bickerings of Price and McCulloch. The appointment of Earl Van Dorn to the chief command followed. For six months there were no military operations of importance west of the Mississippi.

In the Federal army the greatest dissatisfaction was soon expressed with General John C. Frémont, who had been appointed to the command in Missouri. Complaints of incompetency and misuse of authority were followed by more serious charges of corruption in granting army contracts. While these charges were being investigated he drew popular attention to himself by issuing an order confiscating the property and setting free the slaves of all persons who had taken up arms against the Federal government in Missouri. This order, known as "Frémont's Emancipation Proclamation," was recognised by Lincoln and his advisers to be premature and impolitic to say the least, and it was seen that it might have an adverse effect on the Union cause in Kentucky. The revocation of the order, and the subsequent removal of Frémont as a result of the charges against him brought upon Lincoln a storm of reproach and disapproval from Sumner and the more radical anti-slavery republicans.

#### THE BLOCKADE : OPERATIONS ALONG THE COAST

On April 19th, 1861, President Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of all the ports of the seceded states. Steps were at once taken to make the blockade effective. It was a tremendous task, for there was a coast-line of over three thousand miles to be watched. The navy at the time consisted of only forty-two wooden vessels, more than half of which were on foreign stations. But they were hurried home for service, and extraordinary measures at once adopted for converting merchant vessels into ships of war. Northern shipyards were kept busy night and day.

The necessity for the hurry was evident. The vast cotton crop of the South was valueless unless it could be marketed. If the Confederacy could ship its staple crop to foreign markets it could buy with the funds thus obtained guns, ammunition, and munitions of war which might enable it to prolong the contest indefinitely. This was perfectly well recognised by President Lincoln and his secretary of the navy, Gideon Welles. Little by little the embargo was made effective along the whole stretch of coast. But throughout the long contest the dire necessity of the South induced the Confederate naval authorities to take every advantage of its laxity to aid swift sailing merchant vessels to run the blockade. The risks were great, but the reward was greater. In another direction the Confederate naval authorities were active. Their privateers, built at home and abroad, and carrying commissions from the Confederate government, preyed upon the commerce of the North with such disastrous results that despite every effort the American merchant marine, which in 1861 had been, next to England's, the greatest in the world, was by 1865 practically annihilated.

Many of the earliest operations conducted by the Federal government were undertaken for the purpose of establishing naval and military bases along the coast to strengthen the blockade, and from which the navy might more effectively operate against the privateers. One of the earliest of these was that which Gen. B. F. Butler led to Hatteras Inlet on the coast of North Carolina in August, 1861. Of more importance was the expedition in November, 1861, of General Thomas W. Sherman and Commodore Dupont, which successfully reduced forts Walker and Beauregard and captured Port

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Royal on the South Carolina coast. Early in January, 1862, a fleet under Commodore Goldsborough, conveying an army of twelve thousand men under Gen. A. E. Burnside, set sail for Pamlico and Albemarle sounds on the coast of North Carolina. The Confederate fortifications on Roanoke Island were carried by assault, and later New Berne was occupied. By April, 1862, Fort Macon and Fort Pulaski had fallen, the reduction of the latter completely cutting off Savannah from the outside world. These successes rendered effective the blockade from Virginia to Florida and served to establish bases from which important operations could in the future be conducted into the interior.

## BULL RUN AND AFTER

While the campaign in western Virginia was still in progress events in the eastern part of the state pointed to an early meeting of the hostile armies in much larger numbers. Public opinion at the North had taken up the cry of "On to Richmond." From the South came back a no less certain cry of "On to Washington!" Finally, in response to the increasing demand for action. President Lincoln and his advisers determined upon a general advance into Virginia. On July 16th, 1861, General Irvin McDowell moved with his army of thirty thousand men in the direction of Manassas, about thirty miles southwest of Washington, where General Beauregard, the Confederate commander, had established his base with a somewhat inferior force. By the morning of Sunday, July 21st, when the two armies at length came together, the Confederates had been reinforced by the command of Gen. J. E. Johnston, which had been hastily ordered up from Winchester and had evaded the Union force of General Patterson set to watch it, so that the two armies were of almost exactly the same strength. The Confederates, however, had the advantage of being better posted and being on the defensive. McDowell advanced to the attack early on the morning of the 21st, his army being divided into three columns under generals Tyler, Hunter, and Heintzelman. Hunter on the right, after hard fighting, drove the Confederates before him until stopped on the slope of a hill by the brigade of Gen. Thomas J. Jackson. Jackson's stubborn resistance, which won for him the sobriquet of "Stonewall," checked the Federal assault until the arrival (about three o'clock in the afternoon) of a fresh contingent of Johnston's command under Gen. Kirby Smith. Beauregard had been on the point of ordering a retreat, but the tide of battle now began to turn against McDowell. Eight thousand fresh troops were hurled upon the flank and rear of the Federal army, which was gradually forced from the field. McDowell vainly tried to stop the retreat, and finding that impossible, attempted to withdraw his forces in order. But confusion prevailed, and his army streamed toward Washington in utter demoralisation. Beauregard and Johnston retained the field, but their forces were too badly disorganised to attempt a pursuit. The losses showed hard fighting. The Federal loss in killed and wounded was about fifteen hundred, the Confederates' nineteen hundred, but over thirteen hundred Federals were reported missing.

The news of the defeat at Bull Run caused the greatest consternation in the North; in the South the enthusiasm was unbounded. The ultimate result was probably more to the advantage of the North, for it was awakened at last to a realising sense of the vastness of the undertaking which the suppression of the secession movement meant. The South, on the other hand, suffered from the result of over-confidence. One of the first results of the battle at the North was the superseding of McDowell by McClellan. No

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further movements of importance were undertaken by either of the main hostile armies in the east until October, the only operations worthy of note being a continuance of the campaigns in the mountains of western Virginia in which General Rosecrans was somewhat more successful than his Confederate opponent, Gen. Robert E. Lee.

#### THE "TRENT" AFFAIR

Before the war had been in progress many months occurred an international incident which had a significant bearing upon the relations of both North and South with neutral European powers. This was the forcible seizure, on November 8th, by Captain Charles Wilkes and the United States sloop-of-war *San Jacinto* of James M. Mason and John Slidell, the Confederate commissioners to England and France respectively, en route to England from Havana on the English steamship *Trent*. At the outbreak of the war the South had hoped and expected that England's commercial interest in keeping her cotton-mills running would lead her to look with sympathy on the Confederate cause, if not to render more important aid in money or munitions of war. In some degree their expectations were realised, for the sympathies of the higher classes in England were, at the beginning of the war, undoubtedly almost wholly with the South. The hasty action of the British government in recognising the Confederates as belligerents on May 14th, 1861, which was soon after followed by similar action on the part of France, was looked upon as being evidence of the unfriendly attitude of the Palmerston ministry. But the tactful diplomacy of Charles Francis Adams, whom President Lincoln sent as American representative to the Court of St. James, and the powerful advocacy of the Northern cause by John Bright, Richard Cobden, and other Englishmen of influence, had apparently stemmed the tide of hostile feeling, when it was aroused anew by the seizure of the Confederate commissioners.

Mason and Slidell had escaped from Charleston on a blockade-runner and had re-embarked at Havana on November 7th on the British steamer *Trent*. On the next day the *Trent* was overhauled by the *San Jacinto* and the commissioners were seized and carried to Boston, where they were treated as prisoners of war. The news of the capture was at first received at the North with great joy. Wilkes was lauded as a national hero and received ovations at Boston and New York. Congress tendered him a vote of thanks. In England the seizure aroused a universal feeling of anger that was as unreasonable and extreme as were the Americans' demonstrations of joy. The British government at once demanded reparation, and in order to be prepared for a refusal dispatched thirty thousand troops to Halifax. Secretary Seward was rather disposed to assert American rights, believing that he had behind him the great public opinion of the North. But Lincoln, who declared that "we fought Great Britain for insisting by theory and practice on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done," counselled moderation. In this he was upheld by several members of his cabinet and by the more conservative sentiment at the North. Secretary Seward therefore informed Great Britain that the American government disavowed the act of Wilkes, and the commissioners were released and proceeded to England. The better opinion in England was anxious to defend itself from any charge of sympathy for the Confederate cause arising from this affair, and the London *Times* voiced this sentiment when it declared, "We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes."

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## FORTS HENRY AND DONELSON

It was early evident that the attempt to maintain Kentucky in a position of neutrality could not be successful. The geographical location of the state, if nothing more, rendered such an attitude impossible. Its occupation would naturally be one of the earliest steps in the Federal programme of securing control of the Mississippi river. Nor could it be expected that either side would neglect to attempt control of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, two of the most important military thoroughfares into the heart of the Confederacy. The Confederate seizure of Columbus on the Mississippi was followed by General Grant's occupation of Paducah at the mouth of the Tennessee. The state was thus forced into the struggle, and on September 20th, 1861, its legislature called for troops to support the Union cause.

The campaigns that followed developed into a struggle for the control of the waterways. The Confederates fortified Columbus, New Madrid, and Island Number 10 on the Mississippi, and erected Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Along this line of defence, with Bowling Green in Kentucky as an outpost and Nashville as a centre, General Albert Sidney Johnston distributed his forces. Against these were pitted Federal forces under General Don Carlos Buell at Louisville and General Ulysses S. Grant at Cairo, all being at the time under the supreme command of General Halleck. The first Federal attack on this line came on November 7th when Grant, moving down from Cairo in transports, routed the Confederates under General Pillow at Belmont, opposite Columbus, but was compelled to abandon the place on the reinforcement of Pillow by General Leonidas Polk, who commanded at Columbus. No more fighting of importance occurred until January, 1862, when the Federal forces moved forward all along the line. General James A. Garfield conducted a short but sharp campaign in eastern Kentucky, culminating in the defeat of the Confederates under Gen. Humphrey Marshall at Prestonburg (January 10th). On January 19th General George H. Thomas won a decisive victory over the combined Confederate forces of generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer at Mill Springs. General Zollicoffer was killed; and this, the first substantial Union victory in the West, gave great encouragement to the Federal armies. By these victories eastern Kentucky was freed from Confederate occupation.

Halleck now determined to break the centre of the Confederate line of defence, and for that purpose despatched General Grant with seventeen thousand troops and Commodore Foote with a flotilla of river gun-boats up the Tennessee river to Fort Henry. General Tilghman, the Confederate commander, realised the futility of resistance, and sending the bulk of his forces to reinforce Fort Donelson, surrendered after a mock defence.

Leaving a strong garrison at Fort Henry, Grant at once prepared to advance with fifteen thousand men upon Fort Donelson, where he was destined to win his first laurels as a fighter. Johnston had thought Fort Donelson almost impregnable, and had placed in it a force larger by six thousand than Grant's attacking army, under the command of Gen. John B. Floyd, late secretary of war in Buchanan's cabinet. On February 12th Grant, marching across country from Fort Henry, invested the Confederate fortifications. On the following day he attacked and was repulsed. That night arrived Foote with his gun-boats and General Lew Wallace with his division of infantry. On the 14th Foote attacked with his flotilla, but the fierce fire from the Confederate guns compelled him to retire down the stream with two of his gun-boats disabled. He himself was severely wounded.

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That night Floyd, realising that Grant's reinforced troops now outnumbered his, after consulting with his two subordinates, Pillow and Buckner, determined to cut his way out to Nashville. Early the next morning this attempt was made. Ten thousand men were hurled upon the division commanded by General McClernand, which after a gallant defence, was forced by lack of ammunition to retire. If the Confederates had followed up this advantage they might indeed have obtained what they sought—a clear road to Nashville. But General Pillow, who commanded the assault, with almost incredible lack of foresight, withdrew into the fort. Grant at once saw his advantage and gave orders to his troops to retake their former position. At the same time he ordered General C. F. Smith, a brave and experienced soldier, to assault the works in his front. Smith, though a division commander, gallantly led the charge in person. Over rough ground and in the face of a withering fire the Union forces rushed upon the works, and with fixed bayonets carried an important position which practically commanded the entire fort. This position he was able to hold. At the same time Wallace and McClernand had advanced their lines to their former positions so that the fort was more closely invested than ever.

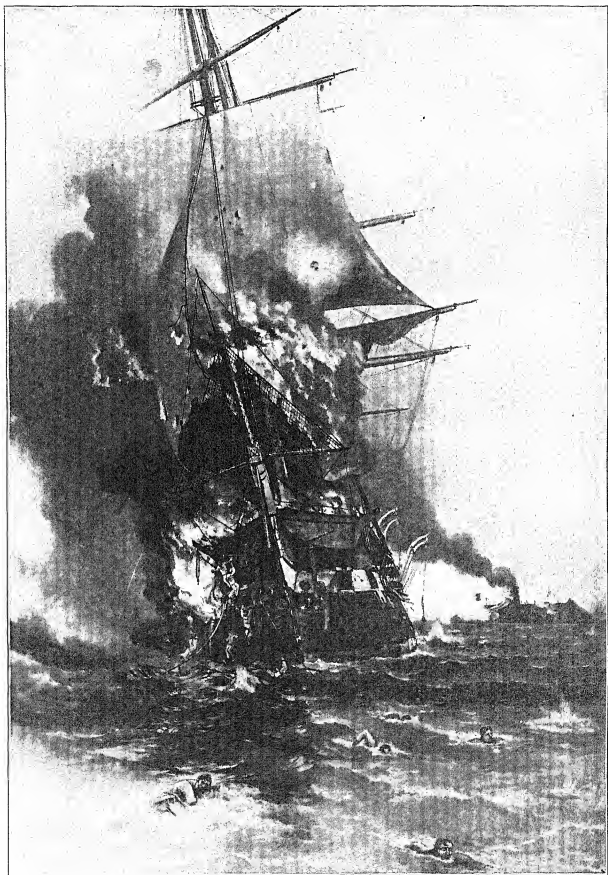
At a council of war held that night, Floyd, who was under indictment at Washington for malversation of government funds while in the cabinet, declared that he meant to escape. Pillow also stated his intention to follow suit; and Gen. Simon B. Buckner, upon whom the command thereupon fell, expressed his determination of surrendering on the following day. Floyd and Pillow, with a small portion of the troops, made good their escape. Buckner's attempt to obtain conditions from Grant the next day were terminated by Grant's famous "unconditional surrender" reply. The fort and 11,500 men were therefore surrendered. Grant had lost in all three thousand men; the Confederate casualties were not nearly so great.

"The capture of Fort Donelson," says Ropes,<sup>k</sup> "was not a great affair, judged by the number of the slain, but judged by its moral and strategical results it was one of the turning points of the war. The whole system of the Confederate defence in the West had been broken up." Bowling Green and Columbus were at once abandoned, and Johnston was compelled to construct a completely new line of defence.

#### ISLAND NUMBER 10 AND PEA RIDGE

After the fall of Fort Donelson the Confederates still maintained strongly entrenched positions at New Madrid and Island Number 10 on the Mississippi; and against these, as a preliminary to opening up the latter river, early in March, 1862, Gen. John Pope was sent with a force of some twenty thousand men. The Mississippi here makes a double loop, New Madrid lying at the bottom of the northern, and Island Number 10 at the bottom of the southern, loop. New Madrid was first made untenable by cutting it off from its source of supply, and it capitulated on March 17th. The capture of Island Number 10 was more difficult, although in this undertaking Pope had the support of Flag-Officer Foote and his gun-boat flotilla. Finally, with much labour, a canal twelve miles long was cut across the isthmus made by the bend in the river, transports were floated through from which troops were landed below the island, and on April 7th a combined land and water attack was followed by the surrender of the island with its valuable stores. The chief result of these successes was the opening of the Mississippi as far as Memphis.

While the operations against Island Number 10 were in progress an



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**THE BURNING OF THE *CONGRESS* IN HAMPTON ROADS**

(From the painting by J. O. Davidson)



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important victory was won for the Union arms west of the Mississippi by Gen. S. R. Curtis, who had succeeded to the command in Missouri and had slowly driven Van Dorn out of the state into Arkansas. There at Pea Ridge, in the mountains of the northwestern part of the state, Curtis, with a force of eleven thousand was met by a motley Confederate force of twenty thousand. A two days' conflict ensued (March 7th-8th). At the end of the first day's fighting the outlook was favourable to a Confederate victory, but Van Dorn's troops were not well organised, and a vigorous flank attack by General Sigel on the second day resulted in a decisive Federal victory. The result secured the possession of Missouri to the Union cause, and practically cleared it of Confederate troops for the remainder of the war.

#### THE "MONITOR" AND THE "MERRIMAC"

At Hampton Roads, on Sunday, March 9th, 1862, occurred the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*. It was the first combat between ironclads and marked a new era in naval warfare. When the Gosport Navy Yard was abandoned by the Federal authorities in April, 1861, the frigate *Merrimac* had been partially burned and sunk. Subsequently the Confederates had raised her, converted her into an ironclad, and renamed her the *Virginia*. She was provided with a powerful battery, her decks, covered with sheets of iron, sloped down to the water line, and she was fitted with an iron ram. On the morning of March 8th the *Merrimac*, as she was still commonly known, steamed out from Norfolk into Hampton Roads, and attacked the Federal fleet. After a fierce but unavailing resistance on the part of the frigate *Congress* and the sloop-of-war *Cumberland*, both were destroyed. The broadsides of the Federal ships rattled against the *Merrimac's* iron sides, and rolled off harmlessly into the water.

On the next morning the *Merrimac* returned to the scene of her previous day's victories, intending to complete the destruction of the Federal fleet. Her achievements of the day before had created the greatest consternation at the North; and the press conjured up pictures of the invincible *Merrimac* exacting tribute from every seaport on the North Atlantic coast. It was not supposed that the Northern navy possessed a vessel that could cope with the destroyer.

But that very morning the little iron-clad *Monitor* had arrived from New York under the command of Lieutenant John L. Worden, and lay at anchor alongside the frigate *Minnesota*, which the *Merrimac* proposed to demolish. Ropes<sup>k</sup> calls this opportune coming of the *Monitor* "the most dramatic of the many dramatic occurrences of the war." This little low-decked, turreted iron-clad which the Confederates contemptuously characterised as "a raft with a cheese-box on it," had been built at the Brooklyn navy yard after models of John Ericsson. It was a good deal in the way of an experiment, but the value of the experiment was soon proved. The *Merrimac* bore down upon her with the intention of ramming her, but the *Monitor* skilfully eluded the blow. For several hours the two vessels fought at close range, but neither was able to inflict any serious damage on the other. Commodore Buchanan and several of the *Merrimac's* gunners were wounded. Lieutenant Worden was the only man on board the *Monitor* to be seriously hurt. After he was wounded the *Monitor* withdrew for a few minutes, whereupon the *Merrimac* took advantage of the cessation of the firing to return to Norfolk. The fight itself was a draw, but the real advantage was with the *Monitor*, for the Federal fleet had been saved, the idea of the invincibility of the *Merrimac* shown to

be false. The latter was not again taken into action, and when Norfolk was abandoned a few months later she was burned by the Confederates.<sup>a</sup>

#### THE BATTLE OF SHILOH

[General Grant, immediately after the fall of Donelson, prepared to ascend the Tennessee river and break the new Confederate line of defence along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.] On arriving at Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee river, some twenty miles from Corinth, he occupied a very strong position on the left bank, intending to hold it until the arrival of General Buell with his army from Nashville. After the junction of the two armies, amounting to more than seventy thousand men, it was intended to move in overwhelming force on Corinth. When Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston learned of Grant's presence at Pittsburg Landing with no more than forty thousand men, he decided to advance suddenly and surprise him, in the hope of winning a victory before Buell's arrival. Circumstances so delayed the operation that Buell's advance division had arrived at Savannah, only nine miles below Pittsburg Landing, on the evening before the attack was made. There has been much discussion as to whether Grant was really surprised on the Sunday morning, April 6th, 1862, when the Confederates charged upon his camp. It is perfectly clear that he was not aware of the presence of Johnston's force in his neighbourhood, and did not expect any attack to be made before the middle of the week. When the firing began on Sunday morning Grant was nine miles distant at Savannah. The division of Lew Wallace, seven thousand men, was at Crump's Landing, five miles below the scene of the battle. The position at Pittsburg Landing, where the principal command was exercised by generals McClelland and Sherman, was a strong one, protected on three sides by creeks, which were swollen with backwater from the great river. The open front towards the southwest, marked by a rude meeting-house known as Shiloh church, ought to have been protected by earthworks; this precaution, however, had been neglected. Johnston's plan was to attack by his right flank and cut off the Union army from Pittsburg Landing, which would involve its destruction or capture; but his attack was not correctly planned for that purpose. His force was not sufficiently massed upon his right, and his main blow was directed too near the Federal centre. The attack was conducted with magnificent gallantry, but the resistance of the Federal troops was very obstinate, and although their organisation was much impaired it was with great slowness that they were pushed back. About the middle of the forenoon the Union generals, Benjamin Prentiss, S. A. Hurlbut, and W. H. L. Wallace, secured a difficult position, since known as the Hornets' Nest, and maintained it until late in the afternoon despite all the efforts of the Confederates. Early in the afternoon, while assaulting this position, Johnston was killed, and the command devolved upon General Beauregard. [Here too fell W. H. L. Wallace. The Union forces were steadily driven back toward the Landing; in one of the movements General Prentiss and part of his command were cut off and captured. Nightfall alone brought a cessation of hostilities. At the end of the first day's fighting the victory was undoubtedly with the Confederates.] Lew Wallace's division had been greatly delayed in its march by imperfect information, and Nelson's division of Buell's army had been equally delayed by the detestable spring roads; but at nightfall both these divisions arrived upon the battlefield, adding fifteen thousand fresh men to the Union force; and so many steamboats had now been collected at Savannah that two more

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of Buell's divisions were comfortably brought up the river during the night. It was evident that Beauregard's battle on Monday was fought, not so much in the hope of victory as in order to secure an unmolested retreat. This he accomplished. In the afternoon he withdrew his army with much skill, leaving the Federals too weary to pursue. In this great battle more than twenty thousand men were killed and wounded, and the Federals lost besides three thousand prisoners. It was an important victory for the Federals, inasmuch as it decided the fate of Corinth; but those who blamed Grant for the surprise were perhaps quite as many as those who praised him for the victory.<sup>m</sup>

Ropes,<sup>k</sup> probably the most brilliant military historian of the war, in criticising Grant's movements after the battle, says: "There was no reason why Grant should not promptly and unremittingly have followed up his beaten antagonist. It was a case where the enemy were in full retreat, and that too, after having lost very heavily in one battle, and been defeated in the second. But Grant did not act at all. He utterly failed to seize the opportunity. And no better opportunity than this was ever presented to a Federal general during the war."<sup>a</sup>

FARRAGUT AT NEW ORLEANS (1862)<sup>1</sup>

The blockade at New Orleans had been peculiarly difficult to keep intact, and several privateers, as well as many merchantmen, had been able to break through. Among these the ram *Manassas* steamed down the river, and made a sudden diversion among the blockading squadron; but it was of short duration, and quite without result. Towards the close of the year Ship Island, near New Orleans, had been occupied by Union troops. General Benjamin F. Butler had charge of this department, but had brought nothing to a head. Admiral David G. Farragut, with David D. Porter second in command, reached the place in the early spring of 1862 to see what could be done. The capture of New Orleans would not only exert a very depressing effect upon the Confederates, but the city would also serve as a base for operations up the Mississippi, in connection with those already moving down.

The approaches to New Orleans by the main channel were held by two strong works, forts Jackson and St. Philip, and the river was patrolled by a flotilla. Farragut moored his mortar-boats below the forts, back of a bend in the river, and for six days bombarded Fort Jackson; but, impatient to secure the city, he determined to try the experiment of running his fleet past the forts, and thus to isolate them. This was a feat never before attempted and of questionable result. But, to the utter astonishment of the Confederates, it was successfully accomplished, and the next day Farragut took possession of New Orleans, evacuated by General Mansfield Lovell on his approach (April 25th).

Porter shortly afterwards received the surrender of the forts—it is claimed on account of a mutiny of the garrison of Fort Jackson—and they were duly occupied. Butler then took possession of the city with his troops.

It must be said in praise of Butler that in provost-marshal work, such as he was called upon to perform in New Orleans, he showed remarkable capacity. The city was never healthier or in finer condition than under his régime. There was, however, just complaint against him in matters connected with

[<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by permission of Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Copyright, 1897, by Theodore A. Dodge.]

trade; nor did he make the least attempt to mix suavity of method with strength of action in his government of the city.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN

After his defeat at Bull Run General McDowell, as we have seen, was superseded in the command of the Army of the Potomac by General George B. McClellan. McClellan, who was almost unsurpassed as a military organiser, spent the succeeding months to good advantage in constructing a real army out of the disorganised, untrained mass of volunteers he found at his disposal. On November 1st, 1861, General Winfield Scott, who had up to this time retained nominal command of the armies of the United States, was retired, and McClellan was made commander-in-chief.

Shortly before this (October 21st) the two opposing armies had unintentionally met in a fierce battle at Ball's Bluff on the Potomac above Washington, in which the Union forces were defeated with considerable loss, including their gallant commander, Colonel E. D. Baker, United States senator from Oregon. This engagement was the result of an isolated operation, however, and not of a forward movement. So also was the battle of Drainesville, a Union victory in December. Throughout the North now began a demand for an advance, but all through the winter McClellan's troops remained inactive in their quarters. It was not until well into March, 1862, that McClellan, his command now again restricted to the Army of the Potomac, began a movement which he had long had in mind. This was the transfer of his army of one hundred and twenty thousand men to Fortress Monroe on the peninsula formed by the James and York rivers, which was accomplished in the three weeks beginning March 17th. From Fortress Monroe McClellan advanced toward Richmond, his objective point, as far as Yorktown, where he found his way blocked by a Confederate army of eleven thousand under General Magruder. At this moment McClellan learned that President Lincoln had detached McDowell's corps from his army and detained it to ensure the defence of Washington. This action of the president McClellan always declared to be responsible for his subsequent failure.

Without attempting to carry the works by assault—a step which a more energetic general would at least have tried—McClellan settled down to a siege, wasted a month erecting elaborate intrenchments and batteries, only to find when he was at last ready to open fire (May 3rd) that Magruder had slipped away toward Richmond. A pursuit was at once ordered, and at Williamsburg Longstreet was found awaiting them (May 5th). A spirited assault was successfully resisted during the day, with a loss of some 2,200 to the Union forces and 600 to the Confederates. The Confederates withdrew under cover of night, and McClellan leisurely continued his advance up the Peninsula, arriving at the Chickahominy May 21st.

It was during this interval that events occurred in the Shenandoah Valley that for a time placed McClellan's peninsular operations in jeopardy. Two small armies had been left in that locality under Banks and Fremont respectively. It had been planned to have these two forces join to crush the Confederate forces of "Stonewall" Jackson, by whom they were opposed. But this brilliant strategist, whose force had been increased to twenty thousand, completely frustrated their designs, and by a brilliant manœuvre defeated Banks at Winchester on May 25th and advanced so close to Washington as to fill that city with consternation. McDowell was then sent to drive him

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away, but again evading a conflict, Jackson proceeded south and joined the main Confederate army near Richmond.

Before Jackson had effected this junction, however, McClellan had fought and won a bloody two days' battle at Fair Oaks (May 31st-June 1st). This conflict had been precipitated by Johnston, who had taken advantage of a mistake of McClellan in dividing his army, and had fallen upon the two corps of Heintzelman and Keyes which had crossed the Chickahominy. These two generals resisted stubbornly against heavy odds and superior numbers, but were slowly pressed back. Defeat seemed certain when General E. V. Sumner, who with his corps had crossed the swollen Chickahominy on bridges of his own construction, arrived on the scene of battle at the critical moment. Sumner's spirited attack threw Johnston's forces into confusion, the latter commander himself being seriously wounded. The battle was renewed the next morning, but the Confederates soon gave up the fight and withdrew from the field. The losses were heavy, aggregating five thousand for the Union and six thousand for the Confederate forces. McClellan made no attempt to follow up this victory — having an apparently good excuse in his inability to transfer the rest of his army across the river. The battle, therefore, though one of the bloodiest thus far fought, was really only important in the improvement it effected in the morale of the Federal army. McClellan again took up his careful advance on the Confederate capital, and by June 25th he had reached a point only four miles from Richmond, the church spires of which could be seen in the distance.

#### THE SEVEN DAYS' BATTLE BEFORE RICHMOND

General Johnston's wound at Fair Oaks incapacitated him from continuing as commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, and he was therefore succeeded by Gen. Robert E. Lee. The change was a happy one, for it gave to this brilliant soldier the opportunity to prove the remarkable powers as a strategist and organiser which have placed him in the front rank of generals of all ages. During the month following Fair Oaks, while McClellan remained inactive within sight of Richmond, Lee made every effort to strengthen his defence, and succeeded in gathering together an army of some ninety thousand. At last, toward the end of June, McClellan was ready to move forward with his hundred thousand men. The first fight — the first of the seven days' battles — was fought at Mechanicsville, June 26th, 1862, where Lee's forces, being divided, suffered a sharp defeat. On the following day took place the much fiercer battle of Gaines' Mill. In this engagement Fitz-John Porter, commanding McClellan's right, consisting of some thirty thousand troops, sustained for hours a furious attack of almost twice as many Confederates, retiring across the Chickahominy at nightfall after each side had lost upward of seven thousand, almost three thousand of Porter's casualties consisting, however, of captured. Although Lee retained possession of the field, his losses were out of all proportion to the value of his success.

At this juncture McClellan might have easily swung his main army around upon Richmond had he not been misled into believing Lee's forces twice their actual strength. But he had other plans, and by the morning of the 28th his army was under way to take up a new base to the left on the James river.

McClellan had cleverly deceived both Lee and Jackson, who had expected him to retire the way he had come and had made their preparations accordingly. By the 29th Lee realised his mistake and made haste to attack the

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retreating Federal army, but was twice repulsed by their rear-guard at Savage's Station and Allen's Farm. On June 30th the Confederates made a more general attack all along the line at Glendale or Frazier's Farm, but were again checked with great loss. That night McClellan concentrated his entire force on Malvern Hill, where on the next day the last and most severe of the seven days' battle was fought. The battle lasted all day, but the determined Confederate assaults were all successfully resisted. The result was a complete Union victory, the loss to their forces aggregating some 1,600 in killed and wounded, while the Confederate loss was over 5,000. The seven days' fighting had resulted in a loss of 15,849 killed, wounded, and missing to the Army of the Potomac, and 20,135 to the Army of Northern Virginia. "Nevertheless," says Ropes,<sup>k</sup> "the moral and political effect of the whole series of movements and battles was entirely to the advantage of the Confederates. Facts are stubborn things; and there was no denying that McClellan had been forced to give up his position on the Chickahominy, where he was within sight of the steeples of Richmond, and to retire, followed — pursued, in fact — by his enemies to the river James, to a point twenty or thirty miles from the Confederate capital. The abrupt change of the part played by the Federal general from the rôle of the invader to that of the retreating and pursued enemy was too dramatic not to arrest general attention."

## POPE'S VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN (1862)

In the last days of June, 1862, while McClellan was still struggling on the peninsula, the commands of McDowell, Banks, and Frémont were consolidated under the name of the Army of Virginia and placed under the command of General John Pope, who had won prominence by his victory at Island Number 10. On July 11th, General Halleck was called to Washington and made commander-in-chief of all the land forces of the United States.

Pope early in August prepared to make an aggressive campaign into Virginia, his army having now been reinforced by part of McClellan's force. Lee, meanwhile, relieved of immediate fear of McClellan, had despatched "Stonewall" Jackson again to the North to face Pope. The first encounter between the hostile forces took place at Cedar Mountain, where Jackson repulsed a furious attack made by half as large a force under Banks (August 9th). By August 25th McClellan's army had left the peninsula and Porter's and Heintzelman's corps were now acting with Pope. Lee also had moved northward with most of his army to support Jackson, and thenceforth Pope was on the defensive. Meanwhile skirmishes and small engagements were taking place daily. J. E. B. Stuart in one of his daring raids completely circled the Union army, and Jackson captured the Union stores at Manassas. On August 29th took place the sanguinary battle of Groveton. General Hooker under Pope's orders made the first attack on Jackson, not aware of the fact that he had already been strongly reinforced by Longstreet. Porter, whom Pope had ordered to turn Jackson's flank, was prevented from such a movement by the necessity of holding Longstreet in check. Fighting was resumed next morning (August 30th), and from the fact that the second day's battle took place on exactly the same ground upon which McDowell was defeated in July, 1861, it has been called the second battle of Bull Run. Porter, McDowell, and Heintzelman advanced to the attack but were repulsed with great loss, and a counter attack of Longstreet gradually forced Pope's army back upon Centreville. On September 1st, the third day of continuous fighting, Pope withdrew toward Washington, fighting en route

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the bloody battle of Chantilly, in which the gallant General Kearney lost his life. The losses of the Confederates aggregated nine thousand; of the Federals about fourteen thousand, half of whom, however, were prisoners. Ropes<sup>k</sup> says, in summing up Pope's failure, that on the morning of August 30th it was entirely within his power to take a strong position and hold it against any assault Lee could have made. "He made, however," he continues, "the fatal mistake of utterly misconceiving the situation; and, neglecting all precautions, he ordered an attack. Pope (on the 30th) was badly beaten; still he was not forced from the field. But his retreat on that day changed the whole aspect of affairs and stamped the whole campaign as a failure. It was a confession of his inability to meet his antagonist, and it lost him the remaining confidence of his soldiers."

## ANTIETAM

Pope resigned his command as soon as he reached Washington, the short-lived Army of Virginia went out of existence, and to McClellan was assigned the task of reorganising his own and Pope's forces into the Army of the Potomac. In a week the disorganised and disheartened troops had been moulded by the hand of the master organiser into a new and effective army. Lee, after his defeat of Pope, had at once started on an invasion of Maryland, and McClellan now set out up the north bank of the Potomac to head him off. On September 14th the forces of Franklin, Burnside, and Reno won two decisive actions, known as the battle of South Mountain. General Reno was among the Federal killed. On the following day, however, a Confederate force under Jackson and McLaws captured a Federal force of twelve thousand at Harper's Ferry without any serious attempt being made to defend the place.

Lee's main army meanwhile had taken up a strong position at Sharpsburg, on the south bank of Antietam Creek, a stream emptying into the Potomac above Harper's Ferry. Here McClellan came up with him, and on this field on September 17th was fought the battle of Antietam. Lee's force was not as large as McClellan's, but by the disposition of his troops and his mode of attacking in succession instead of *en masse* he managed to meet the Federal force at almost every point of contact with an equal force of his own. Hooker opened the battle by a sharp attack on Lee's left on the night of the 16th, renewing it on the next morning; but his assault was stopped by Jackson at the little Dunker church. All day long the tide of battle ebbed and flowed about this point. On the left Burnside's slow attack, not undertaken until afternoon, was undecided. At night the two armies, depleted and exhausted by one of the hardest day's fighting in all the war, ceased the conflict as if by mutual consent. The next day Lee withdrew his troops from what Dodge<sup>l</sup> characterises as for Lee a tactically drawn battle but a strategic defeat, for it marked the end of his first attempt at an invasion of the North. The losses on each side approximated twelve thousand, which points to it as the bloodiest battle thus far fought in the war except Shiloh. Ropes<sup>k</sup> says that "it is likely that more men were killed and wounded on the 17th of September than on any single day in the whole war." "The battle," says this same historian, "was in every light most creditable to General Lee and his army, and of General Lee's personal management of the battle nothing but praise can be uttered."

Had McClellan known that Lee was practically out of ammunition and that his force had been depleted by almost one-half through battle and strag-

gling, he would probably have followed up and crushed him. But he was again held back by his absurd and unreasonable fear of the strength of his adversary. It was five weeks before he crossed the Potomac, in response to the urgent commands of President Lincoln and General Halleck, and moved into Virginia. He had proceeded as far as Warrenton, when, on November 7th, 1862, he was without warning removed from his command and superseded by General Burnside.

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1862 IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

After Shiloh, Halleck moved the Union lines forward to Corinth, which was abandoned by the Confederates. The army of the Ohio under General Buell now became the centre of interest. Early in the summer of 1862 Buell advanced toward Chattanooga, but he was forestalled by the energetic Confederate general, Braxton Bragg. Later in the summer Bragg moved northward toward Louisville, meanwhile sending his lieutenant, General Kirby Smith, to take Lexington and threaten Cincinnati. Buell reached Louisville before Bragg and marched forth to meet him with a nearly equal force. Bragg retreated but Buell overtook him at Perryville (October 8th, 1862), where a severe battle was fought, Buell sustaining a loss of almost 4,000 and Bragg a thousand less. Bragg, however, continued his retreat that night, and owing to Buell's dilatory tactics made good his escape into Tennessee. Complaints against Buell resulted soon after in his being replaced by General W. S. Rosecrans. Elson<sup>2</sup> points out an interesting parallel between Bragg's invasion of Kentucky and Lee's invasion of Maryland. "Both ended in failure," he says. "In each case the Confederate commander withdrew after the battle at night and abandoned the expedition. The parallel is notable also between McClellan and Buell. Both were good disciplinarians, but lacking in the fire and dash necessary to an offensive campaign. Both were successful without a great victory in driving the Confederates from border-state soil."

During the same period covered by this campaign General Rosecrans was winning at Iuka and Corinth the laurels that pointed to him as Buell's successor. In the battle of Iuka (September 19th), Rosecrans had administered a sharp defeat to Sterling Price. Two weeks later at Corinth he was in turn attacked by Price and Van Dorn (October 3rd and 4th), but won a brilliant victory, losing only 2,500 men to the Confederates' 4,200.

After taking command of the Army of the Ohio, now renamed the Army of the Cumberland, Rosecrans remained for some weeks quietly in Nashville. On the day after Christmas, 1862, he moved his army of forty-seven thousand men in three divisions, under Thomas, McCook, and Crittenden, toward Bragg's headquarters at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, forty miles distant. The armies met on the last day of the year on the banks of Stone river. The fierce onset of General Hardee turned the Union right under McCook, but the stand of Thomas and the heroic efforts of Rosecrans saved the day and the first day's battle was a drawn one. On the first day of the new year the armies rested preparing for a renewal of the conflict on the next. The battle of January 2nd was hotly contested and resulted in a victory for the Union arms. Rosecrans had lost thirteen thousand men to Bragg's ten thousand, but the latter's immediate withdrawal from Murfreesboro with his crippled army opened the way for the Union advance to Chattanooga the following summer.

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## EMANCIPATION

For the first year and a half of the war President Lincoln had adhered strictly to his original intention of keeping the character of the struggle a war for the preservation of the Union. He realised that the mass of the Northern people would at first have held back from an abolition war. As Woodrow Wilson<sup>b</sup> says, had the war been short and immediately decisive for the Union, the Federal power would not have touched slavery in the states. But the war had dragged on, it showed no signs of ending, and despite his natural disinclination to take any steps toward abolition the president had to acknowledge that the current of events was tending in that direction.

Indeed many steps had already been taken toward emancipation. As early as May, 1861, Gen. B. F. Butler at Fortress Monroe had refused to return slaves to their owners, declaring them to be "contraband of war," a phrase which came thenceforth to be jocularly applied to all fugitive slaves. Then (August, 1861) came the first of congress' confiscation acts, which applied to slaves, and General Frémont's disallowed order already mentioned. A similar order of Gen. David Hunter in South Carolina was overruled in 1862. On April 16th, congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, with compensation. In June, 1862, it passed a law prohibiting slavery in all territories of the United States, which then existed or in the future should be acquired.

To the same congress the president addressed a special message urging the co-operation of that body with the authorities of any border state for the gradual emancipation of its slaves with compensation. The second confiscation act, passed July 17th, 1862, pronounced free all slaves who should seek the protection of the government, if their owners had been directly or indirectly concerned in the rebellion. On July 22nd President Lincoln, to the surprise of most of his cabinet, read them the draft of a proclamation of emancipation which he proposed should take effect on January 1st, 1863.

At Seward's advice the president decided not to issue the proclamation until after some signal Union victory in the field. Meanwhile the more radical republicans continued to denounce the president's inaction. Horace Greeley's famous open letter to the president, "The Prayer of Twenty Millions," appeared in the *New York Tribune*, and brought forth a reply from Lincoln to the effect that he personally desired emancipation, but that his first duty as president was to save the Union with or without emancipation.

By September Lincoln had fully determined that it would serve to stimulate the North if the war were made a war against slavery as well as for the preservation of the Union; and that thereby the dread of foreign intervention would be practically eliminated and the South be placed irrevocably in the wrong in the eyes of the civilised world.

Then came Antietam, and on September 22nd he issued a preliminary proclamation giving notice that unless the Southern states returned to their allegiance to the Union within a hundred days thereafter he should proclaim the slaves within their borders free. This warning he carried out in his formal Proclamation of Emancipation, January 1st, 1863. Questions as to the constitutionality of the measure must be answered by the simple statement that it was a war measure. There was no actual constitutional or statutory warrant or authority for the edict. Lincoln's own explanation was that "measures otherwise unlawful might become lawful by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the constitution through the preservation of the nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground."

## FREDERICKSBURG AND CHANCELLORSVILLE

General Ambrose E. Burnside had been one of McClellan's staunchest friends, and had been besides a loyal supporter of the administration. Twice he had refused the offer of the command, declaring himself to be incompetent for such authority. Powerful influences were brought to bear upon him. Washington, his friends told him, had asserted a similar disbelief in his own abilities. "It was left, however," says a recent writer (Elson?), "for Burnside to do what Washington never did—to prove his assertion to be true." Though well liked by rank and file, Burnside suffered from the first by not having the fullest confidence of his corps commanders. Realising this, he made the mistake of not seeking their advice to the extent he should have done.

The two armies lay facing one another south of the Potomac, scarcely thirty miles apart. The Union army, 120,000 strong, was encamped about Warrenton. Dividing his forces into three grand divisions commanded respectively by generals Sumner, Franklin, and Hooker, Burnside abandoned McClellan's carefully prepared plan of campaign and advanced at once against Lee, who had concentrated his army of eighty thousand veteran troops on the heights of Fredericksburg on the lower Rappahannock.

Before Burnside was prepared to attack, Lee had so strongly fortified Marye's Heights, naturally a well nigh impregnable position, as to render the success of an attack from the front almost impossible. Yet against this position Burnside hurled his army on December 13th, 1862. But the force of his attack was weakened by lack of concert between his wings under Sumner and Franklin. These officers and their troops did all that mortal men could do. Again and again, in spite of the most terrible losses, they tried to carry the Confederate position. At nightfall the Union forces were drawn together into Fredericksburg and thence transported across the river. The loss to Burnside's army was over twelve thousand; Lee lost less than half as many. "No other such useless slaughter," says Dodge,<sup>1</sup> "with the exception perhaps of Cold Harbor, occurred during the war."

Burnside in desperation declared that he would lead the assault in person the next day, but his officers prevailed upon him to withdraw. Lee, who, had he known the extent of the Union losses, might have followed up his repulse by a successful offensive campaign, let the opportunity slip.

As for the Army of the Potomac, it had never been so demoralised. It needed a new commander who could hold the confidence of his officers and men, which Burnside had utterly forfeited. Late in January the command was entrusted to General Joseph Hooker, who at once set at work to reorganise the army. By the end of April he was ready to act.<sup>a</sup>

General Hooker initiated the Chancellorsville campaign by a cavalry raid on Lee's communications intended to move about his left and far to his rear; but sheer blundering robbed this diversion of any good results. He followed up this raid by a feint under Sedgwick below Fredericksburg, while he himself so cleverly stole a march on Lee by the upper Rappahannock that within four days he had massed forty thousand men on the enemy's left flank at Chancellorsville before the latter had begun to divine his purpose.

But there Hooker paused. Indecision seized his mind. He frittered away a precious day, and when he finally advanced on Lee the latter had recovered himself and was prepared to meet him. After barely feeling his adversary, "Fighting Joe" retired into the Wilderness to invite attack, while Lee, with half his force but thrice his nerve, sharply followed him up. The

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terrain to which the Army of the Potomac had been thus withdrawn was well named. It was one vast entanglement of second growth timber and chaparral, to the last degree unfitted for the manœuvres of an army.

With his wonted rashness, but relying on his adversary's vacillation, Lee divided his army and sent Jackson around Hooker's right to take him in reverse and cut him off from United States Ford, while his own constant feints on the centre should cover the move. Meanwhile Hooker weakened his right by blind demonstrations in his front, and enabled Jackson to complete his manœuvre and to crush at a blow the 11th corps (O. O. Howard's) which held that flank and to throw the army into utter confusion. In this moment of his greatest triumph "Stonewall" Jackson fell at the hands of his own men.

On the morrow, with "Jackson" for a watchword, by dint of massed blows upon Hooker's lines where but one man in three was put under fire, Lee fairly drove the Union army into a corner, from whence its dazed commander, with eighty thousand men, cried aloud for succour to Sedgwick's one corps fifteen miles away, still fronting the defences at Fredericksburg. Under quite impossible orders this gallant soldier captured Marye's Heights, where Burnside had lost thirteen thousand men, and advanced towards his chief. But Lee, trusting to Hooker's panic to keep him bottled up, turned upon Sedgwick, drove him across the river after an all-day's fight, and again confronted Hooker, who, dizzy and nerveless, sought safety in retreat to his old camps.

This ten days' passage at arms was glorious to the Confederate soldier's valour and to his leader's skill, while the Federals lost all save honour. With an effective only half as great, Lee had actually outnumbered Hooker whenever he had struck him. While a fraction of the Union forces were being decimated, the rest were held by Hooker in the leash at places where they were uselessly fretting to join their brothers in the fray.<sup>m</sup>

#### THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG<sup>1</sup>

With one voice the South, inspired by the successes of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, demanded an invasion of the North. In response to this demand, Lee, early in June, 1863, crossed the Potomac and concentrated his army at Hagerstown, Maryland, in preparation for an invasion of Pennsylvania, leaving Hill and Stuart with a considerable force to divert Hooker. Hooker, however, evaded them, and started in pursuit of Lee. Hooker's late movements had shown faultless strategy and indomitable energy, but neither Lincoln nor Halleck, remembering Chancellorsville, could have entire confidence in him. Finally, resenting their interference, he sent in his resignation, which was at once accepted.<sup>a</sup>

Few words sum up Hooker's military stand. As a corps commander, or with orders to obey, unless jealousy warped his powers, he was unsurpassed in bravery, devotion and skill. For the burden of supreme command he had neither mental calibre nor equipoise. Self-sufficiency stood in lieu of self-reliance.

Into Hooker's place quietly stepped business-like Meade, and unhampered by Halleck, whose favourite he was, continued to follow up the invaders. Ewell was at York, and Carlisle might cross the Susquehanna and capture the capital of the state. Meade therefore moved northward from Fred-

[<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from Theodore A. Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of the Civil War*, by permission of Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. Copyright, 1897, by Theodore A. Dodge.]

ericksburg, intent upon loosening Lee's grip on that river. This he effected, and Longstreet and Hill were ordered, not towards Harrisburg, but through the South Mountain passes; for Lee, as soon as he knew of Meade's direction, became fearful for his communications. And he was moreover troubled by the naked defence of Richmond, which prize could have been secured by a vigorous attack by General Dix from Fort Monroe with more ease than at any time during the war had the attempt been made. Lee, therefore, determined to draw back and make a diversion east of the South Mountain range to engage Meade's attention. Lee's plan of invasion had been thwarted; but his army must be defeated.

Having divined the purpose of his adversary, Meade selected the general line of Pipe Creek for his defence, and threw his left wing, preceded by cavalry, forward to Gettysburg as a mask. Lee also aimed to secure this point, for it controlled the roads towards the Potomac. The 1st and 11th corps met the van of Lee's army under A. P. Hill, on the north of the now historic town. A severe engagement ensued, in which doughty General Reynolds lost his life, and the Federals, after Ewell came upon the field, were driven back through the town with heavy loss, but unpursued. Hill and Ewell waited for Longstreet. This check to the enemy's advance led to results worth all the sacrifice.

Few conflicts of modern times have become so familiar, in art and story, as the battle of Gettysburg. Only its chief features need be recalled. South of the quiet little town, covering the road to Baltimore, lies a chain of hillocks and bluffs shaped like a fish-hook. At the barb rises Culp's Hill, along the back what is known as Cemetery Hill, and the shank, running north and south, is formed by a hilly slope terminating in a rocky, wooded peak, called Round Top, having Little Round Top as a spur. On this eligible ground the retreating Unionists were rallied and speedily reinforced, while Meade, at Hancock's suggestion, brought the army forward from Pipe Creek to secure it.

Meanwhile Lee cautiously advanced his own troops, and forgetting that he had promised his corps commanders that he would not in this campaign assume a tactical offensive, resolved to give battle. Longstreet's preference was to seize the Emmetsburg road beyond the Union left, and manœuvre Meade out of his position by compromising his communications with Washington. But there lurked in the healthy body of the Army of Northern Virginia a poisonous contempt of its adversary. This was the natural outcome of Manassas, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. Lee was morally unable to decline battle. He could not imperil the high-strung confidence of his men.

As the second day dawned he must, however, have watched with throbbing anxiety the Federal line rapidly throwing up defences on just such a formidable crest as he himself had held at Marye's Heights. For Lee gauged better than his men the fighting qualities of his foe.

His general line lay along Seminary Ridge, parallel to Cemetery Hill, and about a mile distant, with his left thrown round and through the town to a point opposite Culp's, in order, Longstreet, Hill, Ewell. He was thus formed in concave order of battle, the Army of the Potomac having been thrown by the lay of the land into substantially the convex order.

By noon Lee had perfected his plans, and Longstreet opened an attack on a weak salient thrown out by Sickles from the general line of the Union left towards the Emmetsburg road. The possession of Round Top would take the Federal line in reverse, and Sickles' position, an outward angle, could

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be enfiladed in both directions, and if lost would seriously compromise this point. Longstreet was not slow to clutch at the advantage thus offered. But the foresight of Warren, after a desperate struggle, secured Round Top; and though Longstreet wrested from Sickles his salient, he secured only an apparent benefit not commensurate with his loss.

On the Union extreme right, Ewell had meanwhile gained a foothold on Culp's Hill, and, as night fell, Lee was justified in feeling that the morrow would enable him to carry the entire ridge. For he believed that he had effected a breach in both flanks of the Army of the Potomac. Indeed at the close of the second day the gravity of the situation induced Meade to call a council of his corps commanders. It was determined to abide the result at that spot. Officers and men were in good spirits and equal to any work.

Lee was tactically in error as to Longstreet's supposed success on the left. It had in reality rectified Sickles' position. The real line of the Federal army was undisturbed. And Meade at daylight attacked Ewell in force, and after a hard tussle wrenched from him the ground commanding Culp's. Thus Lee had failed to effect a permanent lodgment on either Federal flank, and Meade had thrown up strong field works to defend them. There was no resource for him but to break the Federal centre.

He accordingly massed nearly one hundred and fifty guns along Seminary Ridge, and at one o'clock p. m. opened fire. Owing to the limited space for the batteries, barely eighty guns from the Federal side could answer this spirited challenge. For two hours lasted the fiery duel, when Lee launched Pickett, "the Ney of the rebel army," with a column of thirteen thousand men, to drive a wedge into the centre of the Union line. A column charged with so desperate a duty — the forlornest of forlorn hopes — should contain none but picked troops. Pettigrew's division in the assaulting column was unable to hold its own. And though Pickett's Virginians actually ruptured Hancock's line and a few of the men penetrated some fifty yards beyond, he met an array in front and flank which rolled him back with fearful loss. Lee's last chance of success was wrecked.

The instinct of a great commander might have seized this moment for an advance in force upon the broken enemy. But Meade cautiously held what he had already won, rather than gain more at greater risk. Beaten, but not dismayed, Lee spent all the morrow and until after daylight next day preparing for retreat, and yet in a mood to invite attack. And he would have met it stoutly. But Meade was content. He would adventure nothing. He had won the credit of defeating his enemy; he lost the chance of destroying him. He may be justified in this, but not in failing to follow up Lee's deliberate retreat with greater vigour. It must however be admitted that in almost all campaigns, a similar criticism may be passed — after the event. There is always a term to the endurance and activity of armies and their commanders.

In this most stubborn battle of modern days the Federal army lost 23,000 out of 93,000 engaged; the Confederates 22,500 out of 80,000 men, besides 5,400 prisoners. The loss in killed and wounded, twenty-two and a half per cent., is unexampled in so large a force. Lee retreated by way of Williamsport, undisturbed save at a distance, and after some days was followed across the Potomac by Meade.<sup>1</sup> The Confederate main line of defence was now re-established to the south of the Potomac in the region of the Wilderness, with centres at Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg. Men and officers alike were forced to the conclusion that invasions of the North were not, on the whole, the best sort of operations in which to engage.<sup>a</sup>

## THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

In the midsummer of 1862 Halleck was appointed general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, and in that capacity transferred his headquarters to Washington, leaving Grant in command at Corinth. His force had been so depleted by Halleck's scattered operations that the Confederates now made an attempt to drive him down the Tennessee river. The result was, as we have seen, the battles of Iuka and Corinth early in October, 1862. It was the prelude to Grant's first movement against Vicksburg. That city had been fortified and guarded by the Confederates in such wise that it was deemed impregnable, and it might well have been thought so. The place is situated on a steep and lofty bluff at the junction of the Yazoo river with the Mississippi.

The latter flows in a serpentine course through a low flat basin about forty miles in width. It is perpetually changing its course, and the land on either side is intersected in all directions by sluggish streams and stagnant lakes, the remnants of its abandoned channels. In such a country operations with an army are impossible. At long intervals, however, the river flows entirely on one side of its basin and washes the foot of the steep hills by which it is bounded. Wherever such a cliff occurred, as at Columbus, Memphis, and other points, it was defended by the Confederates, and when they lost it they lost the river down to the next similar point. Now the combination of circumstances at Vicksburg was peculiar. Its position was too lofty to be taken by the fleet unaided, but the only direction from which it could be safely approached by an army was from the rear, that is to say, from the east; and the correct line of approach was that of the Mississippi Central Railway with Memphis for the Federal base of supplies. For an army coming up or down the Mississippi the problem was almost insoluble. It was impossible to get in the rear of the city by landing to the north of it, for the approaches were there guarded by batteries on Haines Bluff which could shoot down any assailing column faster than it could advance. On the other hand, an army landing to the south of Vicksburg incurred the risk of starvation, since the guns of Vicksburg prevented supplies from passing down stream, while the guns of Port Hudson two hundred miles below equally prevented them from passing up. Grant's first movement against Vicksburg [in the autumn of 1862] was the correct one, along the Mississippi Central Railway; but because of his deficiency in cavalry, his line of communications was cut and he was obliged to retreat upon Corinth. Meanwhile [December, 1862] a separate expedition under General Sherman had been sent down the Mississippi river. It landed at Chickasaw Bayou, and attempted to storm the works at Haines Bluff in order to gain a foothold to the north of Vicksburg. This enterprise met with a bloody repulse. [McClelland who succeeded Sherman made an expedition up the Arkansas River but was called back by Grant who complained that the main object of the campaign was being overlooked.] A period of intrigue succeeded, the result of which was that Grant felt obliged to abandon his first plan and take his whole army down the river to Vicksburg. After arriving on the west bank of the Mississippi opposite the mighty stronghold, the problem before him was to get his army into its rear. Two fruitless months were spent in attempts to navigate the intricate and tortuous system of bayous in order either to land the army northwards without encountering the guns of Haines Bluff, or to carry supply-ships southwards by routes not commanded by the batteries of Vicksburg. Meanwhile Grant's popularity greatly declined, and President Lincoln was urged to remove him from command. But

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Lincoln's reply was, "I rather like the man; I guess we will try him a little longer." At this crisis Grant conceived a most daring scheme; and having heard it condemned by every one of his generals, he proceeded to try it on his own responsibility. On the 16th of April Porter's fleet was taken down the river below the city, sustaining slight damage from its batteries. Feints were made to the northward, while the body of the army was rapidly marched to Bruinsburg, about twenty-five miles below Vicksburg. A crossing was effected near that place, and the Confederates were defeated in an obstinate battle at Port Gibson. This obliged them to evacuate Grand Gulf (May 3rd, 1863), the strongest of the outposts to the southward. From Port Gibson Grant then proceeded to march northeasterly upon the city of Jackson, the capital of the state of Mississippi, intending to find and defeat General Joseph E. Johnston who was approaching to relieve Vicksburg. Grant's object was to throw himself between Johnston's army and that of Pemberton, the commander at Vicksburg, and to defeat them in detail. In order to do this it was necessary for him to keep his army concentrated, and he could not spare troops to guard his line of communications with the Mississippi river. He therefore cut loose from his base altogether and conducted this marvellous campaign upon such food as his men could carry in their knapsacks or seize in the course of their march. To avert certain ruin it was necessary that he should be victorious at every point; and he was. Having defeated Johnston in two battles, at Raymond (May 12th) and again at Jackson (May 14th), he instantly faced about to the west and marched against Pemberton who had come out to intercept his supposed line of communications. In a bloody battle at Champion Hill (May 16th) Pemberton was totally defeated, and his ruin was completed the next day at the Big Black river. Pemberton then retired into Vicksburg with the remnant of his force, while Sherman approached Haines Bluff in the rear and compelled the enemy to evacuate it. The supposed insoluble problem was now virtually at an end, for Grant's line of supplies from the northward was opened and made secure. Mindful of the possibility that Johnston might sufficiently recover strength to interrupt operations, Grant tried to carry Vicksburg by storm, and two assaults were made which were repulsed with great slaughter. He then resorted to siege operations, and by the third day of July the city was starved into submission. By this brilliant campaign Grant's reputation was at once raised to a very high pitch. He was made major-general in the regular army, and henceforth was allowed to have his own way in most things.<sup>m</sup>

## CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA

For six months after the battle of Stone River Rosecrans with the Army of the Cumberland lay quietly at Murfreesboro facing Bragg. No operations of any magnitude were attempted, though several cavalry raids were undertaken — that of Forrest and Wheeler against Fort Donelson, and of Morgan, the Confederate guerilla, into Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio being the most noteworthy. Urged by both Halleck and Grant, Rosecrans late in June prepared to advance upon his enemy. In a brilliant series of manœuvres Rosecrans outgeneralled his adversary and compelled him to change his base time and again. The occupation of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge by generals George H. Thomas and McCook rendered Bragg's position at Chattanooga, whither he had retired, untenable. Finally in attempting to pursue Bragg through the difficult mountain passes to the south, the two armies came face to face at Chickamauga Creek. Bragg, who had meanwhile been

reinforced by Longstreet with a part of the Army of Northern Virginia, had now about seventy thousand men to Rosecrans' sixty thousand. He began the battle (September 19th, 1863) by falling upon the Federal left under Thomas who managed to hold his position against overwhelming numbers throughout the day. The fight was renewed the next day. The removal of Wood's division from the Federal centre left a gap which Longstreet at once took advantage of. The Federal army was thus divided, its right being completely swept from the field. On the left, however, the redoubtable Thomas, now cut off from the main Union army, re-formed his lines, and though outnumbered two to one withstood again and again the furious attack of the whole Confederate army. Well did he earn his title to the name, "Rock of Chickamauga," which has been applied to him. "No more splendid spectacle appears in the annals of war," says Dodge,<sup>1</sup> the military historian, "than this heroic stand of Thomas in the midst of a routed army, and in the face of an enemy the power of whose blows is doubled by the exultation of victory." Thomas later withdrew in perfect order to Chattanooga where Rosecrans and his defeated corps had preceded him. Rosecrans had been badly worsted in battle, but the net result of the campaign was rather in his favour, and Thomas' staunch stand had so weakened Bragg that it was some time before he could take the offensive. The losses at Chickamauga were sixteen thousand for the Federal, and eighteen thousand for the Confederate army.<sup>a</sup>

Rosecrans, as we have said, retired with his army into Chattanooga, but had not sufficient force to hold the crests of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, which were forthwith occupied by the Confederate army. This operation left the Union army without any good line of communications. The only route by which food could be brought was a long and difficult wagon road over a spur of the Cumberland Mountains known as Waldron's Ridge. Drenching rains set in, the mules died on the route and blocked up the way, and presently the Union army suffered for want of food. Indeed, something like a famine set in, and nearly all the horses perished for want of forage. At this crisis Grant was appointed to command all the armies west of the Alleghanies, increased by the transfer of two corps from the Army of the Potomac to that of the Cumberland. His first proceedings were to supersede Rosecrans by Thomas, and to order up Sherman from Vicksburg. By a beautiful series of operations an excellent line of communication was opened by General William Farrar Smith, and the sufferings at Chattanooga were relieved. On the arrival of Sherman's force it was moved by a circuitous and secret route to the north end of Missionary Ridge near Chickamauga station on the Dalton Railway, by which Bragg received his supplies. At this time Longstreet, who, as we have seen, had taken part in the battle at Chickamauga, was engaged in a subsidiary operation. He had been imprudently sent away by Bragg to lay siege to Knoxville, and his line of communications was also the railway from Dalton. Bragg's left wing occupied the summit of Lookout Mountain, while his centre and right stretched along the crest of Missionary Ridge for a space of five or six miles. Under these conditions Grant's plan of battle was simple. His reinforcements from Virginia, commanded by General Joseph Hooker, were in Lookout Valley. He proposed to make a demonstration with these troops which should engross Bragg's attention, while Sherman at the opposite extremity of the field should storm the northern end of Missionary Ridge, cut off Bragg from the Dalton Railway and crush his right wing, thus wrecking his army; but the battle, as fought, proceeded upon a very different plan. The accidental breaking of a pontoon bridge

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left in Lookout Valley one division of men which had been destined for Sherman's part of the field. This additional force so far strengthened Hooker that in the course of the fight which ensued upon Lookout Mountain he carried the whole position by storm, driving the Confederates down upon Missionary Ridge.

On the other hand, Sherman's enterprise was frustrated by an unforeseen obstacle. After he had surmounted the northern extremity of Missionary Ridge he was confronted by a yawning chasm which none of the Federal glasses had been able to detect, and as there were no good topographical maps its existence was unknown. The crests beyond were crowned with Confederate artillery, and well manned. In these circumstances, the part that Sherman played, though a very useful one, was different from what had been intended. On the second day of the battle he attacked the heights before him; he was unable to carry them, but his pressure upon that vital point was so strong that it led Bragg to keep on reinforcing it at the expense of his centre, which was confronted by the army of General Thomas. Presently Grant, fearing for Sherman and wishing to stop this northward movement of Confederates, ordered four of Thomas' divisions to make a bayonet charge in front. They were to carry the Confederate works at the foot of Missionary Ridge and then halt and await orders. At that moment Grant was building better than he knew. The line of twenty thousand men swept like an avalanche over the works at the foot of the ridge, and then in an uncontrollable spirit of victory kept on without orders, making their way up the perilous height. As they reached the top they broke through the Confederate centre in at least six different places, while at the same moment Hooker, who had come down from Lookout Mountain, overwhelmed Bragg's right and sent it tumbling in upon his routed centre. In a few moments the remnant of the Confederate army was a disorderly mob fleeing for life. This great victory secured for the northern army the line of the Alleghanies, as the capture of Vicksburg had secured the line of the Mississippi.<sup>m</sup>

#### GRANT'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

The winter of 1863-1864 was a quiet one. On the last day of February, 1864, congress revived the rank of lieutenant-general and President Lincoln promptly appointed Grant to that position, following the action up in a few days by making him commander-in-chief of all the armies of the Union. At once Grant developed his plans for a grand campaign which he confidently hoped would end with the downfall of the Confederacy.<sup>a</sup> His main purpose was to mass and move at the same time against the two great Confederate armies in the field, that of Lee in his immediate front (in Virginia) and that of Joseph E. Johnston at Dalton, Georgia, opposed to which, at Chattanooga, was Sherman, Grant's second in command and his successor in the West, to whom he chiefly looked for co-operation. Sherman was to bear from Chattanooga, making Johnston's army and Atlanta his objective points; he was to penetrate the interior of the Confederacy as far as possible and inflict all possible damage on its war resources, but the mode of operation was left largely to his discretion; Grant chose the most difficult task for himself; to conquer and capture Lee's army was his prime object, with the fall of Richmond as its necessary result, and he thought it better to fight this wary antagonist without his stronghold than within it.<sup>j</sup> Lincoln had learned by hard experience that it was better to leave his generals to manage their own campaigns, and he made no attempt to interfere with Grant's plans. In a fare-

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well message he wrote him, "The particulars of your plan I neither know nor seek to know. I wish not to obtrude any constraints or restraints upon you."

#### THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN: THE MARCH TO THE SEA

It was, as we have seen, a principal part of Grant's plan of campaign, on assuming supreme command of the armies, that Sherman should march upon Atlanta. While preparations were being made for this movement part of Sherman's army was employed in the expedition of General N. P. Banks and Commodore Porter up the Red river in Louisiana, which, although resulting in some sharp battles, had little influence on the great strategic movements east of the Mississippi, and can here only be mentioned.

The distance by direct line from Chattanooga to Atlanta is only about one hundred miles, but the country is rough and broken and in the way lay General Joseph E. Johnston, one of the ablest of Southern generals, with a veteran army of sixty-five thousand men. Sherman's army in three wings under Thomas, J. B. McPherson, and J. M. Schofield, numbered over one hundred thousand, but as he advanced he was compelled to leave such a considerable force to guard his line of supplies to Nashville that his effective army was never far superior in strength to that of his adversary. Johnston adopted the policy of fighting only when attacked, of intrenching every step he took, and of offering battle only when conditions seemed to favour him. Sherman began his advance on May 7th, 1864. He first came up with Johnston at Resaca, but the Confederates evacuated their intrenched positions without a very spirited resistance (May 13th). Day by day Sherman pushed carefully and slowly forward. Fighting was frequent, but a pitched battle was never ventured. "Like two wrestlers," says Dodge,<sup>1</sup> "as yet ignorant of each other's strength or quickness, they were sparring for a hold. Neither would risk giving odds." The nearest to a general engagement was the battle of New Hope Church (May 25th-27th) but the result of the action was indecisive. By the end of May each army had lost in the aggregate about ten thousand men, conspicuous among the Confederate slain being General Leonidas Polk, the warrior-bishop of Louisiana.

Toward the middle of June as Sherman approached Marietta he found Johnston firmly intrenched across his path. From June 14th to June 28th fighting was almost continuous. On the latter date he abandoned his careful tactics, and made a rash assault on the Confederate works at Kenesaw Mountain only to be repulsed with great loss, General Daniel McCook being among his dead. Again resuming his flanking tactics he was soon within a few miles of Atlanta. At this juncture President Davis, who had never been on friendly terms with Johnston, dismissed him for what he was pleased to call his "dilatatory tactics" and gave the command to General J. B. Hood, a fearless fighter but not to be compared with his predecessor as a tactician.

The change of commanders had its immediate result in the battle of Peachtree Creek (July 20th) in which an assault of Hood's was repulsed with severe loss. On July 22nd began the general engagement known as the battle of Atlanta in which Hood's losses reached eight thousand and Sherman's less than half that number, although among them was his brave and able lieutenant, General McPherson. On July 28th Hood was again defeated at the battle of Ezra Church, after which he retired within the city of Atlanta about which Sherman daily tightened his coils. Hostilities continued for another month, when Hood, despairing of holding the city longer, made good his escape.

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Sherman entered and took possession on September 2nd. The first object of his campaign was accomplished. Conservative estimates of the losses of the two armies during the Atlanta campaign (May 7th-September 1st) place those of the Union forces at 32,000, while those of the Confederates must have exceeded 24,000.

After remaining six weeks in Atlanta, Sherman left Thomas to look after Hood, who was marching northward with the expectation of drawing Sherman after him, and on November 15th set out on his historic march to the sea. His army was sixty-two thousand strong in two columns, under General O. O. Howard and General Henry W. Slocum. By the middle of December the army, having met with little opposition, had covered the three hundred miles to the coast, reduced Fort McAllister, south of Savannah, and opened up communications with Admiral Dahlgren's fleet in preparation for the capture of Savannah. Before the siege was actually begun however, General Hardee, the Confederate commander, had evacuated the city by night and Sherman entered it without opposition December 21st.

#### THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY

While Sherman's army was closing in around Atlanta, Admiral Farragut won his famous naval fight in Mobile Bay. The harbour of Mobile was protected by three formidable forts, Gaines, Morgan, and Powell, which made it the most important and the strongest Confederate position on the Gulf of Mexico. It had long been the centre for Confederate blockade runners and the Federal blockade had never been made effective. After months of delay Farragut accompanied by a land force under General Gordon Granger moved upon the city. The troops were landed on an island at the entrance to the bay. On August 5th Farragut — he himself strapped to the mast of his flagship the *Hartford* that he might not fall if shot — entered the harbour with his fleet in the face of a terrific fire from the forts. One of his ironclads, the *Tecumseh*, was sunk by a torpedo, but the rest advanced and engaged the Confederate fleet. First the forts were silenced, then after a fierce defence the entire fleet including the powerful ram *Tennessee* surrendered or were sunk. Forts Gaines and Morgan were soon after surrendered to Granger, but Mobile itself, though its importance was destroyed, held out some months longer.

#### THOMAS AND HOOD IN TENNESSEE

General Thomas, whom Sherman had left to cope with Hood in Tennessee, had under him at first only twenty-seven thousand men as compared to a Confederate force of almost twice the size. By the end of November however, he had been reinforced and had gathered at Nashville an army of about fifty thousand. Against Hood who was now marching rapidly on Nashville he sent General Schofield to retard his advance and, if the opportunity offered, to give battle. Schofield took a strong position at Franklin, where Hood impetuously attacked him November 30th, 1864. Again and again Hood vainly hurled his superior numbers against Schofield's well posted force. The assaults were continued till well into the night, but every one was repulsed with success. Hood's loss was six thousand. Schofield's less than half as many. The next day Schofield retired unmolested to Nashville.

In a few days Hood was before Nashville, where he waited two weeks. On December 14th Thomas was ready to attack. His tactics were as simple as they were faultless and effective. On the morning of December 15th he

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advanced, bearing heavily with his right under General A. J. Smith and was successful in crushing and turning Hood's left flank. At the end of the day he had won a certain victory, but Hood still remained to be thoroughly crushed. It was afternoon of the 16th before a general assault was ordered, but it was made with such vigour and spirit that all resistance was overcome. Hood's line was broken in a dozen places and his army was soon swept from the field in a demoralised mass. With scarcely half of the force with which he had begun the battle, Hood escaped across the Tennessee. Not in the whole Civil War had any army suffered such a complete and disastrous defeat as this. It marked the termination of armed resistance to the Union arms west of the Alleghanies. Thomas deserved and received the highest praise for his signal triumph. Of him Dodge<sup>1</sup> says that "he perhaps falls as little short of the model soldier as any man produced by this country."

#### PORT FISHER; SHERMAN IN THE CAROLINAS

It was now planned that Sherman should march northward from Savannah through the Carolinas and aid Grant in crushing Lee in Virginia, and on February 1st he left Savannah with an army sixty thousand strong. Preliminary to this movement, however, took place the capture of Fort Fisher, which guarded the harbour of Wilmington, North Carolina. This was accomplished January 15th, 1865, by a strong fleet under Admiral Porter co-operating with a land force under General Terry.

Sherman's march through the Carolinas was slower and more difficult than his march from Atlanta to the sea, for he had to cross instead of follow the river courses, and his advance was more stubbornly opposed. Columbia, S. C. was occupied on February 17th after a sharp conflict with a Confederate force under General Wade Hampton. Charleston too was abandoned and almost destroyed by flames from the burning cotton which the fleeing Confederates had fired. Sherman moved on toward Goldsboro, defeating Johnston, who had again been given a command, in a sharp battle at Bentonville (March 16th). At Goldsboro, which he reached March 23rd he was joined by Schofield with a part of Thomas' army and Terry's force from Fort Fisher. His force now numbered ninety thousand men. While Sherman was slowly closing in on Johnston, the Union cavalry leader Stoneman made a successful raid in western Virginia for the purpose of cutting Lee off from any possible railway communication with the west.

#### THE WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN

Grant divided the Army of the Potomac into three corps under Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick. Of this army numbering now all told almost one hundred and fifty thousand, Meade was placed in immediate charge, Grant himself of course retaining supreme command. Sheridan, brought from the west, commanded his cavalry. Grant's own plan for overcoming Lee was by means of hard blows rather than by manœuvring. His motto was "continuous hammering." "His belief," says Dodge,<sup>1</sup> "seems to have been that skilful tactics exhibited weakness. Other and greater soldiers have for a time been subject to this delusion. He was to discover his error in his first clash of arms."

The Union army crossed the Rapidan May 4th, 1864, and entered the heavily wooded region near Chancellorsville known as the Wilderness. Fighting began at once, for Lee, who knew well the ground, saw his advantage in

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attacking his adversary where his superior numbers could not be used to the best advantage. The battle of the Wilderness was fought on May 5th and 6th. No tactical movements of any account were possible owing to the nature of the country, and the conflict resolved itself into a series of disconnected battles. The fighting was furious and the slaughter terrific, but at the end of two days' struggle nothing had been decided. Grant had lost over seventeen thousand men, including General Wadsworth. Lee's loss was slightly over twelve thousand.

Grant having come to the conclusion that little good could come of hammering Lee as he stood, next attempted a flank movement toward Spottsylvania Court House. But Lee was there before him. Every day there was severe fighting. On the Union side General Sedgwick was killed. On the Confederate side their dashing cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart, fell in conflict with Sheridan's cavalry. "I mean to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," stubbornly wrote Grant. The battle of Spottsylvania proper took place on May 10th and 12th, both armies resting on the 11th. It exhibited some of the most furious assaults and desperate defences of all the war. The hardest fighting took place on the 12th as a result of Hancock's repeated attempts to take the Confederate's salient. Of this remarkable struggle Elson writes "He succeeded, and captured four thousand men after great slaughter on each side. Five desperate, fruitless efforts the Confederates made to retake the position. One of these General Lee started to lead in person, but his men refused to advance till he went back beyond the danger line. At a point known as 'the death angle,' the hand to hand fighting which continued till midnight, was equal to any ever known in war. Men fought from the top of heaps of dead men till their own bodies were added to the pile, and others came to take their places. Not a tree or a sapling was left alive or standing. One tree nearly two feet in diameter was literally cut in two by musket balls." The losses in the two days' battle were about equal, footing up to the terrible total of thirty-six thousand. Yet like the battle of the Wilderness its result was undecided.

For a week the hostile armies lay quiet, exhausted by their terrific struggle. On May 21st Grant again moved forward by his left toward Richmond. The two armies again came face to face on almost the exact ground where the battle of Gaines' Mill had been fought two years before. Lee had posted his army in a practically impregnable position with his centre at Cold Harbor, and from this position Grant with almost incredible lack of discretion attempted to dislodge him. There could have been but one result. The Union columns were mowed down like grain before the reaper. In a little over a half hour more than seven thousand of them lay dead or wounded on the ground. The Confederate loss was very small. All military critics agree that this assault was the greatest error in all Grant's military career, a judgment, the justness of which he himself acknowledges in his *Memoirs*. Grant now abandoned his plan of a direct advance on Richmond and proposed to change his base to the James River and march upon the Confederate capital from the south.<sup>a</sup>

The object of Grant's overland campaign was to capture or to destroy Lee's army. He had done neither. But he had lost sixty thousand men in five weeks without inflicting corresponding loss upon the enemy. The 2nd corps alone had lost four hundred men a day from the time of leaving the Rappahannock. The full significance of this is apparent when the force of each army at the inception of the campaign is called to mind. Grant had numbered one hundred and twenty-two thousand men; Lee some seventy

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thousand. This fearful loss was the result of assaults in mass undertaken without the aid of that skill which Grant knew well how to employ, though he neglected to do so. Whenever Grant resorted to manœuvring, he succeeded measurably. Whenever he attacked all along the line, he failed utterly.

Criticism cannot depreciate the really great qualities or eminent services of General Grant. His task was one to tax a Bonaparte. That he was unable to put an end to the struggle by means less costly in lives and material, if not indeed by some brilliant feat of arms, cannot detract from the praise actually his due for determined, unflinching courage. It rather adds to the laurels of Lee. It cannot be asserted that any other Northern general could here have accomplished more against the genius of Lee. And it was Grant who, in the face of the gravest difficulties political and military, was able to hold the confidence of the nation and to prevent that party at the North which was clamouring for peace from wrecking the success now all but won. But his truest admirers admit Cold Harbor to have been a grievous mistake. And all who appreciate at its solid worth Grant's ability as a leader regret that in this great struggle with Lee he should have failed to employ the full resources he so abundantly possessed.

#### THE SINKING OF THE "ALABAMA"

A noteworthy combat between the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* and the United States ship *Kearsarge* occurred off Cherbourg, France, on June 19th, 1864. Among the vessels preying upon American commerce three English-built cruisers had been pre-eminent, the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and *Georgia*. The last two were captured respectively in Bahia Harbour and at sea.

The *Alabama*, under command of Captain Raphael Semmes, had been sought by the *Kearsarge*, Captain John A. Winslow, and sailed out of Cherbourg to accept her challenge. The tonnage and crews of each were about equal. The armament of each was what the English considered the best for war vessels of that size. They were typical craft. The *Alabama* was an English vessel, mounting English guns and carrying an English crew; the *Kearsarge* an American vessel with American guns, and out of one hundred and sixty officers and men all but eleven were American-born citizens. Both were wooden vessels, but the *Kearsarge* hung her chain cables over the sides to protect her engines.

It was a fire fight, but of short duration. The fire of the *Kearsarge* was the more deliberate and proved very destructive. The *Alabama* surrendered within an hour in a sinking condition. Semmes was picked up in the water by an English vessel, and escaped capture. The loss of the *Alabama* was about forty men. On the *Kearsarge*, which was but slightly injured by her opponent's fire, only three men were wounded.<sup>1</sup>

In its two years' career of destruction the *Alabama* had destroyed sixty-nine merchant vessels, and ten million dollars worth of property.

#### SHERIDAN'S SHENANDOAH CAMPAIGN (1864)

While the North was coming slowly to a realisation of the appalling sacrifices of Grant's Wilderness campaign, the chief interest in the war in the east centred in the Shenandoah Valley. In the first weeks of July, 1864, Lee sent General Jubal A. Early to threaten Washington. On the 14th Early was in sight of the capitol's dome and might have captured the city, but while

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he hesitated the city was reinforced. He then turned up the valley and on July 30th one of his detachments crossed into Pennsylvania and burned Chambersburg. At this juncture Grant appointed Sheridan to the command of the Union forces in the Shenandoah valley with instructions to devastate the region to such an extent that it could not henceforth support an invading army. Sheridan entered the valley with forty thousand troops and, after some manœuvring, on September 19th met and defeated Early at Winchester, the latter's losses reaching three thousand six hundred. Three days later he won another victory at Fisher's Hill, Early's loss being twelve hundred.

Sheridan then proceeded up the valley, laying waste as he advanced. Early continued to evade a pitched battle, giving way before the Union advance. On October 19th Sheridan's army was at Cedar Creek, but he himself was absent, having been called to Washington some days before for a conference. Early took this occasion for an unexpected attack, which was made so unexpectedly and with such impetuosity that the superior Union forces were driven from their camps. Their retreat almost became a rout. But the opportune and dramatic arrival of Sheridan, who made his famous ride from "Winchester fifteen miles away" which T. Buchanan Reade has immortalised in verse, stemmed the tide. The Federal troops were rallied and re-formed, and in turn Early was forced from the field he had almost won. Thenceforth he made almost no attempt to oppose the victorious Sheridan, as a result of which the Shenandoah valley and northern Virginia were virtually free from hostilities during the rest of the war.

#### WAR-TIME POLITICS: LINCOLN'S RE-ELECTION

The bombardment of Fort Sumter had for the moment practically wiped out all party lines in the North. But such a condition could not last long. The powerful democratic party that had been for half a century the greatest political organisation in the nation was not by any means destroyed. Most of the Lincoln administration's purely military measures the democratic leaders either agreed to or acquiesced in. But they early found a plausible issue in the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* and the series of arbitrary arrests that followed. Congress in ratifying the president's action and extending his power added to his great authority as commander-in-chief that of a military dictator. The arrests were opposed even by some prominent republicans, and by the democrats were made the subject of the bitterest criticism.

It was not long before the democrats found other things to criticise, such as corruption in the letting of army contracts, favoritism in military appointments, and undue extravagance in expenditures. In the fall elections the party made gains in the strongest republican states, chose governors in New York and New Jersey, and largely increased its congressional representation. The passage of the Conscription Act by congress in March, 1863, was followed by a renewed outburst which in July in New York and other cities took the form of armed opposition, suppressed only after the use of military force and considerable loss to life and property.

Among the leaders of the more radical democrats, or "copperheads" as they were called by their opponents, was Clement L. Vallandigham of Ohio. In canvassing the state for the democratic nomination for governor in 1863 his denunciations of the administration were so extreme that it was determined by General Burnside to arrest him for incendiary utterances. He

was therefore arrested, tried, and found guilty of "declaring disloyal sentiments" and was sentenced to confinement during the war. This finding Lincoln commuted to banishment to the Confederacy. Vallandigham eventually escaped to Canada. While there he was named as the democratic candidate for governor of Ohio but was overwhelmingly defeated by John Brough.

With the approach of the presidential election of 1864 there developed within the republican party a powerful opposition to Lincoln's renomination. Thaddeus Stevens, William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, and others openly favoured Chase. Popular sentiment, however, was all with the president, and his renomination was secured without opposition. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was named for vice-president with the idea of favouring Southern unionists and proving to the world that the war was not a sectional struggle.

A group of radical republicans, however, placed John C. Frémont in nomination. The democratic convention meeting at Chicago, August 9th, 1864, nominated General George B. McClellan for president and George H. Pendleton of Ohio for vice-president on a platform that pronounced the war a failure and demanded that efforts at once be made to secure peace on the basis of a restored Union. McClellan repudiated the declaration that the war had proved a failure, but a reaction at once set in in favour of Lincoln. Frémont wisely withdrew from the contest. Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign, Sherman's capture of Atlanta, and Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay were the most powerful campaign arguments. McClellan carried only three states, receiving twenty-one electoral votes to two hundred and twelve for Lincoln. The people, as Lincoln pithily put it, had decided that it was "not best to swap horses while crossing a stream."

#### PETERSBURG AND APPOMATTOX

After the disaster at Cold Harbor, and the change of base to the James river, Grant advanced upon Petersburg. Without attempting a regular siege, he posted his army so that he could operate against Richmond at pleasure while keeping his eye on the Confederate works before him. To strengthen his own position however he spent some weeks in constructing an elaborate system of intrenchments. An attempt made to assault the Confederate fortifications, after a mine had been exploded beneath them (July 30th, 1864) resulted in a repulse with considerable loss. Fighting continued all along the line for some months, but with the coming of autumn it grew more infrequent and both armies practically suspended hostilities till Spring.

Meanwhile the condition of Lee's army was becoming critical. It was realised that Richmond could hold out but little longer and preparations were at once made to move the army south to co-operate with Johnston in North Carolina. Grant expected some such move, and late in March, 1865, sent Sheridan to gain a foothold in the Confederate rear. The result was the battle of Five Forks (April 1st, 1865) in which Sheridan won a brilliant victory. On the following day a successful general assault was made on Petersburg, and on the same evening Lee began the evacuation of Richmond, amidst scenes of almost unparalleled disorder. Union troops entered the city on the 3rd. The only thought of Lee and Davis was now of escape, but Grant had determined that they should not get away from him.

Slowly but surely the superior Union forces closed in upon the remnants of Lee's once great army. Ewell, Pickett, and a considerable part of the

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army were cut off and forced to surrender. Lee crossed the Appomattox and hurried toward Lynchburg only to find Sheridan and Ord blocking the way. Further resistance appearing useless, nothing was left but surrender, and on April 9th he sent a white flag to Grant asking terms of surrender. The two commanders met at Appomattox Court House. The terms offered by Grant and accepted by Lee provided for the release of officers and men on parole, not to take up arms against the United States, the officers to retain their side arms, baggage, and horses. The captures and desertions of the past week had so reduced Lee's force that only 28,231 were surrendered. On April 26th Johnston surrendered to Sherman, President Davis, escaping into southern Georgia, was captured near Irwinville May 10th. On May 26th, with General Kirby Smith's surrender of the last Confederate army west of the Mississippi, the Civil War in America came to an end.

#### THE DEATH OF LINCOLN

While the North was thrilling with joy at Lee's surrender, and while both North and South were beginning to breathe with relief that the great struggle was near its close, the one man who more than any other was responsible for the preservation of the Union was stricken down by the hand of an assassin. On the night of April 14th, 1865, while watching the performance of a play at Ford's Theatre, Washington, President Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was concerned in a plot to murder all the chief officials of the government. He died shortly after seven o'clock the following morning and was buried at his home at Springfield, Illinois, on May 4th. Never before in the history of the nation had the people so generally, so sincerely mourned the death of any man. To the president's nobility and greatness of character, his close friend and associate, John G. Nicolay, pays this tribute:<sup>a</sup>

"The declaration of Independence was his political chart and inspiration. He acknowledged a universal equality of human rights. He had unchanging faith in self-government. Yielding and accommodating in non-essentials, he was inflexibly firm in a principle or position deliberately taken. 'Let us have faith that right makes might,' he said, 'and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.' Benevolence and forgiveness were the very basis of his character; his world-wide humanity is aptly embodied in a phrase of his second inaugural: 'With malice toward none, with charity for all.' His nature was deeply religious, but he belonged to no denomination; he had faith in the eternal justice and boundless mercy of Providence, and made the golden rule of Christ his practical creed. History must accord him a rare sagacity in guiding a great people through the perils of a mighty revolution, and admirable singleness of aim, a skilful discernment, and courageous seizure of the golden moment to free his nation from the incubus of slavery, faithful adherence to law, and conscientious moderation in the use of power, a shining personal example of honesty and purity, and finally the possession of that subtle and indefinable magnetism by which he subordinated and directed dangerously disturbed and perverted moral and political forces to the restoration of peace and constitutional authority to his country, and the gift of liberty to four millions of human beings. Architect of his own fortunes, rising with every opportunity, mastering every emergency, fulfilling every duty, he not only proved himself pre-eminently the man of the hour, but the signal benefactor of posterity. As statesman, ruler, and liberator civilisation will hold his name in perpetual honour."<sup>o</sup>

SCHOULER'S ESTIMATE OF LINCOLN<sup>1</sup>

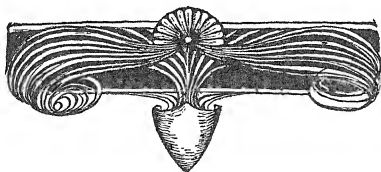
"There lies the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen!" said Stanton, in tears, at this president's death-couch; and, probably, for a eulogy so brief no fitter one could have been pronounced. Well did that stern subordinate—headstrong, impulsive, born to be unpopular—realize how much of his own splendid opportunity and success in achieving he owed to that generous and genial direction. Abraham Lincoln need hardly be compared with the great rulers of mankind in other ages and countries; it is enough to take him in his most admirable adaptation to the age and country in which his destiny was cast. He clearly understood the thirty millions of Americans over whom he had been placed by the people's choice, and the tremendous task given him by his Maker to be accomplished. Lincoln was not a profound scholar, but his mind was acute and his logical faculties clear and active; he had a lawyer's self-culture to comprehend the relations of republican society; he had studied American political history and problems of government, and no one understood better his country's institutions, state and national, in their practical workings. He had fair public experience, besides; and his excellence as an administrator in affairs lay in his consummate tact and skill as a manager and director of political forces under the complex and composite system of this American government. Though not among the chief founders of the new national party which brought him into the presidency, he promptly came forward as one of its leaders, and once placed in direction, he guided it confidently for the rest of his life, unapproachable as chieftain and popular inspirer. As president of the United States he harnessed together the greatest intellects of this party—statesmen diverse as the winds in temper and sentiment—better capable than himself to push forward the car of legislation or handle the multifarious details of executive work; and he held the reins over them with infinite considerateness and discretion, conciliating, assuaging rivalries, maintaining good humour, and encouraging each to his greatest work. He kept his cabinet in the closest touch with congress, and both cabinet and congress in generous accord with public opinion, which last he carefully watched and tilled like a good gardener, planting seed, nurturing the growth of new ideas, and bringing, in proper time, the ripe fruit. Raw haste, the falsehood of extremes on one side or the other, he sedulously avoided; yet he sowed and cultivated. And, once again, while conducting the cause of the whole Union, of national integrity, he was yet highly regardful of state pride and state magistracy, seeking not suppression but assistance; and the harshest military rigour he ever exercised over state rebellion was tempered by clemency, forgiveness, and compassion. Not an insurgent commonwealth of the South did he attempt to reorganise and reconstruct, save through the spontaneous aid of its own recognised inhabitants and such native and natural leaders of the jurisdiction as were found available. The armed potency, almost unexampled, which Lincoln exercised through four distressful years, was always exercised unselfishly and as a patriot, in the name and for the welfare of the real constitutional government which he represented, and for the permanent welfare of the whole American people. Rarely leaving and never going far from the nation's capital during that entire period, he there came in contact with people from all parts of the land—soldiers and civilians, men, women, and children, and by his rare personality, in whose external expression pathos and humour were remarkably

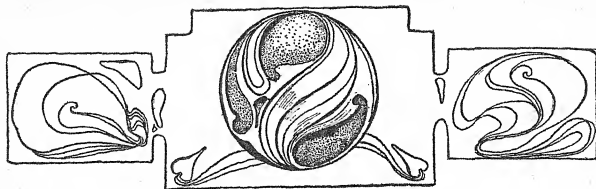
<sup>1</sup> Reprinted from James Schouler's *History of the United States*, by permission of Dodd, Mead and Company. Copyright, 1899, by James Schouler.]

[1865 A.D.]

blended, he dispelled unfavourable prejudice and endeared himself gradually to all classes of the people, at the same time giving reassurance as of one genuine, self-possessed, and trustworthy, who knew well his responsibilities and was capable of exercising them.

The fame of Abraham Lincoln, enhanced by the deep pity felt for his sad and sudden taking-off — the martyrdom of a misconception — has reached the stars, and will spread and endure so long as human rights and human freedom are held sacred. For Americans his name is imperishably joined with that of Washington, under the designation "Father," which no others yet have borne — the one saviour and founder; the other, preserver and liberator. Washington's work was as completely finished as one great human life could make it; and had Lincoln been spared to the end of the presidency for which he was re-chosen, the capstone to his monument would surely have been inscribed "Reconciler." For no man of his times could so wisely and powerfully, or would so earnestly have applied himself to the compassionate task of binding together the broken ligaments of national brotherhood and infusing through the body politic once more the spirit of common harmony and content. Nothing but the clouds of false prejudice and rumour could anywhere have obscured or prevented the rays of so warming and regenerating a personal influence.





## CHAPTER XI

### THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865

BY FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES, PH.D.

#### RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF LINCOLN

THE period in United States history popularly called the Reconstruction Period is usually made to apply, though somewhat indefinitely, to three administrations: that of Andrew Johnson and the two terms of Ulysses S. Grant. It was then that the great economic, social, and constitutional havoc wrought by the war was partly repaired and the former governments of the subdued states were in a measure restored. Nevertheless, it should be clearly borne in mind that during the continuance of the whole war the federal government was occupied with the question, "What is to be done with the revolted states when the fortunes of war shall have put their fate in our hands?"

During the first part of the war it was generally understood that the seceding states would be restored to their former status—that it would be a process of restoration rather than one of reconstruction. The slavery question, however, soon brought about a radical change in sentiment among the people, which in turn was soon reflected in congress. To restore the old governments under their former constitutions, however, meant the continuance of slavery, and this, in the light of subsequent developments, became impossible. The whole question, therefore, soon resolved itself into an attempt to make reconstruction along the lines of the elimination of slavery, square as nearly as possible with restoration. It was an attempt to reconcile two unreconcilable theories; the elimination of slavery from the social and constitutional fabric of the revolted states meant reconstruction of that fabric, and reconstruction was totally incompatible with restoration. People, congress, and president could not agree as to the means of attaining that object. Out of this mass of conflicting councils there gradually evolved, however, a scheme which later became known as the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. This plan was put into operation before the close of the war in those states that had been wrested from the Confederacy.

In his first inaugural address President Lincoln made the following significant statement: "It follows from these views that no state, upon its own

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mere motion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence within any state or states against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances. I therefore consider that, in view of the constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken."

This paragraph states succinctly President Lincoln's view of the status of the seceding states, not only as he held that view at the beginning of his administration but as he maintained it to the end of his life. This view soon led him into conflict with the radicals like Sumner and Wade in the senate and Henry Winter Davis and Stevens in the house.

No sooner, however, had Congress given its official stamp to the president's theory than a radical departure from it made its appearance in that body. February 11th, 1862, nine resolutions were offered in the senate by Charles Sumner, the first of which read as follows:

"Resolved, That any vote of secession or other act by which any state may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the constitution within its territory, is inoperative and void against the constitution, and when maintained by force it becomes a practical abdication by the state of all rights under the constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant forfeiture of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the state as a body politic, so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of congress, as other territory, and the state being, according to the language of the law, *jelo de se*, ceases to exist."<sup>1</sup> This was the first attempt to force upon congress the policy of *vae victis*.

In a speech before the house of representatives, January 8th, 1863, Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, placed this view upon the grounds of expediency, not upon constitutional grounds. "They will find," he said, "that they cannot execute the constitution in the seceding states; that it is a total nullity there, and that this war must be carried on upon principles wholly independent of it. They will find that they must treat those states now outside of the Union as conquered provinces and settle them with new men, and drive the present rebels as exiles from this country."<sup>2</sup>

The Presidential Plan of Reconstruction is fully set forth in the proclamation of President Lincoln (1863) which was sent to congress with his annual message, in which he says:

"I, Abraham Lincoln, president of the United States, do proclaim, declare, and make known to all persons who have directly or by implication participated in the existing rebellion, except as hereinafter excepted, that a full pardon is hereby granted to them and each of them, with restoration of all rights of property, except as to slaves, and in property cases where rights of third parties shall have intervened, and upon the condition that every such person shall take and subscribe an oath, and thenceforth keep and maintain said oath inviolate, and which oath shall be registered for permanent preservation, and shall be of the tenor and effect following, to wit. And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known that whenever, in any of the states of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such state at the presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it

<sup>1</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 736, 737.<sup>2</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 243.

and being a qualified voter by the election law of the state existing immediately before the so-called act of secession, and excluding all others, shall re-establish a state government which shall be republican, and in no wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognised as the true government of the state, and the state shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that 'the United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.'

"And, for the same reason, it may be proper to further say that whether members sent to congress from any state shall be admitted to seats, constitutionally rests exclusively with the respective houses, and not to any extent with the executive; . . . and while the mode presented is the best the executive can suggest, with his present impressions, it must not be understood that no other possible mode would be acceptable."<sup>1</sup>

There were thus, shortly after the beginning of the war, two plans of reconstruction in the field, the Presidential Plan and the Congressional Plan. The government was carried by slow and imperceptible steps, though at the same time surely, from one to the other. That is to say, from the doctrine "that a state is indestructible, that it cannot commit treason, that upon its mere motion it cannot lawfully get out of the Union, to the arbitrary conclusion that its maintenance of secession by force works an abdication of all its rights under the constitution of the United States." How this change of attitude towards the seceding states was brought about is, in fact, the larger part of the history of reconstruction. Congress was compelled almost daily to consider its constitutional limitations.

The application of the Presidential Plan to actual conditions brought forth not only criticism of Lincoln but even vituperation. Congress looked upon it as a usurpation of its own sacred powers, and many people, to the extent that they understood it at all, considered it as at least ultra-constitutional. The president was accused of weakness, of despotism, of vacillation, of personal and party aggrandisement—all in one breath. Nor did these criticisms emanate from democratic sources alone; they came from republican sources as well. February 15th, 1864, Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, reported a bill from the house committee on rebellious states the purpose of which was clearly set forth in its title: "To guarantee to certain states whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, a republican form of government."<sup>2</sup> The bill was intended to give effect to Article IV, section 4, of the federal constitution, and represented an attempt to harmonise the conflicting views of the different factions of the republican party with regard to the status of the seceding states and their relation to the federal government.

The bill finally passed both house and senate (July 2nd) without modification and went to the president for his approval. There it was subjected to a pocket veto—congress having adjourned *sine die* before the expiration of the ten days allowed the president by the constitution in which to sign bills, or veto them, or not pass upon them at all.

On the 8th of July (1864) following, the president issued a proclamation, in which he stated that the bill had been presented to him for his approval "less than one hour before the *sine die* adjournment" of the session. That, while "unprepared by a formal approval" of the bill to be "inflexibly com-

<sup>1</sup> McPherson's *Political History of the United States during the Rebellion*, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 3,448, July 1st, 1864, and H. R., 244.

[1864 A. D.]

mitted to any single plan for restoration"; and, while also "unprepared that the free-state constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana" should be "set aside and held for naught, thereby repelling and discouraging the loyal citizens" who had set up the same as to further effort, or "to declare constitutional competency in congress to abolish slavery in the states" (hoping, at the same time, that a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery throughout the nation might be adopted)—nevertheless, he was "fully satisfied with the system for restoration contained in the bill, as one very proper for the loyal people of any state choosing to adopt it." Furthermore, that he was at all times prepared to "give the executive aid and assistance to any such people, so soon as military resistance to the United States" should have been suppressed in any such state, and the people thereof should have "sufficiently returned to their obedience to the constitution and the laws of the United States." That, in such cases, military governors would be appointed with "directions to proceed according to the bill." This proclamation was, in effect, serving notice that he would proceed according to his own plan of reconstruction, and would adopt that embodied in the dead congressional bill only to the extent he deemed advisable.<sup>1</sup>

This proclamation created a furor among the adherents of the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction. A protest was issued signed by Henry Winter Davis, who had reported the bill in the house, and by Senator Wade, who had reported it in the senate. The proclamation was declared to be "a document unknown to the laws and constitution of the United States" and a "grave executive usurpation."

A final attempt to pass the Reconstruction Bill through congress failed on the 22nd of February, 1864, and the session closed on the 4th of March, thus leaving the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction, for the time being, the sole possessor of the field.

Tennessee was the first of the seceding states sufficiently under the control of the military forces of the United States to warrant an attempt at reorganisation. By the 25th of February, 1862, Nashville, the capital of the state, was occupied by the federal army. Prior to that event (February 22nd), and, in fact, in anticipation of it, General Grant had issued an order annulling the jurisdiction of state courts and placing the adjudication of cases in the hands of the authorities duly established by the United States government. West Tennessee was placed under martial law, but with the understanding that it would be restored to a normal government as soon as conditions warranted it. The president then appointed Senator Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, military governor with the rank of brigadier-general. Johnson was a former governor of Tennessee and became Lincoln's successor in the presidency. "Tennessee," said Johnson, "is not out of the Union, never has been, and never will be out. The bonds of the constitution and the federal power will always prevent that. This government is perpetual; provision is made for reforming the government and amending the constitution, and admitting states into the Union; not for letting them out of it. The United States sends an agent or a military governor, whichever you please to call him, to aid you in restoring your government. Whenever you desire, in good faith, to restore civil authority, you can do so, and a proclamation for an election will be issued as speedily as it is practicable to hold one."

By 1864 the state executive committee of the republican party deemed

<sup>1</sup> For text of proclamation, see Scott, *Reconstruction During the Civil War*, Appendix C.

conditions ripe for summoning a convention of the people. The convention met on the 9th of January, 1864, and exceeded its instructions by itself submitting to the people "amendments abolishing slavery, and prohibiting the legislature from making any law recognising the right of property in man." A full state ticket was nominated by the convention, including W. G. Brownlow for governor. The ticket was elected without opposition. The legislature met at Nashville on the 3rd of April, and two days later ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution. The fact that the election was held according to the state law of 1852 is evidence of the intention of the federal authorities to restore the ancient government of the state except to the extent that it recognised slavery as an institution.

January 20th, 1864, General Steele, the military commander of Arkansas, was ordered to hold an election on March 28th, for the election of a governor. The amended constitution was adopted at the polls and a governor and state and county officials were elected. When the legislature assembled two United States senators were chosen.

A military governor, George F. Shepley, was appointed for Louisiana in 1862. Little or no progress was made under this organisation. None was made, in fact, until the president took the matter of reconstruction entirely into his own hands. This marks the change from the old faction of restoring the governments in the same condition as they were before the rebellion to the open application of the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. Through General Banks, on January 8th, 1864, an election of state officers was ordered by proclamation to take place February 22nd. These officers were to constitute the civil government of the state, under the constitution and laws of Louisiana, except so much as relate to slavery. September 5th the new constitution emancipating the slaves and prohibiting property in man forever was adopted, and the government was organised on the 3rd of October. Five congressmen were chosen and members of the legislature, and later two United States senators. The senators and representatives were not admitted. This reconstruction of Louisiana in 1864 was the first instance of the kind under the plan set forth in the Amnesty Proclamation.

The beginning of the year 1865 ushered in many events that were clearly indicative of an early close of the war. In the mean time, however, the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution, forever abolishing slavery, had been accepted by congress in January, though it was not proclaimed by the secretary of state until the 18th of December, after having been ratified by three-fourths of the states. On the 4th of March, upon the occasion of his second inauguration, Lincoln spoke the following truly great words: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."<sup>1</sup> But Lincoln's last public address was delivered on the evening of the 11th of April before a great multitude of people gathered about the White House, to convey their congratulations to the president and to signify their joy at the sure prospect of peace. It was his last public utterance, likewise, upon the subject of reconstruction and the criticisms levelled at his policy towards it as practically illustrated in Louisiana. It sums up very aptly his theory of reconstruction as modified by the experience of his first term in the presidential office:

<sup>1</sup> A. Lincoln, *Complete Works*, Vol. II, pp. 656, 657.

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"We are all agreed that the seceded states, so called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those states is to again get them into the proper practical relation." Voicing the optimism which always was so pronounced an element of his mental equipment, Lincoln went on to say that he believed this could be accomplished far better without ever raising the question as to whether these states had or had not been out of the Union. He urged that everyone should join in restoring the practical relations throughout the Union, each man allowing to his neighbour the indulgence of a personal opinion on the subject, but not permitting that personal opinion to interfere with the practical working of the new scheme of reorganisation.<sup>1</sup>

No words could express greater common-sense than is found in this informal address. The question as to whether the states had ever been "out of the Union," he considered as academic; as bad when taken as the "basis of a controversy," as "good for nothing at all"; as merely a "pernicious abstraction"; as practically an immaterial question, that could have no other effect "than the mischievous one of dividing our friends." He frankly acknowledged that if his plan of reconstruction, then in practical operation in Louisiana, failed, he would withdraw it and try another plan.

Three days later—on the evening of the 14th—Lincoln was assassinated. The assassin entered the box at the theatre where Lincoln was seated with a party of friends, and shot the President with a pistol. The stricken man lost consciousness immediately, and died a few hours later. The effect of this blow upon the national mind can be better imagined than described. "The country had now to traverse an unexplored sea, with its unknown currents, without chart to point out rocks and shallows, and in ignorance, of course, of what new storms might rise."<sup>2</sup> "With the ship barely over the bar," said the *London Spectator*, "the pilot falls dead upon the deck, and it must be well, but the sailors may be pardoned if for the moment they feel as if the harbour would never be attained."

We can say with considerable degree of assurance that, had Lincoln lived, he would easily have triumphed in his policy of reconstruction and would have readily defeated the faction that had arisen against him under the leadership of Sumner. He had already triumphed over the protest of Wade and Davis. "He was master of the situation, and had he been left to command it, there is every reason to believe that the faction which disturbed him a few days before his death would have been crushed."<sup>3</sup> The assassin's pistol had deprived the Southerners of their kindest and most powerful friend.

#### RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHNSON

On the day after the assassination of President Lincoln—at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 15th—Andrew Johnson took the oath of office. In answer to the question as to what policy would be pursued, he replied that it must be left for development as the administration progressed, and that his own past course in connection with the rebellion would have to be regarded as a guarantee for the future. "I know it is easy, gentlemen," he said to a delegation from New Hampshire, "for anyone who is so disposed to acquire

<sup>1</sup> A. Lincoln, *Complete Works*, Vol. II, pp. 673-675.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. III, p. 589.

<sup>3</sup> Pollard, *The Lost Cause Regained*, p. 65.

[1865 A.D.]

a reputation for clemency and mercy. But the public good imperatively requires a just discrimination in the exercise of these qualities. The American people must be taught to know and understand that treason is a crime. It must not be regarded as a mere difference of political opinion. It must not be excused as an unsuccessful rebellion, to be overlooked and forgiven."

Many were disposed to regard his advancement to the presidency at that particular juncture as but another evidence of providential favour, if not of divine interposition, by which the nation was to be saved from what many feared might prove Mr. Lincoln's ill-timed leniency and misplaced confidence.<sup>1</sup> Johnson now found himself face to face with the great problem of reconstruction. His view of this momentous question seems to have been substantially much like that of Lincoln, but there was a wide difference between the characters of the two men. Johnson had not a "touch of Lincoln's genius for understanding and persuading men," and was at the same time sadly lacking in tact and discretion. Woodrow Wilson<sup>2</sup> points out that Johnson was as humble in origin as Lincoln himself. But, unlike Lincoln, he to the last retained his native roughness. He had not the full confidence even of the party that elected him. It was not forgotten that he had once been a democrat; he had even been sent as democratic senator from Tennessee. His sympathies were with the South in regard to almost every question except the one salient one of their attitude toward the Union. In everything short of this, he held that the state had the right to local sovereignty, and his opinions were both arbitrary and stubborn. He was sure to exasperate his opponents in putting forth his views.

He declined to seek the advice of congress in the embarrassment of his position, and subjected himself, in a large measure, to the counsel and influence of his cabinet. This was particularly significant inasmuch as he had made no changes in this body since Lincoln's death. Probably Mr. William H. Seward, the secretary of state, exerted more influence over the president than any other member of the cabinet. Mr. Blaine holds, that by his arguments and by his eloquence Mr. Seward "completely captivated the president. He effectually persuaded him that a policy of anger and hate and vengeance could lead only to evil results," and that the president was gradually influenced by Mr. Seward's arguments, though their whole tenor was against his strongest predilections and against his pronounced and public commitments to a policy directly the reverse of that to which he was now, almost imperceptibly to himself, yielding assent. He points out that the president had completely changed his point of view within a few weeks. No longer ago than April he had declared himself in favour of "the halter for intelligent, influential traitors." He had again and again used language of similar import, advocating the arrest, conviction, and execution of traitors. But he was now brought over to the opposite point of view, and he was ready to advocate the policy of reconstruction that did not contemplate the indictment of a single traitor or the arrest of a single participant in the rebellion, with the sole exception of such as might be suspected of personal complicity in the conspiracy that led to the assassination of Lincoln,—an exception that merely implied a willingness to further the ends of ordinary justice contemplated by the criminal law.<sup>3</sup>

On the 29th of May two decisive steps were taken in the work of reconstruction. Both steps proceeded on the theory that every act needful for

<sup>1</sup> H. Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, Vol. III, pp. 593, 594.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 257, 258.

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, Vol. II, pp. 67, 68.

[1865-1866 A.D.]

the rehabilitation of the seceded states could be accomplished by the executive. The first step taken was the issuance of a Proclamation of Amnesty and Pardon to "all persons who have, directly or indirectly, participated in the existing rebellion." Thirteen classes of persons, however, were excepted from the benefit of this pardon. Of these classes, the first six were nearly identical with those excepted in President Lincoln's proclamation of December 8th, 1863.<sup>1</sup>

By the middle of July, three months after the assassination of Lincoln, the whole scheme of reconstruction was in operation. Proclamations appointed governors also for all the states but four. For the reconstruction of Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee, different provisions were made. The "Pierpont government," with headquarters at Alexandria, was recognised as the legitimate government of Virginia. A course very similar to that adopted in Virginia was followed in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee.

The voters in those states who were qualified under the proclamation to do so at once held constitutional conventions and created governments more or less squaring with Johnson's idea of a republican form of government within the meaning of the constitution. This was done in every state, except Texas, by the autumn of 1865, and senators and representatives were elected ready to apply for admission to congress as soon as that body should assemble. When congress assembled, however, on the 4th of December, it was in no mood to consider favourably these new state governments. The unfavourable attitude was, in a measure, due to certain laws passed by those governments which seemed to have in view the direct purpose of keeping the negroes in "involuntary servitude." The South looked with apprehension upon the liberty accorded a "labouring, landless, homeless class." Consequently, a number of the "reconstructed" governments—especially Mississippi and South Carolina—had passed statutes restraining the freedmen in matters relating to employment, labour contracts, and vagrancy. To the Southern legislatures these restraints were considered reasonable enough, but to congress they were looked upon as evidences of bad faith. These circumstances made congress the more willing to listen to those who advocated a more radical policy of reconstruction, having as their professed object the complete submission of the Southern states to the will of the federal government. According to the views of those who advocated this radical policy, resistance to the laws and constitution of the United States had resulted in the suspension of all federal law in so far as the rebellious states were concerned. Furthermore, that law did not revive in those states until congress declared it in force after the conditions incident to its revival had been complied with satisfactorily. In brief, congress would rehabilitate the states when and in the manner it pleased.

The practical adoption of this theory of reconstruction by congress marks the beginning of the policy of "Thorough." Congress assembled in December with more than a two-thirds majority in both houses. The temper of congress was shown immediately upon organising. The names of all the states that had seceded were omitted from the roll-call.

On the 30th of April a reconstruction committee reported a joint resolution embodying a comprehensive amendment to the constitution. It was designed to protect the rights of the negroes of the South, and fix the basis of representation in congress. This resolution was concurred in by the two houses of congress, June 13th, 1866, and when ratified by the proper num-

<sup>1</sup> For text, see McPherson's *History of the Reconstruction*, pp. 9, 10.

[1866 A.D.]

ber of states became the Fourteenth Amendment. It made "all persons born or naturalised in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof," citizens both of the United States and of the several states of their residence. It provided for a reduction of the congressional representation of any state that should deny the franchise to male citizens of voting age. It likewise excluded from federal office those who had served the Confederacy until congress should pardon them, and likewise invalidated all debts or obligations "incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave." President Johnson had no power to veto the resolution, but he sent a message to congress on the 22nd of June expressing his disapproval of it.

But this was not the first clash between the president and congress. On February 6th, 1866, congress passed a bill establishing a second Freedmen's Bureau, the first one, passed March 3rd, 1865, having limited the existence of the "bureau" to one year. The first act had given the bureau rather wide authority to assist the liberated slaves in finding means of subsistence and in helping them to secure their new privileges and immunities. The second bill increased these powers greatly and made it a penal offence, triable and punishable by federal military tribunals, to attempt to interfere with in any way the civil rights and immunities of the freedmen. The president vetoed this bill, February 19th, on the ground that it violated constitutional guarantees in that no person by our organic code should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and that taxation should never be imposed without representation. February 21st, the bill was again put upon its passage, but failed to become a law—not having secured the necessary two-thirds vote in the senate. There were still some republicans in congress who did not see fit to break with the president, at least openly. The third Freedmen's Bureau Bill, of July, 1866, was a much milder document, as it did not make violations of the proposed law a criminal offence. Nevertheless, July 16th the president vetoed the bill, and congress promptly repassed it the very same day the veto message was received.

In March, 1866, congress had sent to the president for his approval a bill "to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication." This was the first Civil Rights Bill. The president vetoed it on the 27th of March, and on the 9th of April congress passed it over his veto. The president's veto was accompanied by an elaborate message, in which he claimed that the bill was both unwise and in excess of the constitutional powers of congress. This marks definitely the breaking-point between the president and congress. The president accepted the issue, and congress decided to follow its own plan of reconstruction without his assistance.

The president might yet have carried with him a considerable following had he showed the slightest tact and good judgment. His friends, both republicans and democrats, called a convention, at which they made a demonstration of loyalty to the Presidential Plan of Reconstruction. But Johnson took this show of support as a warrant for making violent speeches against congress and acting in a most intemperate manner generally. The fall election resulted in an overwhelming victory for congress. The republican majority in the next house would be as large as in the present one. Congress came together in December determined to curb the president and to formulate means by which the recalcitrant Southern states, that had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, could be made to accept it. Besides the ten Southern states included in the rebellion, Kentucky, Delaware, and Maryland had voted

[1866-1867 A.D.]

against the amendment. Tennessee was the only geographically Southern state that voted for it. Meanwhile, however, President Johnson, although thus obstructed in the work he had assumed in reorganising the Southern states, had continued issuing proclamations. On the 2nd of April, 1866, he issued a proclamation declaring the state of war ended, and civil authority existing throughout the United States. Later, he issued an amnesty proclamation, modifying that of May 29th, 1865, wherein "thirteen extensive classes of persons were altogether excepted and excluded from the benefits thereof," so that "the full and beneficent pardon conceded" in that proclamation "should be opened and further extended."

But all this was to go for naught before the high-handed congressional programme framed by a caucus of republican members upon the assembling of congress. Congress then proceeded to carry out its policy of "thorough" with regard to reconstruction. The Tenure of Office Act was passed over the president's veto, March 2nd, 1867—thus making the executive power of appointment to and removal from office subject to the approval of the senate. Then, by a rider to the Appropriation Bill, General Grant, already in command of the whole military force of the government, was made practically independent of the president. Johnson was compelled to approve this obnoxious rider in order to save the General Appropriation Bill. Congress also established universal suffrage in the District of Columbia over the president's veto, January 8th, 1867, and in the territories, January 10th, 1867. The latter bill became a law by reason of the failure of the president to sign, or return it with his objections, within ten days after presentation to him. Nebraska was admitted to the Union, March 1st, 1867—Nevada having been added to the list of states October 31st, 1864. The bill admitting Nebraska was passed over the president's veto.

All this legislation, however, was little more than paving the way for the great Reconstruction Act of March 2nd, 1867, which was repassed the same day the president's veto message was received. This remarkable piece of legislation was entitled "An act to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel states." Tennessee had already been admitted to representation and was excluded from the provision of the act. The Southern states were to be grouped into five military districts. It was made the duty of the president to "assign to the command of each of said districts an officer of the army, not below the rank of brigadier-general, and to detail a sufficient military force to enable such officer to enforce his authority." These officers were given full civil and criminal jurisdiction; and all interference under colour of state authority with the exercise of military authority under the act was to be null and void. The provisions were made, however, that no cruel or unusual punishment was to be inflicted and no sentence of death was to be carried into effect without the approval of the president. Section 5 of the act outlined the process of reconstruction. This process was outlined in still greater detail by a Supplemental Reconstruction Act, passed March 23rd, 1867. The military commanders were given the power to enroll in each state, upon oath, all the male citizens of one year's residence who were not disqualified to vote by reason of felony or excluded under the terms of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment. Then they were to hold a general election in each state for the purpose of selecting delegates to a state convention. These conventions were then to frame constitutions extending the franchise to all classes of citizens who had been permitted to vote for delegates—without restriction as to "race, colour, or previous condition of servitude." These constitutions were to conform with the constitution of

the United States "in every respect," and were to be submitted to the same body of electors for ratification. If congress passed favourably upon the constitution of a state thus submitted, then that state would be admitted to representation so soon as its new legislature should ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. After these provisions of the act had been complied with, military jurisdiction over that state was to cease. It was furthermore provided, that "until the people of said rebel states shall be by law admitted to representation in the congress of the United States, any civil governments which may exist therein shall be deemed provisional only, and in all respects subject to the paramount authority of the United States at any time to abolish, modify, control, or supersede the same." Such was this extraordinary act.

This act erected in each of the ten states a vice-royal rule outside of the constitution. President Johnson summed up his objection to the bill in a sentence of his veto message: "I submit to congress whether this measure is not, in its whole character, scope, and object, without precedent and without authority, in palpable conflict with the plainest provisions of the constitution, and utterly destructive to those great principles of liberty and humanity for which our ancestors on both sides of the Atlantic have shed so much blood and expended so much treasure."<sup>1</sup>

"Such was the policy of 'thorough' to which congress had made up its mind. Its practical operation was of course revolutionary in its effects upon the Southern governments. The most influential white men were excluded from voting for the delegates who were to compose the constitutional conventions, while the negroes were all admitted to enrolment. Unscrupulous adventurers appeared to act as the leaders of the inexperienced blacks in taking possession, first of the conventions, and afterwards of the state governments; and in the states where the negroes were most numerous, or their leaders most shrewd and unprincipled, an extraordinary carnival of public crime set in under the forms of law. Negro majorities gained complete control of the state governments, or, rather, negroes constituted the legislative majorities and submitted to the unrestrained authority of small and masterful groups of white men whom the instinct of plunder had drawn from the North. Taxes were multiplied, whose proceeds went for the most part into the pockets of these fellows and their confederates among the negroes. Enormous masses of debt were piled up, by processes both legal and fraudulent, and most of the money borrowed reached the same destination. In several of the states it is true that, after the conventions had acted, the white vote was strong enough to control, when united; and in these, reconstruction, when completed, reinstated the whites in power almost at once. But it was in these states in several cases that the process of reconstruction was longest delayed, just because the white voters could resist the more obnoxious measures of the conventions; and in the mean time there was military rule."<sup>2</sup>

On the 22nd of June, 1868, an act was passed for the admission of Arkansas. The president vetoed the bill on the 20th of March, but congress passed it over his veto on the 22nd. Three days later a similar act was passed admitting the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. This bill was vetoed by the president on the 25th, and passed over his veto by congress on the same day.

January 27th, 1870, Virginia was admitted into the Union; on the 3rd of February, Mississippi; Texas, March 30th.

Virginia was required to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment to the federal

<sup>1</sup> For text, see McPherson's *History of Reconstruction*, pp. 166-172.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 268, 269.

[1868-1870 A.D.]

constitution, as well as the Fourteenth Amendment, before she could be admitted to the Union. The same requirement was made of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. A sufficient number of ratifications had already been obtained for the Fourteenth Amendment, and on the 28th of July, 1868, it had been finally proclaimed part of the fundamental law. The Fifteenth Amendment was likewise adopted by the necessary number of states, and was finally declared in force March 30th, 1870. Congress had proposed it February 26th, 1869. It declared that the right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude; and that congress should have power to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation.

In the mean time the breach between congress and the president grew wider and wider. The congressional policy of "thorough" was met at every point by the presidential power of veto. Not content, however, with exercising his constitutional prerogatives, he went out of his way to show in every way possible his bitter contempt for congress and its policy of reconstruction. The Tenure of Office Act of March 2nd, 1867, had sought to deprive the president of the power of removing even cabinet officers without the approval of the senate.

This was the law that in the end furnished the issue that brought the quarrel between congress and the president to its finality. August 5th, 1867, President Johnson demanded the resignation of Edwin M. Stanton, secretary of war, in the following words: "Public considerations of a high character constrain me to say that your resignation as secretary of war will be accepted." Secretary Stanton replied to this demand for his resignation on the same day in the following words: "In reply," he said, "I have the honour to say that public considerations of a high character, which alone have induced me to continue at the head of this department, constrain me not to resign the office of secretary of war before the next meeting of congress." The president then suspended him from office, August 12th, as the terms of the act permitted him to do, and empowered General Ulysses S. Grant to act as secretary of war *ad interim*. Stanton "submitted under protest, to superior force," but denied the president's right to suspend him without the advice and consent of the senate. When congress reassembled, the senate, on January 13th, 1868, refused to sanction the removal. The president thereupon, in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act (which he considered a "palpable invasion of his constitutional privileges"), determined to remove Stanton. This he did on February 21st, 1868, and announced the fact to the senate in a communication to that body on the same date. General Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general of the army, was at the same time designated secretary of war *ad interim*. But Stanton refused to quit his office and made a direct appeal to the house for protection. The house then determined to impeach the president of high crimes and misdemeanours in office.

As early as November 25th, 1867, Mr. Boutwell, from the committee on the judiciary, had submitted a report to the house recommending the impeachment of the president, but the resolution had not prevailed by a large majority. On January 27th, 1868, a committee, called the committee on reconstruction, was appointed to inquire into the state of affairs. This committee, on February 24th, submitted a report recommending the impeachment of the president, and it was adopted by a vote of 128 to 47. A committee of two was appointed to notify the senate, and another committee of seven was appointed to prepare and report articles of impeachment. The trial was begun in the

senate on the 5th of March, and later eleven articles of impeachment were presented to the senate sitting as a court. Chief-Justice Salmon P. Chase presided at the trial, and after having had the oath administered to him by Associate Justice Nelson, in turn administered it to the various senators. On the 6th of March an order was adopted directing Johnson to file an answer to the articles, returnable on the 13th instant. The president's counsel asked for forty days in which to prepare an answer, but this request was denied, and the senate decided upon the 30th instant as the time for the beginning of the trial.

On May 16th the first vote of the court was taken on the eleventh article, with the result of thirty-five for "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." Ten days later, May 26th, a vote was taken upon the second and third articles, with the same result as on the eleventh article. A motion was then carried that the court adjourn *sine die*. Judgment of acquittal was then entered by the chief justice on the three articles voted upon. Johnson's escape was very narrow; a two-thirds majority was required to convict, and but one vote was wanting. Five republican senators had declined to vote with their party. Stanton resigned his position of secretary of war on the same day of the adjournment of the court.

In the presidential election of that year (1868) Johnson was an impossible candidate for either party. The republican nominating convention, meeting at Chicago, just four days after the failure of the impeachment proceedings, nominated General Grant for the presidency. The democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York. The reconstruction issue was squarely met. Three Southern states did not take part in the election, not having been reconstructed, and most of the rest were in possession of negro majorities. "One hundred and fourteen electoral votes were cast for Grant, thirty for Seymour. The aggregate popular majority of the republicans for was but a little more than 300,000 in a total vote of nearly 6,000,000."

March 4th, 1869, Johnson's tempestuous administration came to an end. It was "crowded with perplexities for the constitutional law," as one judicious historian alike.<sup>1</sup> One event of considerable importance in the foreign relations of the government. On October 31st, 1868, a treaty convention had been signed at London between England, France, and Prussia. The object of this agreement was to send an expedition against Mexico, in demand from the Mexican authorities more efficient protection for the persons and properties of their (the allied sovereigns') subjects, as well as a fulfilment of the obligations contracted towards their majesties by the republic of Mexico." It was not long, however, before the designs of the French became apparent to the other allies and to the world. The emperor of the French "walked his own wild road, whither that led him," and established a sort of feudatory monarchy in Mexico, and persuaded the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria, to accept the throne. The archduke was a man of pure and noble character, but evidently wanting in strength of purpose.

The United States government protested against these high-handed doings of the French from the very first. But the emperor Napoleon, quite positive that the United States were going to pieces and that he would have the Southern Confederacy as a friend and ally in his vast schemes, ignored these protests. After the tide turned, however, and the rebellion was at an end, the United States government demanded of Louis Napoleon the withdrawal of

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, p. 272.

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his troops from Mexico. A significant movement of troops was made in the direction of the Mexican frontier and the French were compelled to withdraw (March, 1867). Maximilian remained and endeavoured to raise an army of his own to defend himself against the growing strength of the Mexicans under Juarez. But the latter conquered at last, and Maximilian was tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot, June 19th, 1867. The French Empire never recovered from the shock of this Mexican failure, and the Monroe doctrine was triumphantly asserted and maintained.

Another event of importance of an international character was the Fenian invasion of Canada. On the night of May 31st, 1866, about nine hundred men, under Colonel O'Neil, crossed from Buffalo to Fort Erie. Their object was the destruction of the Welland Canal. After a series of rather unimportant engagements with varying success, they were driven back by Canadian regular and volunteer troops. Another Fenian expedition aimed at reaching the capital at Ottawa, and a band of marauders crossed the border from Vermont, but both were easily driven back. The invasions continued spasmodically in 1870 and in 1871, but all with the like result. The Fenian troubles, being, as they were, attacks by the Irish-Americans upon British sovereignty, roused strong feeling in Canada against the American authorities.

In March, 1867, definite negotiations between the United States and Russia for the purchase of Alaska were opened by the Russian minister at Washington. After negotiations covering about two months, a treaty was ratified transferring Alaska to the United States for a consideration of \$7,200,000 in gold. The usual proclamation was made by the president of the United States, June 20th, 1867, and the transfer was made on the 18th of October following.

#### RECONSTRUCTION DURING THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF GRANT

During the two administrations of Grant normal conditions of government and of economic and intellectual life were gradually restored. Nevertheless, before this happy result was brought about the republican party had yet to complete its policy of reconstruction. President Grant communicated the fact of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to Congress in a special message on the 30th of March, 1870. May 31st, 1870, and April 20th, 1871, congress enacted laws having in view making effective the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. These laws were popularly known as the "Force bills." Conspiracy to take away from any person the rights of a citizen was made a penal offence. Furthermore, the acts provided that inability, neglect, or refusal by any state to suppress such conspiracy, to protect the rights of its citizens, or to call upon the president for aid, should be "deemed a denial by such state of the equal protection of the laws" under the Fourteenth Amendment. Such conspiracies, if not suppressed by the authorities, were likewise declared "rebellion against the government of the United States." The president was authorised to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* in any district. In the spring of 1872—conditions in the South having very materially improved—congress permitted some of the harsher portions of the act of 1871 to lapse. This was followed up, May 22nd of the same year, by a General Amnesty Act. Those who had served the Confederacy after having served the United States in a judicial, military, or naval capacity, or in the higher grades of administration and political freedom, were excepted from the provisions of the act.

The Force Bill of 1871 was enacted as a result of the peculiar conditions existing in the Southern states after the ratification of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments. Reconstruction had resulted in a condition of affairs in which the most prominent whites were disfranchised and deprived of the right to hold public offices. Their slaves were enfranchised and unfriendly, and sometimes dishonest strangers from the North filled their judicial and other offices. Some of these offices were filled by ignorant negroes. The Southern states resisted this state of affairs, and resistance took the form of organised intimidation and terrorism. Cox<sup>1</sup> declares that it made an objective point of the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, including ministers of the gospel and school-teachers. The major part of these were doubtless adventurers from the North, or, at least, men of the pioneering spirit, who had come in quest of a fortune. By the people whose territory they had invaded they were regarded as public enemies, and they came to be known by the opprobrious title of "carpet-baggers." It is not strange that people so regarded should have met with public and private opposition. The outrages to which they were subjected fill many volumes of reports made by sundry committees of investigation appointed by the two houses of congress. These reports make it clear that there existed in the South, soon after the Civil War, a considerable number of secret societies, the express, even if guarded, object of which was to prevent the exercise of political rights by the negroes. These societies assumed a variety of fantastic names, such as the Brotherhood, the Pale Faces, the Invisible Empire, the Knights of the White Camellia. But they all had practically the same motives, and they were conducted along very much the same lines. Ultimately all of them came to be merged in the Ku-Klux Klan.

This formidable organisation was said to have originated in 1866 with the object at first of only scaring the superstitious blacks. From this, however, it soon went to using its power in the most cruel manner for the furtherance of political ends—to crush out republicanism in the Southern states, to prevent the negroes exercising their political rights, and to exclude from all political offices those who depended mainly upon negro votes for their election. The strength of the Ku-Klux Klan in Tennessee was estimated at forty thousand, and it was supposed to be still stronger in other states. Virginia was fairly well exempt from Ku-Klux outrages, while North Carolina and Tennessee presented numerous cases. According to the members were sworn to secrecy under penalty of death for breach of fidelity. Armed bodies of masked men, well mounted, and wearing white gowns, swept about the country at night, terrifying the communities. They did not hesitate to surround and break into the cabins of negroes, frightening and maltreating the inmates, and warning them that if they gave offence in any way they were marked out for future vengeance. In some instances they went farther, actually seizing an obnoxious negro or carpet-bagger, and subjecting him to physical injury. Senator Scott, in a speech in the senate, based upon personal investigation, gave a summary of the extent of the Ku-Klux outrages. In ninety-nine counties in different states he found five hundred and twenty-six homicides and two thousand and nine cases of whipping. Furthermore, it was stated by the congressional committee that investigated the subject, that in Louisiana alone in the year 1868 there were more than one thousand murders, and most of them were the result of the operations of the Ku-Klux. In October, 1871,

<sup>1</sup> S. S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, p. 453.

<sup>2</sup> S. S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, p. 455.

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the president suspended the privilege of *habeas corpus* in South Carolina in nine counties, so flagrantly prevalent were the Ku-Klux outrages.

The Force Act, however, was destined to outrun popular feeling. The supreme court of the United States, moreover, showed a decided tendency towards a conservative construction of the changes brought about by the war. In the case of *Texas versus White*, it held that the states maintained their statehood intact, though at the same time it sustained congress even in its extreme policy of reconstruction. In 1873 the court was called upon to interpret the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the constitution in the celebrated *Slaughter-House Cases*. In these cases the political and constitutional powers of the Southern states were held to be unimpaired, and the control of the state over the general privileges of its citizens was declared intact, notwithstanding the last two amendments.

In fact, a general reaction from extreme partisanship and a violent reconstruction policy was noticeable throughout the North. The Force Act had come dangerously near the suspension of state government in the South, and there was a growing disposition in the North, even among republicans, to regard the treatment far more dangerous than the disease. As the first term of Grant's administration drew to a close, the political parties again made the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction the chief issue of the campaign. The president was in accord with this plan of reconstruction and was consequently subjected to much criticism. Nevertheless, he was renominated by the republicans for the presidency, with Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, as the vice-presidential nominee. The "liberal republicans" bolted the regular party and nominated for the presidency Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*. They adopted a platform declaring local self-government a better safeguard for the rights of all citizens than centralised power. Universal amnesty for the Southerners was favoured. The democrats accepted the nominees of the liberal party and endorsed the platform. The movement was supported by many other prominent republicans besides Greeley, among them Charles Sumner, Stanley Matthews, Carl Schurz, and David A. Wells.

The Greeley movement developed, as Andrews<sup>1</sup> remarks, both remarkable strength and remarkable weakness. Greeley had been influential for several years as a journalist. His chivalrous offer to give bail for Jefferson Davis, and his open advocacy of mercy for all rebellious subjects who had laid down their arms, had gained him a strong coterie of friends in the South. When he took the stump on his own behalf, making the tour of the central states, it was but natural that crowds of republicans should come to see and hear their former leader. But a very large number of those who may even have applauded his speeches, did not give him the sanction of their ballots. Nor could it be expected that the democrats as a whole would rally with enthusiasm about the standard of a man who had been one of their most bitter opponents. Naturally enough, then, some of these supported a third ticket, whilst others refrained from voting. The campaign was one of wild excitement and bitter denunciation, and the result was what might have been anticipated. Greeley was overwhelmingly beaten. The democrats carried but six states, and those were all in the South. Within a month after the election Mr. Greeley died, at the age of sixty-one, broken down by "over-exertion, family bereavement, and disappointed ambition."

The Congressional Plan of Reconstruction was thus once more emphatically sustained at the polls. Election troubles were of frequent occurrence

<sup>1</sup> E. B. Andrews, *History of the United States*, Vol. II, pp. 205, 206.

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during Grant's second term in those Southern states in which the negroes were most numerous or most thoroughly organised under white leaders. Both of the contestants, no doubt, were to a considerable extent in the wrong. In a number of these states the electoral machinery was in the hands of negro managers who had the support of the federal officers authorised by congress for the protection of the negroes in their political rights. These supervisors, marshals, and deputy-marshals were not slow, of course, to take advantage of every opportunity for their personal advancement. On the other hand, the Southerners used every means of preventing the negroes from voting. Where persuasion and bribery would not bring about the desired end, intimidation and actual violence were often resorted to. The turmoil finally reached a climax in Louisiana. Since 1872 the whites in that state had been chafing under the republican rule of Governor Kellogg, who was accused of ruinous extravagance in the use of the state's credit. In the autumn of 1872 rival returning boards in Louisiana certified to democratic and republican majorities in the choice of state officers and presidential electors. Both of these boards were irregularly constituted, but both claimed to be the legal board. As a result, rival governments were erected and it took congressional interference to effect a compromise. The republican governor was kept in office through the support of the federal troops, but his opponents were given control of the house of representatives of the state legislature.

"In August, 1874, a disturbance occurred which ended in the deliberate shooting of six republican officials. President Grant prepared to send military aid to the Kellogg government. Thereupon Penn, the defeated candidate for lieutenant-governor in 1872, issued an address to the people, claiming to be the lawful executive of Louisiana, and calling upon the state militia to arm and drive 'the usurpers from power.' Barricades were thrown up in the streets of New Orleans, and on September 14th a severe fight took place between the insurgents and the state forces, in which a dozen were killed on each side. On the next day the state-house was surrendered to the militia, ten thousand of whom had responded to Penn's call. Governor Kellogg took refuge in the custom-house. Penn was formally inducted in office. United States troops were hurried to the scene. Agreeably to their professions of loyalty towards the federal government, the insurgents surrendered the state property to the United States authorities without resistance, but under protest.

"A sullen acquiescence in the Kellogg government gradually prevailed. Other electoral difficulties occurred in 1874 and 1875 in Arkansas and Mississippi. The republican officials asked the president to send federal troops, but none were sent.

"General Grant declared that, while he felt bound to intervene, he found it an 'exceedingly unpalatable' duty; and when calls for troops came later from other states, he replied, with evident impatience, that the whole public was 'tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South,' and that the great majority were 'ready now to condemn any interference on the part of the government.' He had never shown any vindictive feeling towards the South, and there can be no doubt that in directing federal troops to interfere to cut the puzzling knots of Southern election snarls, he acted with the same simple sense of duty towards the laws that had characterised his soldier predecessors, Jackson and Taylor."<sup>1</sup>

The most important of the treaties that marked President Grant's terms

<sup>1</sup> Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, pp. 276, 277.

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of office was the Treaty of Washington, concluded with Great Britain May 8th, 1871. This treaty made provisions for the settlement of the following important questions: the northwestern boundary—a portion of which had been too vaguely determined by the treaty of 1847; the Canadian Fishery Dispute; and the *Alabama* Claims.

The question of the northwestern boundary was referred to the decision of the German emperor, William I. The treaty of 1847 had not left it clear whether the boundary line through the channel between Vancouver Island and the mainland should be run so as to include the island of San Juan, with its group, in the United States or in Canada. The emperor decided in 1872 in favour of the contention of the United States.

The fisheries dispute had its origin at the very beginning of the nation. It has continued to be a source of international trouble down to the present time. The treaty of 1871 seemed only to confuse matters more than before. The Canadians were permitted, by its provisions, to go as far south as the thirty-ninth parallel; free trade in fish-oil and in all salt-water fish was granted; and, in recognition of the fact that mere reciprocity was supposed to give the United States a decided advantage, that nation was required to pay Canada \$5,500,000. This agreement was so thoroughly unsatisfactory that the United States took the earliest possible opportunity (July 1st, 1883) to abrogate it.

As early as 1863 the United States had sought satisfaction from Great Britain for the damages sustained to shipping from the Confederate cruisers sailing from English ports. Of these, the *Alabama* had proven most destructive. Attempts were made to settle the claims in 1865, but without success.

On the 26th of January, 1871, the British government proposed the appointment of a joint high commission to meet at Washington, for the settlement of questions connected with the Canadian fisheries.

On May 8th the commission completed a treaty which received the prompt approval of both governments. The British government expressed its regret for "the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports, and for the depredations committed by those vessels." It furthermore agreed that the *Alabama* Claims should be referred to a tribunal of arbitration to be composed of five arbitrators, to meet at Geneva, at the earliest convenient day, when all questions considered by the tribunal, including the final award, should be decided by a majority of all the arbitrators.

The tribunal held its first conference at Geneva on the 15th of December, 1871.

The American claim for damages was based on losses inflicted by four-teen cruisers and four tenders, but the award did not allow the full claim. The tribunal found that the British government had "failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligation" with respect to the cruisers *Alabama* and *Florida*, and the several tenders of those vessels; and also with respect to the *Shenandoah* after her departure from Melbourne, February 18th, 1865, but not before that date. In fact, with regard to the *Alabama*, the culpability of the British government was so evident that even the English arbiter, Sir Alexander Cockburn, voted in favour of the American claim.

The tribunal, by a majority of four voices to one, awarded to the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold as indemnity. Of this sum about \$2,000,000 represented interest at six per cent. Sir Alexander Cockburn, the British arbiter, was the only member of the tribunal who voted in the negative.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See in detail, C. Cushing, *The Treaty of Washington*.

A movement was made in the right direction when, after Grant had called attention to the need of reform, the first Civil Service Reform Act was passed by congress, March 3rd, 1871. The president appointed a commission, and congress appropriated \$25,000 to defray its expenses. A like sum was voted next year, but after that nothing was granted until June, 1882, when \$15,000 was grudgingly appropriated. Nevertheless, the act of 1871 was a beginning, and its provisions formed the basis of subsequent legislation and afforded encouragement for further efforts to those who had the reform of the civil service at heart.

The civil service was not the only branch of the government that needed reforming; congress itself was sorely in need of a reform movement. By 1869, both the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads had been completed across the continent with the aid of enormous government grants. The interests of the Union Pacific, financial as well as constitutional, had been assumed by a corporation chartered by the legislature of Pennsylvania. This corporation became known as the *Crédit Mobilier*. On the meeting of congress in December, 1872, the speaker of the house called attention to the charges made in the preceding campaign that the vice-president, Mr. Colfax, the vice-president elect, Mr. Henry Wilson, the secretary of the treasury, several senators, the speaker of the house, and a large number of representatives, had been bribed during the years 1867 and 1868 by presents of stock in a corporation known as the *Crédit Mobilier*, to vote and act for the benefit of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. On the motion of the speaker, an investigating committee was appointed.

This committee reported, February 18th, 1873, and recommended the expulsion of Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, for "selling to members of congress shares of the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier* below their real value, with intent thereby to influence the votes of such members." Likewise the expulsion of James Brooks, of New York, for receiving such stock. The house modified the proposed expulsion into an "absolute condemnation" of the conduct of both members. Other members of congress were exonerated on the ground that they had no knowledge of the illegitimate purposes of the transaction. Still other members escaped because of the absence of conclusive proof of their guilt. Nor did this congress abate the public's suspicion of its guilt by passing the "Salary Grab" Bill. This bill increased the salaries of representatives and senators, and retroactively included the salaries of the members of the existing congress. It was repealed at the next session.

In 1875 the "whiskey ring" was brought to light. This was a more or less close association between distillers and federal officials for the purpose of defrauding the government of a large amount of the internal revenue tax on distilled spirits; and, furthermore, of employing a part of the proceeds in political corruption. Grant's secretary of war, W. W. Belknap, was impeached for accepting bribes in making the appointments in his department. He was impeached and tried, but was acquitted on the ground that, having resigned, the senate was without jurisdiction in the case. The civil suit brought against him was dismissed. The whole of Grant's second term was characterised by a state of official demoralisation. "Inefficiency and fraud were suspected even where they did not exist."

Two events of financial importance occurred during Grant's two terms that should not be passed over in silence. One was the speculation in gold and the consequent "Black Friday" of September 24th, 1869. The other was the so-called "demonetisation of silver" and the panic of 1873.

When gold ceased to circulate, in 1862, speculation in it began as a result

[1873 A. D.]

of the depreciation of paper. In 1869 a clique of speculators in New York (of which Jay Gould, president of the Erie Railway, was one) thought to corner the market in gold and thus make an immense fortune. This clique, succeeding in getting control of a large percentage of the gold in the East, forced the price of that metal up to 164. But there was some hundred millions of gold in the United States treasury, more or less, and the president of the United States or the secretary of the treasury might at any time throw it on the market. The price had reached its highest point and the whole speculative world was in a feverish condition, when it was suddenly announced that the government would sell. The price immediately fell to 135, and the power of the clique was broken. This day—September 24th—has passed into history as Black Friday.

By an act of February 12th, 1873, the silver dollar of 412½ grains was dropped out of the list of silver coins. It was merely a nominal demonetisation of silver, for the real demonetisation of that metal had been accomplished in 1853. Important consequences have been attached to this act of 1873. It has been charged that the law was the cause of the commercial crisis of September 1873; but so competent a critic as Laughlin ridicules the notion that a law which made no changes whatever in the actual metallic standard that had been in use for more than twenty years could produce financial disaster in seven months. He asserts that the act of 1873 "had little importance in changing existing conditions"; but he admits that its ultimate influences were of the utmost consequence. He claims that had it not been for the demonetisation of the silver dollar in 1873 and 1874, the country would have found itself in 1876 with a single silver standard. In that event the resumption of specie payment on January 1st, 1879, would have been in silver, not in gold. The result would have been the repudiation of 15 per cent. of existing contracts and obligations. In this view, the act of 1873 was a piece of the greatest good fortune, since its indirect effect was to save the financial credit of the nation.<sup>1</sup>

The panic of 1873 differed very materially from the great panics of 1837 and 1857. The causes of the earlier panics were fairly evident. But in 1873 trade was good; everyone was busy and wanted money to carry on industry. Railroads had been built to an unprecedented extent. During the half decade ending with 1873, \$1,700,000,000 had been thus spent in the country. But these outward evidences of prosperity were the real evidences of a coming crisis. Industry was very largely upon a paper basis. Speculation was rife, and it was only a question of a short time before the crisis was bound to come. The supposed wealth consisted mainly of the bonds of these railroads that would not pay dividends for years, and worthless mining and manufacturing stock. During 1872 the balance of trade was strongly against the United States. The Chicago fire of October, 1871, by which \$192,000,000 worth of property was destroyed, and the Boston fire of November, 1872, which resulted in the loss of \$75,000,000, no doubt must be classed as a partial cause of the disturbed condition of industrial affairs of 1873. The circulation of depreciated paper money led to a free contraction of debts by individuals, corporations, towns, cities, and states, and this, of course, led to speculation.

On the 18th of September the panic came. On the morning of that day, Jay Cooke, the agent of the United States government, with some \$4,000,000 held on deposit from all parts of the country, and with \$15,000,000 of

<sup>1</sup> J. L. Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism in the United States*, p. 93.

Northern Pacific paper, suspended. Next day the banking firm of Fisk & Hatch went under. Terror became universal. At eleven o'clock on the 20th the New York Stock Exchange, for the first time in its history, closed its doors. For ten days the New York Clearing-House had to suspend. Products of all kinds declined in price, as well as stocks and bonds. Factories either ran on short time or shut down entirely. But money flowed into New York from Europe and the West, and the public began to purchase stocks freely, tempted by the low prices.

The United States continued to advance in material welfare notwithstanding these drawbacks. The Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876 would be sufficient proof of this. The Centennial was not a financial success, but it illustrated aptly the great material prosperity the United States had made during the century of its existence. On July 4th of the centennial year Colorado was admitted to the Union.

Before bringing President Grant's two eventful terms to a close, reference should be made to the act of July 14th, 1870, amending the naturalisation laws, and the act of January 14th, 1875, providing for the resumption of specie payments by the government on the 1st of January, 1879. The first act was merely a completion of the policy of the Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution. It admitted to citizenship, besides "free white persons," "aliens of African nativity and persons of African descent." Stringent provision was also made against the fraudulent naturalisation and registration of aliens. Federal supervisors were appointed to enforce the regulations in cities of over twenty thousand inhabitants.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT HAYES

The scandals brought to light in the republican party during the second administration of Grant bore their fruits. The former vital question of reconstruction could no longer be made the winning issue of the campaign. Furthermore, the republican party had to bear, in a measure, the responsibility for the financial distress of 1873. The democrats had secured every Southern state except Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida, and the republican governments in these states were upheld only by the aid of bayonets. But what is more surprising is the fact that in the elections of 1874 and 1875 the democrats carried their state tickets in several Northern states, and elected their candidate for governor in Massachusetts. Moreover, they were overwhelmingly successful in the congressional elections. The republican majority of almost one hundred was supplanted by a democratic majority of almost the same size. There was every indication of a political revolution at the next presidential election.

The republicans, after a long struggle between rival factions, nominated Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, with William A. Wheeler, of New York, for vice-president. The democrats nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana. Thirty-eight states participated in the election. Once more the democratic party seemed to sweep the country. The morning after the election, November 8th, nearly every republican newspaper conceded the election of Mr. Tilden. He was believed to have carried every Southern state, and New York, Indiana, New Jersey, and Connecticut in addition. The whole number of electoral votes was 369, and upon this estimate the democratic candidate would have had 203 and the republican candidate 166. But the existence of dual govern-

[1877 A.D.]

ments in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and an election complication in Oregon, threw the whole result into grave doubt and precipitated the most extraordinary contest that has taken place in the history of the country. If the republicans lost a single vote, the democratic candidate would be elected.

In four states—South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon—there were double returns. In South Carolina the republicans claimed that the negroes had been intimidated by white rifle-clubs, the democrats that "detachments of the United States army stationed near the polls had prevented a fair and free election.<sup>1</sup> Acting on this claim, the electors declined to be governed by the returns as specified by the state canvassers. Instead of casting their votes for Hayes, therefore, as they must have done, the democratic electors gave their ballots for Tilden and Hendricks. In Florida there were similar differences. The canvassing boards and the governor certified to the election of the republican ticket, but a court decision declared that the democratic electors were entitled to meet and register their vote. In Louisiana each party claimed victory, and each attempted to establish its governor, its returning board, and its electoral college. In Oregon, the democratic governor arbitrarily adjudged one of the republican electors ineligible, and gave a certificate to the highest candidate on the democratic list; notwithstanding which the republican electors met and voted for Hayes and Wheeler. Of course the democratic electors refused to take cognisance of this action on the part of their opponents, and, in a word, there was total chaos. Such uncertainty had never attended the result of any previous election, and it was impossible to say how the tangle was to be unsnarled.

The contest was now transferred to the halls of congress. The senate, which was republican, held that the Twenty-second Joint Rule, which had been in force in the counts of 1865, 1869, and 1873, and which provided that no disputed electoral vote could be counted unless both houses concurred in counting it, had not been re-enacted by the present congress, and hence was not in force. The house, which was democratic, took the opposite view. Republicans claimed that the power to count the votes belonged to the president of the senate; democrats maintained that it belonged to congress and that no vote could be counted against the wishes of the house. Threats were made that Hayes should never be inaugurated, and military organisations to support Tilden's claim were formed in several states. Happily, peaceful counsels prevailed, and in January, 1877, the famous Electoral Commission Act was passed. This act created a commission of fifteen—five to be selected by the senate, five by the house, four associate justices of the supreme court who were designated by the act, and a fifth to be selected from the remaining associate justices by these four. It had been expected that the fifteenth member would be David Davis, a justice with democratic leanings but supposedly free from any marked prejudice one way or the other. But just before the bill became a law the democrats and a few independent republicans in the Illinois legislature unexpectedly elected Justice Davis to the United States senate, and he therefore declined to serve upon the commission. Justice Bradley, a republican, was selected as the fifteenth member.

The commission thus contained eight republicans and seven democrats; and when the disputed cases were submitted to it, all were decided in favor of the republicans by a strict party vote. An attempt in the house to prevent the completion of the count failed because of the opposition of the speaker, Samuel J. Randall, and because friends of Hayes promised that if

<sup>1</sup> Stanwood, *History of Presidential Elections*, pp. 320, 330.

he were allowed to become president he would refuse to support the republican state governments in South Carolina and Louisiana. On the early morning of March 2 Hayes was declared elected by 185 to 184. On the 5th of March (the 4th being Sunday) he was inaugurated without any disturbance. The country acquiesced in the decision, but the democrats have always maintained that Tilden was elected.

One thing was perfectly manifest to men of both parties—that provision should be made against the recurrence of such a dispute. However, it was not until February 3rd, 1887, that a bill providing for the counting of the electoral votes was approved by the president. The Electoral Count Bill, as this bill was called, throws upon the state, as far as possible, the responsibility of determining how its own presidential vote has been cast. The president of the senate opens the electoral certificates in the presence of both houses; he then hands them to the tellers (two from each house), who read them aloud and record the votes. If there is a dispute, the set of returns certified to by the officially constituted state tribunal is accepted. Should there be two rival tribunals, the vote of the state is not counted unless each house separately agrees to accept one of them as official.

One of President Hayes' important acts after his inauguration was the withdrawal of federal troops in 1877 from South Carolina and Louisiana. The republican governments in these states were at once superseded by democratic governments. Inasmuch as Florida had already gone democratic, that party was now in entire control of the South. Hayes was criticised for what was termed his flagrant inconsistency for repudiating the very state governments to which he had been entirely indebted for his election to the presidency. However that may be, the action of the president brought a welcome peace. Affairs at once became normal and the congressional policy of reconstructions had almost run its course. Bryce<sup>1</sup> sees in the disappearance of the carpet-bag and the negro movements, the opening of the third era in the political history of the South since the war. In the first, the whites had exclusive right of suffrage; in the second, negro suffrage predominated; in the third, it was to appear that alleged universal suffrage meant the actual supremacy of the whites. The South was no longer the country it was before the war. During the sixteen years between 1860 and 1876 it had experienced something like an industrial revolution. It became a great economic force working along entirely new lines of industrial development. Its old labour system had been swept away, and it was now prepared to enter the industrial contest with the rest of the world.

Many believed that the so-called "demonetisation of silver" in 1873 would, if persisted in, work a hardship to taxpayers during the process of paying off the national debt. A bill was therefore passed through congress in 1878, known as the Bland Silver Bill. The passage of the act was due to causes easily described. In dealing with economic questions there must be some difference of opinion as to the share played by different elements. Tausig regards the opposition to the contraction of the currency as the most important episode in American history of this period. He admits that the movement in favour of the use of silver gained power from the desire of the silver-mining states to further their local interests by coining a larger quantity of this metal. But he contends that this was only a minor element in the agitation, though it was one to gain greater importance in later years. "The real strength of the agitation for the wider use of silver as money," he says, "comes

<sup>1</sup> J. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, p. 483.

[1878-1879 A.D.]

from the conviction of large masses of the people that the community has not enough money." <sup>1</sup> This act provided for the purchase by the government, each month, of not less than two million dollars' worth, and not more than four million dollars' worth, of silver bullion, for coinage into silver dollars at the rate of 412½ grains of standard silver (or 371½ grains of fine silver) for each dollar. The secretary of the treasury was given discretion as to the amount he should purchase between those limits. No secretary purchased a greater amount than the minimum during the time the act was in force. The number of silver dollars actually coined each month depended, of course, upon the amount of silver bullion that could be purchased by two millions of dollars in the medium of exchange. After the resumption of specie payment, when greenbacks became redeemable in gold, the number of silver dollars coined was, of course, greater than before when the greenbacks were irredeemable. This piece of legislation restored the silver dollar to its full legal-tender character, but the disparity in value between it and the gold dollar at the ratio of 16 to 1 was so great that congress did not confer the right of free coinage upon silver. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto, February 28th, 1878. By another important provision of the act, silver certificates could be issued against the deposit of silver dollars. Those who supported monometallism prophesied that the issues of these silver dollars would drive out gold. But it is inflation of the currency, and not debasement of it, that tends to drive out the metal of greater value. The new coinage was limited in amount, and the increased demands of commerce for money more than took up the increased amount of the currency. Silver dollars and silver certificates floated at par with gold; and gold, instead of leaving the country, came into it in increased amounts.

In accordance with the act of January 14th, 1875, the government began the payment of specie in liquidation of greenbacks on the first day of January, 1879. Specie payment had been suspended since 1862. This resumption of specie payment was due very largely to the efforts of John Sherman, secretary of the treasury. He accumulated before January 1st, 1879, \$138,000,000 of coin (nearly all of it gold) by the sale of 4½ per cent. government bonds redeemable in 1891. This was about 40 per cent. of the outstanding greenbacks. Thirteen days before the time appointed for the resumption of specie payment the greenbacks had reached par. As soon as the people were assured that the greenbacks were as valuable as gold, there was no inclination to demand the gold. The paper money was preferred as being more convenient.

Important labour difficulties marked a part of the administration of Hayes. In 1877 there was an extensive strike along the entire systems of the Baltimore and Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the New York Central railroads. The freight and passenger service was completely demoralised, and the militia and United States troops had to be called out to quell the rioting. Among the real causes of these labour troubles were, undoubtedly, the vast number of undesirable immigrants who had come to the country, the introduction of communist and anarchist doctrines from Europe, the arrogance of capitalists, and the greed and lawlessness of the newly developing trusts and gigantic corporations.

Nevertheless, great industrial progress was being made by the country, and was, in a way, responsible for some of the disturbance. The submarine cable between the United States and Europe was successfully laid in 1869,

<sup>1</sup> Taussig, *The Silver Situation in the United States*, p. 5.

and one likewise between the United States and England in 1875. Again, in 1869, continuous transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts had been made possible by the junction of the Union Pacific Railway with the Central Pacific. Consolidation was the rule. The application of electricity to practical purposes received a decided impetus in 1875, when the dynamo was made practicable. The invention of Edison in lighting by electricity in 1878 took us several steps still farther in advance. Add to this the inventions of Alexander Graham Bell, in conveying sounds by means of the electric wire, and the practical utilisation of these inventions, in 1877, in the telephone, and we have a wonderful record of industrial development.

The second congress was democratic in both branches. But the democrats were not united, and were, in addition, inclined to be led astray by financial and industrial fallacies. Consequently the party was unable to reap any distinct advantage by reason of its control of congress. The Bland Silver Bill had been passed over the president's veto only by a combination with republicans. Real legislation was almost at a stand-still. With his own party Mr. Hayes had but little more influence than had Johnson. Nor did he have a real hold upon the country. Wilson<sup>1</sup> is doubtless right in suggesting that Hayes "was not aggressive enough to draw a party of his own about him." It is conceded that he had amiability of character, and that he intended to conciliate the South. But, as often happens in the case of a man who lacks the intense bias of the enthusiast, he succeeded in alienating the members of his own party in congress, without effecting the purpose of conciliation at which he aimed.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD AND ARTHUR

Upon his return from a trip around the world, General Grant was again placed in nomination for the presidency at the republican national convention meeting at Chicago, June 5th, 1880. This was due to the efforts of the reactionary section of the republican party. A deadlock in the convention ensued, however, between Grant and Blaine, and as a result James A. Garfield, of Ohio, received the nomination. The democrats nominated General W. S. Hancock, of Gettysburg fame. Garfield was elected, having received 214 electoral votes, as against 155 for Hancock. The democrats carried every Southern state, but no Northern states except New Jersey, California, and Nevada. The popular vote was very close, being for Garfield 4,454,416, and for Hancock 4,444,952. The so-called greenback party (which had appeared four years before) received 308,578 votes for its presidential candidate, James B. Weaver, of Iowa; and the prohibition candidate, Neal Dow, of Maine, received but 10,305 votes. The object and principles of the greenback party were set forth in several paragraphs of its platform, to the effect that "the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power to be maintained by the people for the common benefit,"—an assertion that conveys no very new or startling principle. It is further declared that all money should be issued and controlled by the government directly, and not by or through banking corporations; and that the money thus issued, whatever its character, must be a full legal tender for all public and private debts. The express issue is made that the greenback notes of the Civil War period should be substituted for the notes of the national banks, the system of national banks abolished, and the unlimited coinage of silver, as well as of gold, established by law.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, *A History of the American People*, Vol. V, pp. 149-151.

<sup>2</sup> McPherson, *Handbook of Politics for 1880*, pp. 195, 196.

[1881-1884 A.D.]

Garfield had owed his nomination to the deadlock created in the convention by the supporters of Grant and Blaine. This deadlock was caused largely by the continuation of the fight between two violent factions in the republican party called the "stalwarts" and the "half-breeds." The "stalwarts" controlled the distribution of appointed offices under the federal government during the administration of Grant, and contemptuously gave the name "half-breeds" to their dissatisfied republican opponents. Garfield did his best to effect a settlement between the hostile factions, and did not recognise one faction more than another. The inevitable outbreak of hostilities came, however, when the president made nominations in New York which were distasteful to Roscoe Conkling, the leader of the "stalwart" forces. Garfield had made up a strong cabinet with Blaine as secretary of state, and the New York appointees were supporters of the latter, and not of Conkling. The open break came in the presentation of the name of William H. Robertson for the collector of the port of New York, who was particularly objectionable to the New York senators. Consequently, in order to force an issue with the president, both of the senators, Conkling and Platt, resigned and appealed to the New York legislature to sustain them in their course by a re-election. This the legislature, to their very great chagrin, refused to do, though not until after a bitter contest.

The bitter passions engendered within the party as a result of this furious contest no doubt had something to do with the tragedy that soon ensued. On the morning of the 2nd of July, 1881, as President Garfield was upon the point of taking a train at the station of the Baltimore and Potomac Railway in Washington, he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, Charles Jules Guiteau. The president lingered for eighty days, but finally died, on September 19th, at Elberon, New Jersey. Guiteau was tried and finally executed for the crime on June 30th, 1882, though there was much doubt as to his sanity. Vice-President Chester A. Arthur became president for the remainder of the term.

The assassination of President Garfield called the attention of the whole country to the need of civil service reform. Congress was no longer able to resist the pressure of public opinion. On January 9th, 1883, the Pendleton Civil Service Act was passed by congress with overwhelming majorities in its favour, both of the parties having united in its support. President Arthur promptly signed the bill on the 16th. This act authorised the president, with the consent of the senate, to order appointments to the civil service to be made after competitive examinations. Likewise, to appoint three civil service commissioners who were to have the management and development of the system.

The canvass of the twenty-fifth presidential election was bitterly personal. The republican national convention, meeting at Chicago, June 3rd, 1884, had nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for president, and General John A. Logan, of Illinois, for vice-president. The democratic national convention, meeting in the same city, July 8th, had put forward Governor Grover Cleveland, of New York, for president, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for vice-president. The election was an exceedingly close one, its result turning upon a plurality of only 1,149 in New York, by which the thirty-six electoral votes of that state were given to Cleveland. This secured his election—he having secured 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182. The democrats carried every Southern state, and, in addition, New York, Connecticut, Indiana, Delaware, Maryland, and New Jersey, and continued in control of the house of representatives, while the republicans continued to have a small majority in the senate.

This election was characterised by a "bolt" from the republican party of a group of men and their supporters noted for intelligence and social position. They supported civil service reform, denounced Blaine as a representative of corrupt political methods, and endorsed the democratic nominees. The movement was supported by George W. Curtis and Carl Schurz, among other prominent republicans, and likewise by several influential independent republican newspapers. These men called themselves "independent republicans," but were called "mugwumps" by the "straight-out" republicans.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND (1885-1889 A.D.)

The accession of the new administration to power brought two important subjects prominently before the country: (1) civil service reform and (2) tariff reform. Mr. Cleveland had pledged himself to a rigid enforcement of the Pendleton Act, and many of his supporters believed he would extend the reforms to other branches of the civil service. Mr. Cleveland did not make a clean sweep among the office-holders, but as his term advanced it became evident to many of his supporters who favoured civil service reform that the pressure of office-seekers and office-holders was proving too strong for the president's resolution.

In 1882 congress appointed a tariff commission which travelled through the country, taking testimony, and made a report to congress. With this report as a basis, congress made a slight reduction of duties. Little else was done until President Cleveland, in his message of December 6th, 1887, finally committed the democratic party to tariff reform. In this message the president stated that "our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. Our progress towards a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savours too much of bandying epithets. It is a condition which confronts us, not a theory."

This message inspired a more united effort in the house to modify and simplify the tariff. The committee on ways and means, under the leadership of Mr. Mills, of Texas, reported a bill to the house on April 2nd, 1888. This bill proposed a reduction in the *ad valorem* duties (which ranged from 40 per cent. to 90 per cent.) of from 30 per cent. to 45 per cent.

The bill passed the house, but was defeated in the senate, where the republicans had a majority. In fact, the protectionists of the senate substituted a bill generally raising the duties instead of lowering them. The tariff question thus became the great issue in the election of 1888.

In 1887 congress passed an Interstate Commerce Act which forbade discrimination in rates, the "pooling" of rates by competing lines of railways. Furthermore, such railways were not permitted to divide their earnings. The interstate commerce commission was likewise established with semi-judicial powers to enforce the act. Another important act of Cleveland's administration was the act regulating the presidential succession. This act was introduced by Senator Hoar, was passed by congress, and was approved by the president, January 18th, 1886. By previous statutes, in case of the death, removal, resignation, or disability of both president and vice-president, the presidency passed in order to the temporary president of the senate and the speaker of the house. This made possible the defeat of the will of the people as expressed in the election by putting in the presidency a man of the opposite party from the president's. Or, in case of the death of both president

[1868-1890 A.D.]

and vice-president between two congresses, there would be no legal or constitutional successor to either place. The death of President Garfield, September 19th, 1881, brought this to the attention of the people in a most forcible manner. Had President Arthur died at any moment between September 19th, 1881, and the meeting of the forty-eighth congress in December, the latter eventuality would have occurred. The Presidential Succession Act, therefore, devolved the succession upon the members of the cabinet in the order of the historical establishment of their several departments, beginning with the secretary of state. Both parties in congress agreed to a repeal of the Tenure of Office Act, by which congress had attempted to limit President Johnson in his powers of dismissal from office in 1867. Two other important questions arose during this administration of President Cleveland—two questions that had become chronic in their recurrence—namely, the question of the exclusion of the Chinese and the fisheries dispute. Mr. Cleveland's tariff message made the issue of the next campaign. The democrats had accepted the issue under protest, but the president's message gave them an unmistakable policy with which to go before the people in 1888. The president had not taken counsel with the leaders of his party, and they warned him that his stand might cost him his re-election. Nevertheless, he was firmly convinced that he was in the right, and had made up his mind to meet the issue squarely.

The republican national nominating convention met at Chicago, June 19th. Mr. John Sherman, of Ohio, was at first the leading candidate; but on the eighth ballot Mr. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, grandson of William Henry Harrison, received the nomination for president. The republican platform favoured bimetalism, the building up of the merchant marine, the reform of the civil service, and the admission of new states. The main issue, however, as in 1884, was the tariff, and the platform declared emphatically in favour of protection. The democrats met at St. Louis in July, and nominated Grover Cleveland and Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, for president and vice-president respectively. The convention declared for the Mills Bill—that is, not for absolute free trade, but for very heavy reductions in the tariff.

The campaign turned on the issue of protection or free trade in spite of the democratic disclaimer that their policy did not mean absolute free trade. The democrats were defeated. The popular vote for Mr. Cleveland was over one hundred thousand greater than that for Mr. Harrison; but the latter had a majority of sixty-five in the electoral college (233-168). The republicans also carried the house and retained their control of the senate. They thus once more had possession of the presidency and both branches of congress.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF HARRISON

The republicans now took advantage of their control of both houses of congress and the presidency to revise the tariff. This step was undoubtedly due to the attack made upon the protective system by Cleveland in his message to congress in December, 1887. Under the chairmanship of William McKinley, of Ohio, the house committee on ways and means reported a tariff bill known as the McKinley Bill, which was finally accepted by both houses, and upon receiving the signature of the president became a law, October 1st, 1890. The bill swept away most of the duty on refined sugar (one-half cent a pound) and admitted all raw sugar free. For this action the republican party was accused of playing into the hands of the "Sugar Trust." To placate the domestic producers of sugar, a bounty of two cents a pound, the rate of the preceding

duty, was given them. These domestic producers produced only about one-tenth of the amount of sugar consumed in the country, and the bill had in view particularly the stimulation of the beet-root culture. This policy still further emphasised the determination of the republican party to rely solely upon protective duties for the customs revenue. There was a considerable advance on woollen goods, while on cotton goods of the better grades the duties were particularly high. The most important change in duties on metals was the increase of the duty upon tin plate. This commodity had never been produced in the United States, and the increase of the duty upon it to 2 $\frac{2}{5}$  cents per pound (equivalent to about 70 per cent. upon the value) was a direct manifesto by the republican party that not only should duties be placed upon commodities for the purpose of supporting an industry, but likewise with the direct object in view of establishing an industry. At the late instance of the state department, this tariff bill provided for reciprocity through special treaties with other countries. This congress also enacted what has become known as the Sherman Law. By its provisions, it became the duty of the secretary of the treasury to purchase monthly 4,500,000 ounces of silver and to issue in place of the silver thus purchased treasury notes. The amount of the silver that was to be coined was left to the discretion of the secretary—depending upon what he deemed necessary for the redemption of these notes. The avowed object of the bill was to keep the silver money equal to gold, for, as the bill declared, it is the “established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals at a parity with each other on the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.”<sup>1</sup> The coinage of silver dollars was accordingly suspended by the treasury on July 1st, 1891. Tausig declares that this change occasioned both abuse and praise, but that it was really of no consequence whatever. He points out that the price of silver advanced rapidly for a month or two after the act was passed, and that at its highest, in August 1890, it reached \$1.21. The rise, however, proved to be but temporary, and after September a steady decline set in, which finally brought the price, in 1892, as low as 85 cents.

In addition to the unsettled fisheries dispute, President Harrison's administration inherited the always chronic Behring Sea controversy. The United States claimed that it had acquired from Russia exclusive rights in Behring Sea, at least with regard to seal-fishing. This the British government, representing the Canadians, denied, holding that there could be no exclusive rights outside three miles off shore. By an agreement of February 29th, 1892, the whole question was submitted to arbitration.

There were seven arbitrators in all—two represented the United States, two represented Great Britain, and one each was appointed by the French, the Italian, and the Swedish governments. The court of arbitration met at Paris on March 23rd, 1893, and decided that all the rights of Russia as to jurisdiction and the seal fisheries in Behring Sea east of the water boundary passed unimpaired to the United States under the treaty of March 30th, 1867; that the United States has not any right of protection or property in the fur-seals frequenting the islands of the United States in the Behring Sea when such seals are found outside the ordinary three-mile limit.

A bill “to absolutely prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States,” reported by Mr. Geary, of California, was passed by the house, April 4th, 1892. In the senate a substitute was reported and was adopted. A compromise bill, slightly modifying the house bill, was the result.

<sup>1</sup> F. W. Tausig, *The Silver Situation in the United States*, pp. 50, 51.

[1892-1898 A.D.]

Among the treaties of Harrison's term was a tripartite arrangement concerning the Samoan Islands with Germany and Great Britain, which gave omen of a coming departure from the traditional policy of continental confinement, so as to extend American influence, conjointly with that of European powers, far across the Pacific.

During this administration, Oklahoma Territory was opened up to settlement (March 22nd, 1889) and seven new states were admitted to the Union. North Dakota and South Dakota were proclaimed states by the president November 3rd, 1889; Montana, November 8th, and Washington, November 11th, of the same year; likewise Wyoming, July 10th, 1890, and Idaho, July 3rd, 1890.

On May 31st, 1889, occurred the Johnstown flood, caused by the breaking of a dam, and as a result of which at least five thousand persons lost their lives, and property worth \$10,000,000 was utterly destroyed. October 2nd, 1889, representatives of the leading governments of Central and South America, together with the republic of Mexico, met representatives chosen by the United States in the so-called Pan-American congress held at Washington. The object of the congress was to bring the three Americas into a closer union for purposes of trade and of mutual advantage.

The revolution that occurred in Chili during the autumn of 1891 was the indirect cause of a controversy between that country and the United States. One act after another following the revolution finally led to an attack, October 16th, upon United States sailors who had landed at Valparaiso from the United States ship *Baltimore*. As a result, two United States sailors were killed and eighteen wounded. A suitable apology was not exacted from Chili until after the United States government had issued a practical ultimatum demanding one, and fortifying it by most ominous preparations for war.

The republicans, meeting at Minneapolis in June, 1892, nominated Benjamin Harrison and Whitelaw Reid for president and vice-president respectively. The democrats, meeting at Chicago in the same month, nominated Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson. The republican party affirmed protection linked with reciprocity as the true tariff creed. Cleveland swept the country with an unexpectedly large electoral and popular vote. For the first time since 1861 the republicans lost control of the executive and both branches of congress. The most striking feature of the elections was the great losses of the republicans in the West.

#### SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND (1893-1897 A.D.)

"On the 4th of March, 1893, for the first time in the history, a president returned to the White House which he had once vacated, to resume official authority and succeed his own successor. Cleveland's new inaugural address was in a serious strain, as though foreboding the business distress of the country now near at hand, and his own doubts about uniting upon a judicious line of policy the new and incongruous elements that had borne him back to power."<sup>1</sup>

On the 4th of July, 1894, the republic of Hawaii, named from one of the Sandwich Islands, was established. It was modelled on the government of the United States, and President Cleveland formally recognised it as a "free, sovereign, and independent republic." This was not done, however, until

<sup>1</sup> James Schouler, *Encyclopædia Britannica* (10th edition), Vol. XXXIII, article on "United States," p. 592.

[1893-1895 A.D.]

after an interesting chapter in the diplomatic history had nearly closed. In 1893 a part of the inhabitants of Hawaii had risen in revolt against an attempt of their queen, Liliuokalani, to promulgate a new constitution obviously for the purpose of increasing her power in the government. The revolution was successful, and the provisional government established was immediately recognised by the United States minister, Mr. Stevens. Commissioners were sent to Washington to apply for annexation, and on the 16th of February, 1893, President Harrison sent a message to the senate, submitting an annexation treaty and recommending its ratification. Meantime, the United States minister at Honolulu, on the 9th of February, acting without instructions, had established a protectorate over the islands. While the treaty was pending, Mr. Cleveland became president, and one of his first acts after inauguration was the withdrawal of the treaty from consideration by the senate. The president then despatched a commissioner, Mr. Blount, to the Hawaiian Islands to examine and report upon the circumstances attending the change of government. The report of the commissioner and the decision of the president, as given in the latter's message to congress, December 18th, 1893, was that "the lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown, without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot, by a process every step of which, it may safely be asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States, acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives. I mistake the American people if they favour the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality; that there is one law for a strong nation and another for a weak one; and that even by indirection a strong power may, with impunity, despoil a weak one of its territory." The president offered to use his best efforts to restore the *status quo* if a general amnesty would be granted to the supporters of the provisional government and the past buried. This the queen refused to do, and the provisional government continued in power, promulgating a republican constitution, July 24th, 1894.

The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands was not accomplished until the administration of President McKinley. Their annexation was then urged by Captain Mahan and other naval men, who held that they were needed as a military base of defence and of naval operations in the Pacific. June 16th, 1897, the president transmitted to congress a new treaty providing for the annexation of the islands. The opposition to the treaty was so strong that in all probability the plan would have failed had the war with Spain not rendered the islands doubly desirable from a military and naval standpoint. A joint resolution to accept the offered cession was therefore carried through congress, and was approved by the President on the 7th of July, 1898.

December 17th, 1895, President Cleveland sent a message to congress relating to the disputed boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, that startled the country. Preceding this message, the government had been engaged in an extensive correspondence with the government of Great Britain relative to a peaceful settlement of the whole difficulty. But the correspondence had come to naught, the British government having refused to submit the dispute to arbitration. The president's message was peremptory and threatening, and congress supported it with alacrity. Pursuant to the president's suggestion that a commission be appointed to ascertain the "true divisional line" between Venezuela and British Guiana, congress, December 20th, passed an act authorising the appointment of such a commission and appropriated \$100,000 for the expenses of its work. Fortunately, the president's message did not provoke the same warlike feeling in England that it

[1895 A.D.]

did in the United States, and even in the latter country the bellicose spirit was soon superseded by a desire for arbitration. The president appointed a commission of five, which, after organisation, at once addressed a letter to the secretary of state suggesting a friendly intimation to the governments of Great Britain and Venezuela that their assistance and co-operation would be welcome in securing evidence. The British government met the overture in a friendly manner. However, before the labours of the commission were completed, the governments of the United States and Great Britain had already come to a practical understanding. After much preliminary correspondence, on the 2nd of February, 1897, a treaty between the two countries was signed at Washington embodying an agreement to arbitrate the dispute. The tribunal was to consist of five jurists: two on the part of Great Britain, two on the part of Venezuela, and the fifth to be selected by the other four. The first four were provided for in the treaty—the two representing Venezuela being justices of the supreme court of the United States. The tribunal met in Paris on the 15th of June, 1899, and on the 3rd of October of the same year rendered what is said to have been a unanimous decision. It was in the main favourable to the contention of Venezuela.

The victory of the democrats in the twenty-seventh presidential election led to a revision of the tariff, only four years after the embodiment of the extremest doctrine of protection in the McKinley Act. In 1894 the democratic members of the house committee on ways and means reported a tariff bill which, when finally enacted into a law, became known as the Wilson Bill. The senate, however, raised the duties somewhat and restored many specific duties. After a long and bitter struggle in conference between the two houses, the senate bill was finally accepted unchanged on the 13th of July, 1894. The president refused to sign the bill, but permitted it to become a law without his signature. In general, this tariff made but one important change—the placing of wool upon the free list.

By the summer of 1893 the country's financial condition had become so critical that on June 5th the president declared his purpose to call an extra session of congress to meet in the first half of September. "Hard times" had come to multitudes of people. There had been a money panic in the spring of the year, and it had been followed by many disastrous failures. Mr. Cleveland's message to congress, August 8th, embodied an exposition of what he considered to be the evils of the Sherman Act of 1890, and concluded with an earnest recommendation that its purchase clause be immediately repealed. The repeal measure was carried. This put a stop to further buying of great quantities of silver, and checked the making of silver dollars. Then a slow recovery of business confidence began, which was much retarded and disturbed, however, by the uncertainty of congressional action on tariff and currency questions.

On the 28th of January, 1895, President Cleveland, in a special message to congress, renewed his appeal which he had made at the opening of the session for legislation to correct the mischievous working of the existing currency system. But his suggestion was not acted upon by congress. The silver interests were too strong, and the government was forced to make a new issue of bonds under the old act for the replenishing of its gold reserve and the maintenance of its financial credit. In every instance, the issuance of bonds was condemned by the opponents of the administration.

The industrial disturbances throughout the country continued but little unabated. In the spring of 1894 (March 25th), a horse-dealer, named Coxey, led an "army" of the unemployed from Massillon, Ohio, to Washington, to

demand relief from the government. The movement was imitated in other parts of the country, and soon other "armies" began their march from the Pacific states, from Texas, and from Massachusetts. A more motley gathering had never taken place in the history of the country. In all, these "armies" were made up of five or six thousand persons and were composed of honest men seeking work, of tramps and criminals seeking to avoid work, and of younger men looking for fun and excitement. Coxey and a few of his men (about 350) succeeded in reaching Washington by May 1st, where Coxey was merely arrested for walking on the grass in the White House grounds. Having accomplished nothing, his "army" was soon disbanded.

The movement, however, was very significant of the unsettled and unsatisfactory condition of industrial affairs. It was followed shortly afterwards by a strike of some four thousand workmen employed in the car shops of the Pullman Company, at the town of Pullman, near Chicago. Acts of violence now followed, and the interruption of the United States mails brought the strikers within the jurisdiction of the Federal courts. The leaders of the strike were indicted and placed under arrest, and President Cleveland made known his intention to protect the mails and keep interstate commerce open. His proclamation to this effect was supported by the despatch of United States troops to Chicago and to places in California. The leaders of the American Railway Union attempted to precipitate a strike in all departments of industry throughout the country, but were unsuccessful. The Pullman strike came to an end practically by the 15th of July.

At the beginning of these industrial disturbances and right in the midst of them, two expositions of international importance were held. The World's Columbian Exposition was opened by the president in the spring of 1893, and the Cotton States and International Exhibition in the autumn of 1895. The former was held at Chicago and the latter at Atlanta. The World's Fair was a success in every respect except financially. The exhibition at Atlanta illustrated most aptly the wonderful progress made by the South since the Civil War. An act of congress approved by the president on the 31st of March, 1896, fittingly closed the period of "reconstruction." It provided for the removal of the disabilities placed upon Southern leaders as a result of their participation in the Civil War.

January 4th, 1896, upon proclamation of the president, Utah was admitted as a state after its citizens had adopted a constitution forever prohibiting polygamous or plural marriages.

The agitation for monetary reforms on the part of the financial leaders of the country, during the summer and autumn of 1896, and the counter agitation to force the unlimited coinage of silver on equal terms with gold, were clearly indicative of the direction the presidential campaign was to take. The free-silver propaganda was pushed by influential men in both parties. But, shortly, a financial policy began to crystallise around each of the two parties. Southern and Western influences carried the democratic party into advocacy of free silver, while Eastern and Central Western influences controlled the republican party in the interests of a gold standard. The republican national convention was held at St. Louis in June and nominated William McKinley, ex-governor of Ohio, for president on the first ballot. The democratic convention met at Chicago in July and resulted in the unexpected nomination for the presidency of William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, one of the leaders of the free-silver democracy of the West. The money question caused a split in both of these parties. The campaign was one of the most remarkable in many respects that the country had ever passed through.

[1897-1898 A.D.]

Never in any former political contest were the questions involved discussed with more heat. McKinley won, however, receiving 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF MCKINLEY (1897-1901 A.D.)

President McKinley called congress together in extra session on the 15th of March, and asked for immediate action to increase the revenue of the government by increased duties. In response to this demand, congress passed the Dingley Tariff Bill, which became a law July 7th, 1897. The restoration of the duties on wool was the salient feature in the Dingley Act. In addition to wool, certain other raw materials, which the Wilson tariff of 1894 admitted free, were subjected to duties. Furthermore, the policy of reciprocity was not only revived, but its scope was even enlarged.

In his annual message to congress at the opening of the session in December, 1896, President Cleveland called attention to the unhappy state of Cuba. "The spectacle of the utter ruin of an adjoining country, by nature one of the most fertile and charming on the globe, would engage the serious attention of the government and people of the United States in any circumstances. In point of fact, they have a concern with it which is by no means of a wholly sentimental or philanthropic character. Our actual pecuniary interest in it is second only to that of the people and government of Spain. It should be added that it cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained."

When the liberal party came into power at Madrid with Sagasta at its head, Weyler was recalled and General Blanco put in his place. Furthermore, a new constitution was announced which gave the colony what seemed to be a fairly autonomous government under a parliament of its own. This constitution was not given a fair trial, for it had come too late for a test of its practicability. General Fitzhugh Lee, consul-general of the United States at Havana, said of it that it was "an elaborate system of 'home rule' with a string to every sentence."

On the 14th of December, 1897, and 8th of January, 1898, General Lee made reports to the department of state upon the condition of the *reconcentrados*, that stirred up public opinion throughout the United States to a high state of excitement. This feeling had been growing in intensity for months past and continuously threatened a rupture of peaceful relations between the United States and Spain. Such was the state of affairs when suddenly a crisis was precipitated on the morning of the 15th of February, 1898, by news that the United States battle-ship *Maine*, while paying a visit of courtesy to the harbour of Havana, had been totally destroyed on the previous evening by an explosion which killed most of her crew.

The United States appointed a naval court of inquiry to make an investigation, as did likewise the Spanish government. The former court reported that "the loss of the *Maine* was not in any respect due to the fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew; that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines." The Spanish naval board of inquiry reported that the explosion resulted from causes within the ship itself. The Spanish government then urged that the whole question should be referred to a committee of persons chosen by different nations. The United States declined to accept this proposal.

The tension between the United States and Spain now approached the

[1898 A.D.]

breaking point. On the 11th of April President McKinley addressed a special message to congress, setting forth the unsatisfactory results of the negotiations with Spain, and declaring that "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilisation, in behalf of endangered American interests, which gives us the right and the duty to speak and act, the war in Cuba must stop." The message closed with a request that the president be authorised to take means for securing a "full and final termination of hostilities" in the oppressed island.<sup>1</sup>

After a brief contest between the two houses over the method of procedure to carry out the suggestion of the president, a joint resolution was passed April 18th, declaring "that the people of the island of Cuba are and of a right ought to be free and independent." The resolution demanded, furthermore, that Spain should withdraw absolutely from Cuba, and the president was directed to use the military and naval force of the United States to make the resolution effective. In addition, the resolution disclaimed any intention on the part of the United States to assume in any way, except for pacification, jurisdiction over Cuba; and furthermore declared its intention to "leave the government and control of the island to its people."<sup>2</sup>

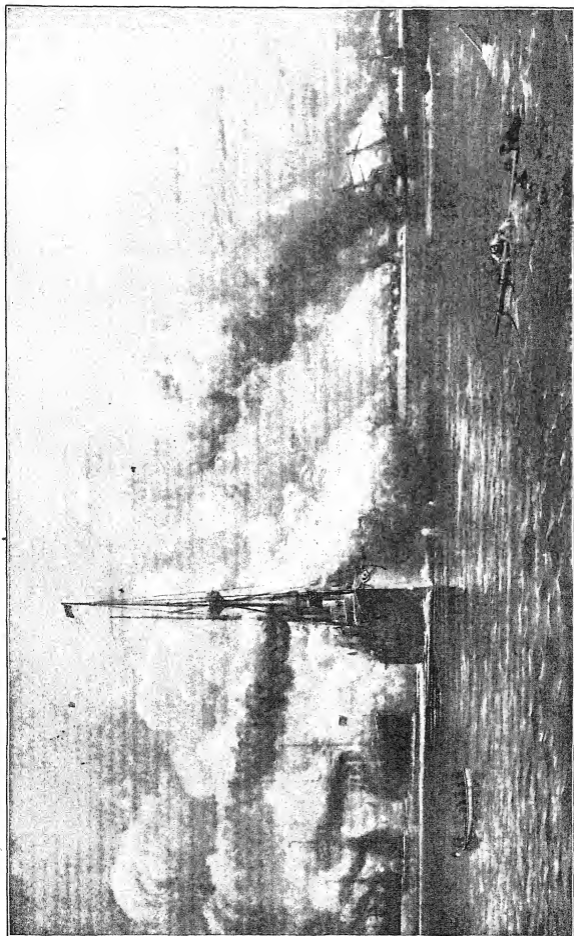
Following out a suggestion of the president in a message, April 25th, congress adopted a joint resolution on the same day declaring "that war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the kingdom of Spain."

At the outbreak of the war the regular army of the United States numbered but 28,000 officers and men. Under an authority of congress, this was shortly increased to 2,191 officers and nearly 42,000 men. At the same time a volunteer army was speedily raised. The president issued a proclamation on April 23rd, calling for 125,000 volunteers; and another proclamation on May 25th, calling for 75,000 more. Before the end of May 118,580 of these volunteers had been mustered in, and later were assembled in various camps and prepared for service in a more or less hurried manner. Among the volunteer regiments organised, one known as that of the Rough Riders greatly excited public interest. The command of one of the proposed three regiments of rough riders was offered to Theodore Roosevelt (then assistant secretary of the navy), who had some knowledge of ranch life. Roosevelt promptly declined the honour, however, on the score that his military experience was insufficient to warrant him in taking command of a regiment. He asked for and received, however, the second place in the regiment commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood.

On the 21st of April a blockade of Cuban ports was ordered under the command of Admiral William T. Sampson. Likewise, Commodore W. S. Schley was ordered to organise a "flying squadron" of fast, armed steamers at Fortress Monroe. While these preparations were being made in the West, plans were being perfected for a successful attack upon Spain's colonial possessions in the Far East. The president had ordered Commodore George Dewey, who was in command of the United States Asiatic squadron at Hong-Kong, to proceed at once to Manila, the capital of the Philippines, and "capture or destroy" the Spanish squadron which guarded that fort. The Spaniards were in no condition to resist an attack, and on May 1st, 1898, Dewey was able to report the total destruction of the Spanish squadron without the loss of a man on the American fleet.

<sup>1</sup> *Congressional Record*, April 11th, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Congressional Record*, April 18th, 1898.



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## THE BATTLE OF MANILA BAY

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[1898 A.D.]

Upon the opening of hostilities, a Spanish squadron of four armoured cruisers and some smaller vessels was assembled at the Cape Verde Islands under the command of Rear-Admiral Pascual Cervera. Being in Portuguese waters, the fleet was compelled to set sail after a proclamation of neutrality was issued by Portugal on the 29th of April. After causing the American people considerable anxiety of mind as to its ultimate destination, the fleet put in at Santiago de Cuba. May 29th a blockade of that port was established by the American fleet, inasmuch as it was found impracticable to attack the fleet within the harbour. Some weeks later (June 22nd-24th) the American troops under General Shafter disembarked at Daiquiri and advanced to Siboney. Their forces were to co-operate with the naval forces in operations for the capture of Santiago de Cuba. After a series of sharp skirmishes on the 1st and 2nd of July, the Americans succeeded in capturing the steep heights of El Caney and San Juan which overlooked the city of Santiago. In the mean time, while Admiral Sampson and General Shafter were in consultation about making an attack on the city, Commodore Schley, of the flagship *Brooklyn*, and the commanders of the other vessels of the fleet, guarded the entrance to the harbour of the city. Not long after the departure of Admiral Sampson, for the conference with General Shafter on the morning of July 3rd, Admiral Cervera made a desperate attempt to save his squadron by escaping to sea. But the attempt was futile—the whole squadron being destroyed and Cervera himself captured. These two naval victories—Manila and Santiago—effectually eliminated Spain as a sea-power.

July 17th the Spanish commander of Santiago de Cuba formally surrendered the city and the district to General Shafter. With the fall of Santiago the occupation of Porto Rico became the next strategic necessity. This duty was intrusted to General Miles, and by the 12th of August much of the island was in his possession. On the 13th of this same month the city of Manila passed into the hands of the United States forces in co-operation with the Philippine insurgents. It was not until the 16th of August that a cablegram reached Manila containing the text of the president's proclamation directing a cessation of hostilities. August 12th the secretary of state of the United States and the French ambassador had signed a protocol preliminary to the drawing up of a treaty of peace bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the United States and Spain. Correspondence leading to this issue had begun as early as July 26th. A discussion between the Spanish and American commissioners at Paris, based upon the provisions of the protocol, was prolonged until the 10th of December, 1898, when the former yielded to what they protested against as hard terms, and the treaty of peace was signed. By the terms of the treaty Spain (1) relinquished all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba; (2) she ceded Porto Rico and other islands under her sovereignty in the West Indies, and likewise the island of Guahan, or Guam, in the Ladrões; and finally (3) she ceded the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands for a consideration of \$20,000,000. The United States, in turn, agreed to admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States for a period of ten years.

There developed considerable opposition to the ratification of the treaty in the senate by reason of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands. While this discussion was going on, the insurgent forces at Manila attacked the United States forces under General Otis and Rear-Admiral Dewey. The Filipinos were driven back, however, with great loss. This was the beginning

of a somewhat intermittent struggle of the Philippine insurgents against the establishment of the authority of the United States government in the archipelago. It practically disappeared, however, upon the capture of the insurgent leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, in the spring of 1901. The day after the beginning of this insurrection, that is, February 6th, 1899, the senate ratified the treaty by a vote of fifty-seven to twenty-seven. By its terms the United States was left the guardian of Cuba until the people of that island were in a position to establish a government of their own.

The direct cost of the war with Spain was about \$130,000,000, while the indirect cost would undoubtedly foot up a vastly larger sum.

The conduct of the war department was criticised severely. Charges of the ill effects of administrative "red tape," politics, and positive inefficiency led to the appointment by the president, in September, 1898, of an investigating commission. The report of this commission, made in the following February, could not be described as entirely satisfactory to the country at large.

The three great results of the Spanish War, in so far as the United States is concerned, might be summarised as follows: (1) embarkation upon a policy of colonisation; (2) entrance upon the career of a world-wide power; (3) a greater unification of the different sections of the United States. The close of the war made it possible for the United States to take up for consideration other matters of international importance. In the spring of 1899 the United States sent commissioners to The Hague to meet representatives from other nations for the purpose of electing a tribunal for the pacific settlement of international conflicts. The Hague Peace Conference Treaty was drawn up and later was ratified by the senate of the United States. Near the end of the same year the joint control of the Samoan Islands by Germany, England, and the United States came to an end and the islands were partitioned between the three countries. Probably the most important negotiations of all were those leading to the signature of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty between the United States and Great Britain to facilitate the construction of an isthmian canal. The treaty was amended by the senate in so radical a manner that the British government, early in March, 1901, was compelled to reject it. Later, however, a satisfactory treaty was agreed upon.

Legislation leading to the establishment of the monetary system of the country upon a sound basis was secured March 14th, 1900, when the Financial Bill became a law. This bill had for its object "the fixing of the standard of value and the maintaining at a parity with that standard of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States." It affirmed that "the unit of value is the dollar, consisting of 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine," and made it the duty of the secretary of the treasury to maintain all forms of money issued or coined at a parity with this standard.<sup>1</sup>

Before the close of this administration congress provided (1900) a government for the people of Porto Rico. Late in the spring of 1901 the power of congress to deal as it sees fit with the colonies was sustained by a decision of the supreme court of the United States. At the same time congress authorised the president to leave the control of Cuba to its people provided they agreed to certain conditions. Among these conditions were that the Cubans should maintain their right of independence, and that they should recognise the right of the United States to preserve that independence, if necessary; and also to protect life, property, and individual liberty in that island. These

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury*, 1900, pp. 72, 73.

[1900-1901 A.D.]

conditions were accepted, and on May 20th, 1902, the United States formally recognized the new republic of Cuba.

The census taken in 1900 revealed a population in the states, territories (including Hawaii), Indian reservations, and Alaska, of 76,303,387, which the population of the insular possessions not incorporated in the United States increased to about 85,271,730. The wealth of the country was estimated at \$94,300,000,000.

In the presidential campaign of 1900 the platform adopted by the republican convention, which met at Philadelphia on the 19th of June, declared in favour of the gold standard and defended the American policy in the Philippines as the only one which could honourably have been followed; while the platform adopted by the democratic convention, which met at Kansas City on the 4th of July, reiterated the demand of 1896 for the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, but put forward the question of expansion, or "imperialism," as "the paramount issue of the campaign." For their candidates the republicans nominated President William McKinley for re-election and Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, for vice-president; the democrats selected William J. Bryan for president and Adlai E. Stevenson for vice-president. When the election came, it resulted in republican success; for, though many republicans, among them ex-President Harrison, Senator Hoar, and Mr. Thomas B. Reed, were dissatisfied with the administration's course towards the Philippines, while others deplored its tenderness towards certain financial interests, most of them were prevented by their distrust of Mr. Bryan's free-silver ideas from joining with the Democrats. About fourteen million votes were cast, of which McKinley received 7,214,027, and Bryan 6,342,514. The former's electoral vote was 292, while the latter's was but 155.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF MCKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT

But President McKinley was not destined to fill out many months of his new term of office. In the spring of 1901 the Pan-American Exposition had been opened at Buffalo. It differed from other expositions in that it was especially designed to show the progress made by the nations of North, South, and Central America in agriculture, manufactures, and the arts. In addition to this, it had a distinct purpose to unite all the nations of the three Americas in closer commercial intercourse for their common benefit. President McKinley visited the exposition in September and gave expression to this latter sentiment. The day after his address, on Friday afternoon, September 6th, the president gave a public reception in the music-hall of the exposition. It was at this reception, while shaking hands with the people, that the president was shot twice by a young anarchist named Leon F. Czolgosz. Mr. McKinley lingered about a week, and died early on Saturday morning, September 14th. Under the provisions of the constitution, Mr. Roosevelt became president.

The new president brought to the duties of his office one of the most forceful and compelling personalities that has yet appeared in American public life. Although the youngest man who had ever occupied the presidential chair, his experience had been both long and varied. Soon after his graduation from Harvard he entered the New York legislature, where, despite his youth, he gained a high reputation as a leader of the reform forces. From 1884 to 1886 he lived on a ranch in western Dakota, and there acquired a knowledge of the men of the frontier which he was later to put to novel use. In 1886

he was an unsuccessful candidate on the republican ticket for mayor of New York; from 1889 to 1895 served with much credit on the United States civil service commission; and from 1895 to 1897 displayed great energy as president of the New York City police commission. Mr. Roosevelt was also a frequent contributor to the magazines; while by works on *The Naval War of 1812*, *The Winning of the West*, and other subjects he gained a prominent place among American historians. In 1897 he became assistant secretary of the navy; and foreseeing that a war with Spain was inevitable, he did much to prepare our navy for the splendid work which it accomplished. Upon the outbreak of the war he and his friend Dr. Leonard Wood organised, as already related, a volunteer regiment composed of cowboys, Indians, frontiersmen, football players, and other adventurous spirits; and when Wood was promoted to a brigadier-generalcy, Roosevelt took chief command. The regiment displayed remarkable fighting qualities in the campaign against Santiago, and went down to history as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." Upon his return home Colonel Roosevelt was elected governor of New York. In 1900 his extraordinary popularity with the people of the country and the intrigues of certain politicians who wished to "shelve" him combined to make him against his will the republican nominee for the vice-presidency.

Upon his unexpected succession to the presidency Mr. Roosevelt retained the cabinet of his predecessor and pledged himself to carry out his predecessor's policy. In the summer and autumn of the following year a great strike paralyzed the anthracite coal industry of the country and brought much suffering to those who were dependent upon coal for fuel, but through the activity of the president the differences between the miners and their employers were finally arbitrated by a commission selected by him. In the same year suit was brought by his order against the Northern Securities Company, a corporation which had been formed with the object of uniting the Great Northern and Pacific railroads in such a way as to control transportation in the northwest and eliminate all competition. The contention on which the suit was based was that this merger amounted to a restraint of interstate trade as forbidden by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890; this contention was sustained by the circuit court of appeals at St. Paul in April, 1903, and, upon appeal, by the supreme court in March, 1904. The outcome is believed to have prevented the formation of other similar companies and to have exercised a salutary effect upon financial circles. In 1903 the long standing controversy over the boundary line between Canada and Alaska was settled in favour of the United States; the same year saw the establishment of a department of commerce and labour; and in 1904 occurred at St. Louis a great exposition commemorative of the purchase of Louisiana.

By far the most important act of the administration, however, consisted in bringing to a head the long meditated plan for an Isthmian canal. After the abrogation, as already described, of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 a treaty was negotiated with Colombia for the right of way across the Isthmus of Panama; but the Colombian congress refused to ratify it. Angered by this refusal, the people of the Isthmus in November, 1903, set up the independent state of Panama; their independence was at once recognized by the president, and a favourable treaty was made with the new state. By this treaty the United States secured perpetual control over a strip ten miles wide across the Isthmus as well as other privileges; while in return it agreed to guarantee the independence of Panama and to pay \$10,000,000 down and \$250,000 yearly after the expiration of nine years. The French company's

[1904-1907 A.D.]

works and rights on the Isthmus were also bought for \$40,000,000; and further measures were taken for making the canal a reality.

As election-time drew near it became apparent that Mr. Roosevelt would be the republican nominee. Although his independent course had rendered him unsatisfactory to many politicians, and although, by insisting upon a "square deal" for the negro as well as for the white man, he had aroused a storm of criticism in the South, he had nevertheless won the confidence of the people to a remarkable degree. At the republican convention in Chicago in June, he was nominated by acclamation. As nominee for vice-president, the convention chose Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana. In the democratic convention at St. Louis in July, a bitter struggle between the radical and the conservative elements resulted in a victory for the latter, and the nomination of Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, and for vice-president, ex-senator Henry Gassaway Davis of West Virginia. The platform adopted evaded the silver issue, but upon the news of his nomination Judge Parker telegraphed the convention that he considered the gold standard irrevocably established. Mr. Roosevelt swept the entire north, as well as West Virginia and Missouri, and received one electoral vote in Maryland; of the popular vote he received a plurality of 2,512,417 and received 338 electoral votes against 140 for Parker.

#### THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION

On the 1st of July, 1905, occurred the death of the secretary of state, Mr. John Hay, who had gained an eminent position in diplomacy, notably by maintaining the "open door" in China. He was succeeded in the cabinet by Mr. Elihu Root, from 1899 to 1904 secretary of war. In the same summer the president induced Russia and Japan to send representatives to a peace conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which brought the struggle in the far East to an end. The year was made noteworthy in a less honorable way by the disclosure of grave scandals in the management of the great life insurance companies.

In his message to Congress of December, 1904, the president recommended legislation to secure Federal control over great corporations carrying on interstate trade, and particularly Federal regulation of freight rates to destroy the rebate evil. No legislation on these matters was secured, and these recommendations were reiterated in the message of December, 1905.

On April 17th, 1906, there were repeated and terrific earthquake shocks along the Pacific coast, the maximum severity and mortality centering in San Francisco and its suburbs. In the city fire broke out immediately, was carried this way and that by the wind, and could be checked neither by the utterly inadequate supply of water nor by the liberal use of dynamite. In the greater part of the city only a few buildings, mostly of modern fire-proof, steel-frame construction, were left standing. The lives lost numbered hundreds, and shelter, provision, and clothing were for a short time almost absolutely lacking; but owing to the energy displayed by the authorities and others, and to the fact that many thousands were transported to surrounding towns, free of charge, the suffering was less than might have been expected from the severity of the disaster. The work of the War Department in the city was admirable and the entire country gave promptly and generously. Plans for rebuilding were speedily undertaken.

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#### CHAPTER XI. THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865.

Written for the present work by FREDERICK ROBERTSON JONES.

The Reference to Authorities will be found in the footnotes.



## A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (986-1907 A.D.)

### DISCOVERIES

- 986 Bjarni Herjulfson, sailing south from Greenland, sights the coast of Vinland, but does not land.
- 1000 Leif Ericson discovers Helluland (possibly Newfoundland); Markland (Nova Scotia) and Vinland (Nantucket).
- 1005 Thorvald Ericson coasts along Cape Cod and dies in Boston harbour.
- 1007-1009 Thorfinn establishes colony in Vinland.
- 1011 Colony destroyed by Indians.
- 1492 Columbus lands on Guanahani, one of the Bahama islands; discovers Cuba and Hayti, and establishes colony in Hayti.
- 1493 Columbus on second voyage discovers Lesser Antilles and Jamaica.
- 1497 John and perhaps Sebastian Cabot discover Newfoundland and explore coast to the south.
- 1498 Sebastian Cabot sails along the coast from Maine to Cape Hatteras.
- 1500 Cabral discovers Brazil.

### SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- 1501 Gaspar de Cortereal, a Portuguese, discovers the river St. Lawrence.
- 1501-1502 Portuguese explore coast from Florida to Cape Cod.
- 1502 Last voyage of Columbus. He discovers bay of Honduras, Veragua and Porto Bello.
- 1504 French fishermen on banks of Newfoundland.
- 1506 Jean Denys of Honfleur examines and charts gulf of St. Lawrence. Spaniards discover Yucatan.
- 1507 The name "America" coined by Waldseemüller from Amerigo Vespucci.
- 1508 First importation of negroes to Spanish West Indies.
- 1513 Juan Ponce de Leon discovers Florida. Vasco Nufiez Balboa discovers Pacific Ocean.
- 1518 Juan de Grijalva sails along Mexican coast and learns of Aztec Empire.
- 1519 Alvarez Pineda explores north coast, of gulf of Mexico, and perhaps discovers the Mississippi. Hernando Cortes invades Mexico, captures Montezuma. Returning to the coast he defeats Narvaez and
- 1520 returns to Mexico. War with Aztecs.
- 1521 Cortes captures city of Mexico and subdues country.
- 1522 Bermudas discovered.
- 1524 Giovanni da Verrazano sails along the coast from 34° to 50° N. discovering the Hudson River and Block Island.

- 1525 Estevan Gomez sails along coast 34° to 44° N. Cabeza de Vaca reaches the mouth of the Mississippi.
- 1527 John Rut discovers coast of Maine.
- 1528 Panfilo Narvaez leads unsuccessful expedition to Florida.
- 1534 Jacques Cartier explores gulf of St. Lawrence, and
- 1535 sails up the St. Lawrence to site of Montreal.
- 1536 Cortes discovers Lower California.
- 1539 Hernando de Soto leads expedition to Florida.
- 1540 Francisco Vasquez de Coronado discovers cañon of the Colorado. Expedition of Cartier for colonisation of Canada. St. Lawrence river explored.
- 1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo discovers Cape Mendocino and explores Pacific coast to 44° N. Hernando de Soto reaches the Mississippi river, explores it to mouth of the Ohio, and is buried in its waters.
- 1548 First act of English parliament regarding America. Regulation of Newfoundland fisheries.
- 1562 Admiral Coligny attempts to found a Huguenot colony near Port Royal in South Carolina. Settlement abandoned.
- 1563 John Hawkins brings three hundred slaves to West Indies.
- 1564 René de Laudonnière builds Fort Carolina on the St. John's river in Florida.
- 1565 Spaniards under Menendez de Aviles massacre garrison of Fort Carolina, build forts on St. John's river and at St. Augustine.
- 1568 Dominique de Gourgues captures Spanish forts and massacres garrisons.
- 1576-1577 Martin Frobisher attempts to discover northwest passage.
- 1578 Francis Drake reaches west coast in his voyage round the world, and claims country between 38° and 42° N. for England, under name of New Albion.
- 1580 Espejo founds Santa Fé, in New Mexico.
- 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert leads expedition to Newfoundland.
- 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh sends expedition under Amadas and Barlow to explore coast north of Spanish possessions. Landing on the island of Roanoke (Wocokon) they take possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth and call the country Virginia.
- 1585 Sir Richard Grenville leads colony of one hundred and eighty persons to Roanoke Island; who are removed in
- 1586 by Drake. Grenville returns with one hundred and seventeen new colonists in
- 1587 and founds "Borough of Raleigh in Virginia." Virginia Dare, first English child, born in America.
- 1598 French explore Acadia, and
- 1600 establish colony at Tadousac.

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold discovers Cape Cod and Buzzard's Bay, erects fort on Cuttyhunk (Elizabeth Island).
- 1603 Voyage of Samuel Champlain up the St. Lawrence.
- 1604 Port Royal (Annapolis) in Nova Scotia founded by the French under De Monts. Champlain discovers St. John river.
- 1606 James I issues patent dividing Virginia into two parts; (1) The First colony, embracing country from 34° to 41° N., granted to the London Company. (2) The Second colony, embracing country from 41° to 45° N., granted to the Plymouth Company.
- 1607 Foundation of Jamestown, explorations by Captain John Smith. Plymouth Company sends expedition which builds Fort St. George at mouth of Kennebec river in Maine.
- 1608 Colonists abandon settlement and return to England. Quebec founded by French colony under Champlain.
- 1609 Henry Hudson coasts from Newfoundland to Chesapeake Bay and sails up the Hudson river. Champlain defeats the Mohawks at Ticonderoga.
- 1610 English colony in Newfoundland.
- 1613 Dutch trading post established on Manhattan Island at the mouth of the Hudson or North river (so-called to distinguish it from the South or Delaware river). French colony of St. Saviour, at Mount Desert on the coast of Maine, destroyed by expedition from South Virginia under Sir Samuel Argall.
- 1614 United New Netherland Company established in Holland. Fort built at Manhattan, another, Fort Orange, near the present Albany. John Smith explores coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, names district New England.
- 1615 Voyage of Adrian Block through Long Island sound (Block Island). Change of land-tenures in South Virginia. Lake Huron discovered by Champlain.
- 1619 First General Assembly in South Virginia. Negro slaves first brought to Virginia.
- 1620 Pilgrims land at Plymouth. John Carver elected governor.

- 1621 Acadia granted to Sir William Alexander under name of Nova Scotia. Plymouth colony receives new charter. William Bradford elected governor.
- 1622 Maine granted to Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason. Settlements at Dover and Portsmouth. Indians massacre three hundred and forty-seven colonists in Virginia.
- 1624 Charter of London Company annulled. The king assumes control of colony.
- 1626 Peter Minuit founds New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island.
- 1628 Salem colony established by John Endicott.
- 1629 Company of Massachusetts Bay established by charter from crown to Salem colony. John Mason receives grant of present New Hampshire. English capture Quebec.
- 1630 John Winthrop appointed governor of Massachusetts Bay Company, brings large colony to Charlestown. Settlement of Boston. First general court of Massachusetts. Sir William Alexander sells Nova Scotia patent to Huguenots.
- 1632 Maryland granted to Cecilus Calvert, Lord Baltimore. Treaty of St. Germain, ceding New France, Acadia, and Canada to France.
- 1634 First settlement in Maryland. Roger Williams expelled from Salem for heresy.
- 1635 French seize trading post at Penobscot. Death of Champlain. Charter of Plymouth colony surrendered to the crown. Connecticut colony founded. Settlements at Hartford, Saybrook, Windsor, and Wethersfield.
- 1636 Roger Williams founds Providence.
- 1637 First general court of Connecticut. War with Pequots.
- 1638 Colonies of Rhode Island and New Haven in Connecticut founded by settlers from Massachusetts. Harvard College established at Cambridge. Colony of New Sweden on the Delaware river.
- 1639 Union of Connecticut towns for separate government. The "Fundamental Orders," the first written constitution in history. Province of Maine established. First general assembly in Plymouth colony.
- 1641 Montreal settled by French under Maisonneuve.
- 1643 Formation of United Colonies of New England (Connecticut, New Haven, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay).
- 1644 Providence and Rhode Island colonies unite under one charter. Saybrook joins Connecticut. Indians massacre Virginia colonists.
- 1645 Clayborne rebellion in Maryland.
- 1646 John Eliot commences missionary labour among Indians at Nonantum. Peter Stuyvesant becomes governor of New Netherlands, and claims region from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod.
- 1648 Petition of Rhode Island for admission to union of colonies rejected.
- 1649 Grant of land in Virginia to Lord Culpeper.
- 1650 Settlement of boundary disputes between New Netherlands and the united colonies.
- 1652 Province of Maine joined to Massachusetts. English parliament assumes control of Maryland.
- 1655 Governor Stuyvesant breaks up colony of New Sweden.
- 1658 Radisson and Groseilliers discover the Upper Mississippi.
- 1659 Virginia proclaims Charles II as king. Persecution of Quakers in New England.
- 1662 Charter of Connecticut granted. New Haven refuses to accept it. Lord Baltimore confirmed in government of Maryland.
- 1663 Grant of Carolina (31° to 36° N.) to earl of Clarendon and associates. Charter of Rhode Island and Providence plantations.
- 1664 New Netherlands granted to duke of York and Albany, including eastern Maine and islands south of Cape Cod. English capture New Amsterdam; name changed to New York. New Jersey granted to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Name of Fort Orange changed to Albany.
- 1665 Union of Connecticut and New Haven.
- 1666 French settlement of St. Esprit on south shore of Lake Superior.
- 1667 Treaty of Breda. Acadia surrendered to France.
- 1668 Marquette founds Sault Sainte Marie.
- 1669 Fundamental constitutions of Carolina adopted. Hudson Bay Company incorporated.
- 1670 Charleston in Carolina founded. Treaty of Madrid settles boundaries of English and Spanish possessions. La Salle perhaps visits the Mississippi.
- 1673 Marquette and Joliet explore the Mississippi. Dutch recapture New York and New Jersey, but by the peace of
- 1674 they are restored to the English.
- 1675 Conflicts between New York and Connecticut. King Philip's War begins.
- 1676 King Philip killed. Indians defeated. Bacon's rebellion in Virginia. New Jersey divided into East and West Jersey.
- 1677 Maine finally united to Massachusetts.
- 1678 La Salle explores lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan.
- 1680 New Hampshire receives royal charter. Hennepin reaches the Mississippi.
- 1681 William Penn receives grant of Pennsylvania, and

- 1683 makes treaty with Indians. Foundation of Philadelphia. La Salle descends the Mississippi to the gulf and calls the valley Louisiana. First legislative assembly in New York.
- 1684 Charter of Massachusetts forfeited to the crown.
- 1686 Sir Edmund Andros appointed governor of New England.
- 1687 Andros unsuccessfully attempts to secure charter of Connecticut. Death of La Salle.
- 1689 Accession of William and Mary. Andros imprisoned. Former governments reinstated. King William's War begins.
- 1690 Sir William Phips captures Port Royal.
- 1692 New charter for Massachusetts. Salem witchcraft frenzy. William and Mary College established.
- 1693 Renewed conflicts between New York and Connecticut.
- 1695 French settlement at Kaskaskia in Illinois.
- 1697 King William's War ended by Peace of Ryswick.
- 1699 French settle at Biloxi in Mississippi.
- 1700 D'Iberville claims possession of Mississippi river for France.

## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

- 1701 Foundation of Yale College. First settlement at Detroit.
- 1702 Queen Anne's War begins. D'Iberville founds Mobile in Alabama.
- 1704 Deerfield in Massachusetts destroyed by Indians.
- 1705 French settle at Vincennes in Indiana.
- 1706 French and Spanish invade Carolina.
- 1708 Indian massacre at Haverhill in Massachusetts.
- 1710 Port Royal captured, name changed to Annapolis.
- 1713 Peace of Utrecht ends Queen Anne's War. Boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut established.
- 1715 Indian war in Carolina.
- 1718 Suppression of buccaneers in West Indies and pirates on the Carolina coast.
- 1722 Trading-house erected at Oswego.
- 1724 Indian war in New England.
- 1726 Treaties with Indians in New England and New York.
- 1728 Boundary between Virginia and Carolina established.
- 1729 Carolina divided into North and South Carolina.
- 1731 Settlement of boundary dispute between New York and Connecticut.
- 1733 James Oglethorpe establishes colony at Savannah in Georgia (the last of the thirteen colonies).
- 1738 Princeton College founded.
- 1740 Oglethorpe besieges St. Augustine.
- 1742 Spanish invade Georgia.
- 1745 Colonists under William Pepperell capture Louisburg on Cape Breton Island.
- 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restores Cape Breton to France. Ohio Company formed.
- 1752 Georgia becomes a royal colony.
- 1753 Disputes between English and French settlers in Ohio valley. George Washington sent by Virginia to remonstrate with French.
- 1754 Washington leads expedition to the Ohio, but is captured at Fort Necessity. Columbia College founded.
- 1755 French and Indian War begins. Braddock's defeat at Fort Duquesne. Battle of Lake George. French fortify Ticonderoga.
- 1756 Montcalm captures forts at Oswego and Niagara.
- 1757 Fort William Henry captured, its garrison massacred.
- 1758 Abercrombie defeated at Ticonderoga, Louisburg captured. General Forbes takes Fort Duquesne, which is renamed Pittsburgh.
- 1759 Wolfe defeats Montcalm in battle of the Plains of Abraham, Quebec surrenders.
- 1760 Canada surrenders to the English.
- 1761 The Writs of Assistance in Massachusetts.
- 1762 Expedition against Martinique, English seize French West Indies. Capture of Havana. France cedes Louisiana and New Orleans to Spain.
- 1763 Peace of Paris. France cedes to England Nova Scotia, Canada, and all possessions east of Mississippi river except New Orleans. Spain cedes Florida to England. The conspiracy of Pontiac.
- 1764 Parliament passes the Sugar Act. Massachusetts resolves not to use British manufactures.
- 1765 Passage of the Stamp Act. Colonial congress at New York. Declaration of Rights adopted. Stamp riot in Boston and New York.
- 1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act.

- 1767 Parliament imposes duties on imports to the colonies, creates custom house and commissioners for America.
- 1768 English troops sent to Boston. First settlement in Tennessee.
- 1770 Parliament removes duties on all imports but tea. The Boston massacre.
- 1771 Insurrection in North Carolina.
- 1772 Destruction of the *Gaspee*.
- 1773 Virginia assembly appoints committee on correspondence. The Boston Tea-party. Daniel Boone settles in Kentucky.
- 1774 Boston Port Bill. General Gage appointed governor of Massachusetts. First continental congress at Philadelphia adopts "the American association." Militia organised in Massachusetts.
- 1775 Battles of Lexington and Concord. Continental congress appoints George Washington commander-in-chief of provincial forces. Battle of Bunker Hill. Siege of Boston. Georgia joins the other colonies. Montgomery captures Montreal, besieges Quebec.
- 1776 English surrender Boston. Declaration of Independence adopted. Battles of Long Island and White Plains. Washington retreats to Pennsylvania. Battle of Trenton.
- 1777 Expedition of Burgoyne. Battle of Bennington. Burgoyne defeated at Stillwater, near Saratoga, surrenders his entire force to General Gates. Colonists defeated at Brandywine and Germantown. Congress adopts articles of confederation as "The United States of America." Washington at Valley Forge.
- 1778 France recognises independence of the United States. Parliament renounces right of taxation except for regulation of trade, and unsuccessfully negotiates for the submission of the colonies. English evacuate Philadelphia, are defeated at Monmouth. Count d'Estaing arrives with French fleet and four thousand troops. Massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley. English capture Savannah. John Paul Jones destroys many English ships and surprises White Haven.
- 1779 Anthony Wayne surprises and storms Stony Point. West Point fortified. John Paul Jones wins naval battle off English coast.
- 1780 English capture Charleston and subjugate South Carolina. Battle of Camden. General Rochambeau arrives with six thousand French troops. Treason of Benedict Arnold. Execution of André. English defeated at King's Mountain in North Carolina. Abolition of slavery in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.
- 1781 Battles of Cowpens, Guilford Court House, and Eutaw Springs. English retreat to Charleston. Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown in Virginia.
- 1782 English evacuate Savannah and Charleston. Preliminary articles of peace signed at Paris.
- 1783 Independence of the United States recognised by Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Spain and Russia. Treaty of Paris recognises the independence and establishes the boundaries of the United States. English evacuate New York.
- 1784 Temporary organisation of western territory.
- 1787 Shays's rebellion. Convention at Philadelphia formulates and adopts the constitution. Congress passes ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory (slavery forbidden).
- 1788 All the states, except Rhode Island and North Carolina, accept the constitution.
- 1789 George Washington unanimously elected President. First congress meets at New York. Ten amendments to the constitution submitted to the states. North Carolina accepts the constitution.
- 1790 Rhode Island accepts the constitution. District of Columbia established, city of Washington laid out. Indian War in Northwest Territory. Death of Franklin.
- 1791 Vermont admitted as fourteenth state.
- 1792 United States Bank and mint established at Philadelphia. Kentucky admitted as fifteenth state. Washington reelected president.
- 1793 Fugitive Slave Act.
- 1794 Neutrality Act. Whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania. Jay's Treaty concluded with England.
- 1795 Treaty with Spain secures free navigation of the Mississippi.
- 1796 Tennessee admitted as sixteenth state.
- 1797 John Adams, second President. War with France begins. Alien and Sedition laws.
- 1798 Eleventh amendment to the constitution adopted. Navy department organised.
- 1799 Death of Washington. Naval warfare with France.
- 1800 Congress meets at Washington for the first time.

## NINETEENTH CENTURY

- 1801 Thomas Jefferson, third president.
- 1802 Ohio admitted as seventeenth state.

- 1803 The Louisiana Purchase more than doubles original area of the United States.
- 1804 Tripolitan War. Bombardment of Tripoli. Twelfth amendment to the constitution adopted.
- 1805 Thomas Jefferson reelected president.
- 1806 War between England and France injures American commerce. Berlin and Milan decrees.
- 1807 English ship *Leopard* fires on frigate *Chesapeake* and reclaims alleged deserters. Embargo declared. Aaron Burr tried for treason and acquitted. Robert Fulton successfully navigates steamboat *Clermont*.
- 1808 Congress prohibits importation of slaves.
- 1809 **James Madison**, fourth president.
- 1810 Non-importation act revived as to Great Britain.
- 1812 Louisiana admitted as eighteenth state. War declared against Great Britain. Unsuccessful invasion of Canada. American navy victorious in many combats.
- 1813 Battle of Lake Erie. English blockade Atlantic ports. James Madison reelected president.
- 1814 Americans win battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. British capture Washington and burn public buildings, but are defeated at Lake Champlain and at New Orleans. Treaty of Ghent ends war, but leaves all questions unsettled. The Hartford Convention.
- 1815 Treaty with Algiers.
- 1816 Second United States Bank chartered for twenty years. Indiana admitted as nineteenth state.
- 1817 **James Monroe**, fifth president. Mississippi admitted as twentieth state. Seminole War begins.
- 1818 Illinois admitted as twenty-first state. Pensions granted to survivors of Revolutionary War.
- 1819 Treaty with Spain. The United States secures all of Florida and gives up all claim to Texas. Alabama admitted as twenty-second state.
- 1820 Maine admitted as twenty-third state. Missouri Compromise adopted. Monroe reelected president.
- 1821 Missouri admitted as twenty-fourth state.
- 1823 The Monroe Doctrine enunciated.
- 1825 **John Quincy Adams**, sixth president. Erie Canal completed. The first railroad in America built.
- 1828 Congress passes the "Tariff of Abominations."
- 1829 **Andrew Jackson** seventh president. Inauguration of the "spoils system." General protest in the southern states against the tariff laws.
- 1830 Great debate in the senate upon states-rights between Webster and Hayne.
- 1831 Organisation of the abolitionists. Settlement of the French claims.
- 1832 Congress passes new tariff act. Nullification ordinance adopted in South Carolina. President Jackson issues the Nullification Proclamation, refuting states-rights doctrine.
- 1833 Compromise tariff enacted.
- 1835 Second war with Seminole Indians begins.
- 1836 Arkansas admitted as twenty-fifth state. Texas declares its independence of Mexico.
- 1837 **Martin Van Buren**, eighth president. Michigan admitted as twenty-sixth state. Great financial crisis. Rebellion in Canada. American steamer *Caroline* burned.
- 1838-1839 Congress passes the Gag Resolutions against slavery legislation.
- 1840 United States treasury and sub-treasuries established.
- 1841 **William Henry Harrison**, ninth president. Upon his death (April 4th) John Tyler vice-president, succeeds as tenth president.
- 1842 Webster-Ashburton Treaty settles northeastern boundary question with Great Britain. Dorr's rebellion in Rhode Island.
- 1844 Samuel F. B. Morse builds experimental telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore.
- 1845 **James K. Polk**, eleventh president. Florida admitted as twenty-seventh state. Texas annexed to United States and admitted as twenty-eighth state.
- 1846 The Oregon Treaty with Great Britain fixes northwestern boundary. Iowa admitted as twenty-ninth state. War with Mexico begins. General Zachary Taylor invades Mexico, wins battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and captures Monterey.
- 1847 General Winfield Scott captures Vera Cruz, wins battles of Cerro Gordo and Churubusco, captures fortress of Chapultepec and enters city of Mexico. Gold discovered in California.
- 1848 By the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, Mexico gives up Texas and cedes to the United States New Mexico and Upper California (about 522,000 square miles). Wisconsin admitted as thirtieth state. Organisation of Free Soil party.

- 1849 **Zachary Taylor**, twelfth president, dies (July, 1850),
- 1850 and is succeeded by **Millard Fillmore**, vice-president, as thirteenth president. California admitted as thirty-first state. Fugitive Slave Law passed. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain.
- 1853 **Franklin Pierce**, fourteenth president. Gadsden Purchase establishes Mexican boundary, adds forty-five thousand square miles to the United States. Rise of Know Nothing party.
- 1854 Commodore Perry negotiates treaty with Japan. Reciprocity treaty with Great Britain. Congress passes Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The Ostend Manifesto.
- 1855-1856 "Border-ruffian" troubles in Kansas. Republican party organised.
- 1857 **James Buchanan**, fifteenth president. The Dred-Scott decision. Great financial panic.
- 1858 Minnesota admitted as thirty-second state. First Atlantic cable laid, but proves a failure. Lincoln-Douglas debate.
- 1859 Oregon admitted as thirty-third state. John Brown seizes arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, is captured and hanged.
- 1860 The republican party having been successful in the presidential election, South Carolina secedes from the Union, followed early in
- 1861 by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee and Arkansas. **Confederate States of America**, organised at Montgomery, Alabama, and **Jefferson Davis** elected president. **Abraham Lincoln** inaugurated as sixteenth president. Siege and capture of Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbour. Call for seventy-five thousand volunteers. Riots in Baltimore. Great Britain recognises Confederate States as belligerents. Battle of Bull Run. George B. McClellan appointed commander of Army of Potomac. Capture and release of Mason and Slidell (*Trent* affair). Kansas admitted as thirty-fourth state.
- 1862 General U. S. Grant captures forts Henry and Donelson in Tennessee. *Monitor* and *Merrimac*. Battle of Shiloh. Capture of New Orleans. McClellan fails in the Peninsular campaign after seven days' battle before Richmond. Second battle of Bull Run. Confederate army under General Robert E. Lee invades Maryland, but retreats after battle of Antietam. McClellan superseded by Burnside, who suffers severe defeat at Fredericksburg, and is succeeded in
- 1863 by General Joseph Hooker. President Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation. Hooker is defeated at Chancellorsville, and is succeeded by General George G. Meade. Lee again invades the North, but is defeated at Gettysburg. General Grant captures Vicksburg and opens the Mississippi; is made commander of the department of the Mississippi, and defeats the Confederates at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. West Virginia admitted as thirty-fifth state.
- 1864 Grant becomes commander-in-chief, fights battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, and begins siege of Petersburg. Sheridan defeats Early in Shenandoah valley. General William T. Sherman, commanding department of the Mississippi, begins the march to the sea, captures Atlanta and Savannah. Thomas defeats Hood at Nashville. The *Kearsarge* sinks the Confederate steamer *Alabama* off Cherbourg, France, and Admiral Farragut captures Mobile. Nevada admitted as thirty-sixth state. Lincoln re-elected president.
- 1865 Fort Fisher captured by General Terry. Battle of Five Forks compels evacuation by Confederates of Petersburg and Richmond. General Lee surrenders at Appomattox Court House. Assassination of Lincoln (April 14th). **Andrew Johnson**, vice-president, succeeds as seventeenth president. Last Confederate army surrenders. Proclamation of amnesty. Thirteenth amendment to the constitution adopted. Freedmen's bureau established.
- 1866 Telegraphic communication established with England.
- 1867 Reconstruction and Tenure of Office acts. Alaska purchased from Russia. Nebraska admitted as thirty-seventh state.
- 1868 Impeachment and acquittal of President Johnson. Fourteenth amendment to the constitution adopted.
- 1869 **Ulysses S. Grant**, eighteenth president. "Black Friday."
- 1870 Fifteenth amendment to the constitution adopted. The Ku-Klux-Klan. Congress passes the Force Act.
- 1871 Civil service commission authorised by congress. Treaty of Washington with Great Britain provides for settlement of Oregon boundary, the fishery disputes, and of the *Alabama* claims. Chicago fire.
- 1872 Cr dit Mobilier scandals. The *Virginian* incident.
- 1873 Commercial crisis. Coinage Act (the "crime of 1873"). Reconstruction troubles in the South which in
- 1874 cause severe crisis in New Orleans.
- 1876 Centennial exhibition at Philadelphia. Indian War, destruction of General Custer's command. Colorado admitted as thirty-eighth state. The result of the presidential election being in doubt, congress appoints an electoral commission, which in

- 1877 declares the republican candidates elected. **Rutherford B. Hayes**, nineteenth president. Troops withdrawn from the southern states. The "solid South" an accomplished fact. Progress of civil service reform. Great railroad strikes and riots.
- 1878 Greenback party organised. Congress passes Bland-Allison Bill.
- 1879 Resumption of specie payments. Negro exodus from the southern states.
- 1881 **James A. Garfield**, twentieth president. Star route frauds. Congress passes anti-polygamy and anti-Chinese bills. Garfield assassinated and succeeded by **Chester A. Arthur**, vice-president, as twenty-first president.
- 1883 Civil Service Reform Bill enacted.
- 1885 **Grover Cleveland**, twenty-second president.
- 1886 Congress regulates succession to the presidency.
- 1887 Interstate Commerce Act. Electoral Count Bill.
- 1888 Chinese immigration prohibited.
- 1889 **Benjamin Harrison**, twenty-third president. Pan-American congress at Washington. Dispute with Germany over Samoan Islands. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington admitted as states.
- 1890 McKinley Tariff Bill passes congress. Behring Sea troubles with Great Britain. Idaho and Wyoming admitted as states.
- 1891 Italian minister recalled on account of lynchings at New Orleans. American seamen slain at Valparaiso, Chile. Behring Sea troubles referred to arbitration. Labour disturbances at Homestead, Pennsylvania.
- 1892 Hawaiian Islands apply for annexation.
- 1893 **Grover Cleveland**, twenty-fourth president. Hawaiian Treaty withdrawn. Income tax declared unconstitutional. Commercial panic. World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.
- 1894 Wilson tariff enacted. Bonds issued to maintain gold reserve. Treaties with China and Japan. United States troops quell riot at Chicago.
- 1895 Silver legislation vetoed. Venezuela message. Discovery of gold in Alaska.
- 1896 Utah admitted as forty-fifth state.
- 1897 **William McKinley**, twenty-fifth president.
- 1898 Battleship *Maine* blown up in Havana harbour. Congress appropriates \$50,000,000 for national defence. War declared with Spain. Blockade of Cuban ports. Commodore George Dewey destroys Spanish fleet in the harbour of Manila, in Philippine Islands. United States troops land near Santiago in Cuba. Battles of Las Guasimas, El Caney, and San Juan Hill. Spanish fleet attempts to escape from Santiago, but is entirely destroyed. Santiago surrenders. United States troops occupy Porto Rico. Capture of Manila. Treaty of Paris cedes Spanish West Indies, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. Military government established in Cuba. Annexation of Hawaii.
- 1899 Insurrection in the Philippines. Philippines Commission appointed. Cuba reorganised. Enormous growth of the trusts. Continued insurrection in the Philippines.
- 1900 Constitutional convention in Cuba. McKinley reelected president. Boxer War in China.

## TWENTIETH CENTURY

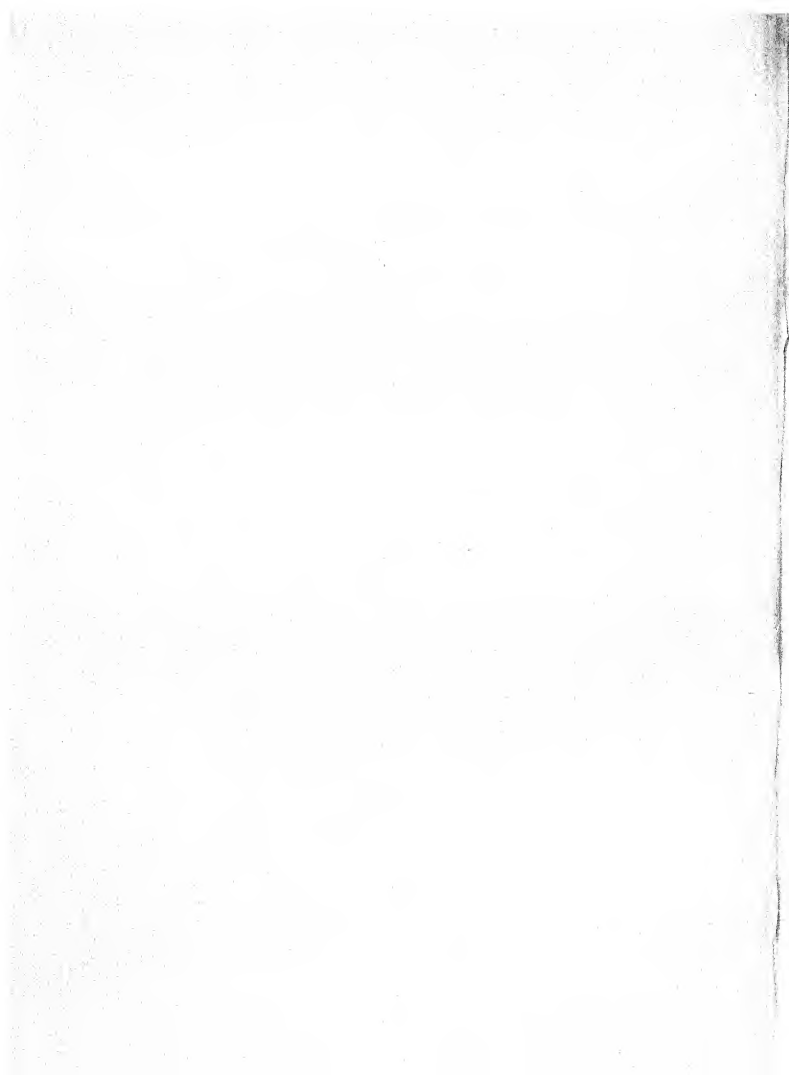
- 1901 President McKinley assassinated, succeeded by **Theodore Roosevelt**, vice-president, as twenty-sixth president. Civil government established in the Philippines. Capture of Aguinaldo. Hay-Pauncefote Treaty settles Isthmian canal question.
- 1902 Republic of Cuba established. United States troops withdrawn. Congress authorises purchase of Panama canal. Reciprocity Treaty with Cuba. Coal miners' strike in Pennsylvania.
- 1903 Alaskan boundary tribunal grants claims of United States. Treaty with republic of Panama.
- 1904 Panama canal purchased. Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis. **Theodore Roosevelt** elected president for the term 1905-1909.
- 1905 Death of Secretary Hay. Scandals in management of insurance companies.
- 1906 Question of the regulation of railway rates. Earthquake and fire at San Francisco. Exclusion of Japanese children from Californian schools.
- 1907 Intervention of the Federal authorities in the Californian School dispute.

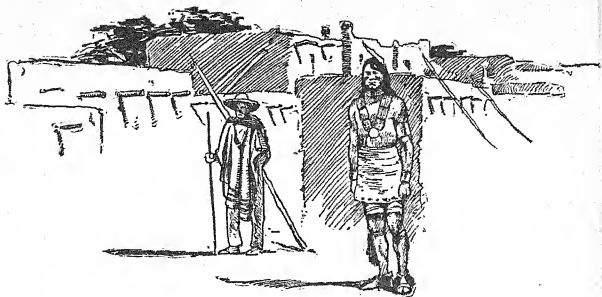
PART XXIV

THE  
HISTORY OF SPANISH AMERICA

BASED CHIEFLY UPON THE WORKS OF THE FOLLOWING WRITERS

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## CHAPTER I

### THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO

#### EARLY HISTORY OF MEXICO

IF a traveller, landing on that part of the coast of the Mexican gulf where Cortes and his Spaniards landed, were to proceed westward, across the continent, he would pass successively through three regions or climates. First, he would pass through the *tierra caliente*, or hot region, distinguished by all the features of the tropics—their luxuriant vegetation, their occasional sandy deserts, and their unhealthiness at particular seasons. After sixty miles of travel through this *tierra caliente*, he would enter the *tierra templada*, or temperate region, where the products of the soil are such as belong to the most genial European countries. Ascending through it, the traveller at last leaves wheat-fields beneath him, and plunges into forests of pine, indicating his entrance into the *tierra fria*, or cold region, where the sleety blasts from the mountains penetrate the very bones. This *tierra fria* constitutes the summits of part of the great mountain range of the Andes, which traverses the whole American continent. Fortunately, however, at this point the Andes do not attain their greatest elevation. Instead of rising, as in some other parts of their range, in a huge perpendicular wall or ridge, they here flatten and widen out, so as to constitute a vast plateau, or table-land, six or seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. On this immense sheet of table-land, stretching for hundreds of miles, the inhabitants, though living within the tropics, enjoy a climate equal to that of the south of Italy; while their proximity to the extremes both of heat and cold enables them to procure, without much labour, the luxuries of many lands. Across the table-land there stretches, from east to west, a chain of volcanic peaks, some of which are of immense height and covered perpetually with snow.

This table-land was called by the ancient Mexicans the plain of Anahuac. Near its centre is a valley of an oval form, about two hundred miles in circumference, surrounded by a rampart of porphyritic rock, and overspread

for about a tenth part of its surface by five distinct lakes or sheets of water. This is the celebrated valley of Mexico—called a valley only by comparison with the mountains which surround it, for it is seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. Round the margins of the five lakes once stood numerous cities, the relics of which are yet visible; and on an islet in the middle of the largest lake stood the great city of Mexico, or Tenochtitlan, the capital of the empire which the Spaniards were now invading, and the residence of the Mexican emperor, Montezuma.

The origin of the Mexicans is a question of great obscurity—a part of the more extensive question of the manner in which America was peopled. According to the highly discrepant theories of the authorities on the subject, the plains of Anahuac were overrun, previous to the discovery of America, by several successive races from the northwest [or, as some assert, the southwest] of the continent. Thus, in the thirteenth century the great tableland of Central America was inhabited by a number of races and subraces, all originally of the same stock, but differing from each other greatly in character and degree of civilisation, and engaged in mutual hostilities. The cities of these different races were scattered over the plateau, principally in the neighbourhood of the five lakes. Tezcuco, on the eastern bank of the greatest of the lakes, was the capital of the Acolhuans; and the city of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, situated on an island in the same lake, was the capital of the Aztecs.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the dominant race in the plains of Anahuac was the Acolhuans, or Tezucans, represented as a people of mild and polished manners, skilled in the elegant arts, and possessing literary habits and tastes—the Athenians, if we may so call them, of the New World. The most celebrated of the Tezucan sovereigns was Nezahualcoyotl, who reigned early in the fifteenth century. By this prince a revolution was effected in the political state of the valley of Anahuac. He procured the formation of a confederacy between Tezcuco and the two neighbouring friendly cities of Mexico and Tlacopan, by which they bound themselves severally to assist each other when attacked, and to carry on wars conjointly. In this strange alliance Tezcuco was the principal member, as being confessedly the most powerful state; Mexico stood next; and lastly, Tlacopan, as being inferior to the other two.

Nezahualcoyotl died in 1440, and was succeeded on the Tezucan throne by his son Nezahualpilli. During his reign the Tezucans fell from their position as the first member of the triple confederacy which his father had formed, and gave place to the Aztecs, or Mexicans. These Aztecs had been gradually growing in consequence since their first arrival in the valley. Decidedly inferior to the Tezucans in culture, and professing a much more bloody and impure worship, they excelled them in certain qualities, and possessed, on the whole, a firmer and more compact character. If the Tezucans were the Greeks, the Aztecs were the Romans of the New World. Under a series of able princes they had increased in importance, till now, in the reign of Nezahualpilli, they were the rivals of their allies, the Tezucans, for the sovereignty of Anahuac.

In the year 1502 a vacancy occurred in the throne of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico. The election fell on Montezuma II, the nephew of the deceased monarch, a young man who had already distinguished himself as a soldier and a priest or sage, and who was noted, as his name—Montezuma (sorrowful man)—implied, for a certain gravity and sad severity of manner. The first years of Montezuma's reign were spent in war. Carrying his victorious arms as far as Nicaragua and Honduras in the south, and to the shores of the

[1503-1518 A.D.]

Mexican gulf in the east, he extended the sovereignty of the triple confederacy of which he was a member, over an immense extent of territory. Distal provinces he compelled to pay him tribute, and the wealth of Anahuac flowed from all directions towards the valley of Mexico. Haughty and severe in his disposition, and magnificent in his tastes, he ruled like an oriental despot over the provinces which he had conquered; and the least attempt at rebellion was fearfully punished, captives being dragged in hundreds to the capital to be slaughtered on the stone of human sacrifice in the great war temple. Nor did Montezuma's own natural-born subjects stand less in dread of him. Wise, liberal, and even generous in his government, his inflexible and relentless justice, and his lordly notions of his own dignity, made him an object less of affection than of awe and reverence. In his presence his nobles spoke in whispers; in his palace he was served with a slavish homage; and when he appeared in public his subjects veiled their faces as unworthy to gaze upon his person. The death of Nezahualpilli, in 1516, made him absolute sovereign in Anahuac. On the death of that king, two of his sons, Cacama and Ixtlilxochitl, contended for the throne of Tezcuco. Montezuma sided with Cacama; and the dispute was at length ended by compromise between the two brothers, by which the kingdom was divided into two parts—Cacama obtaining the southern half with the city of Tezcuco, and Ixtlilxochitl the northern half.

Thus, at the period of the arrival of the Spaniards, Montezuma was absolute sovereign of nearly the whole of that portion of Central America which lies between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean—the kings of Tezcuco and Tlacopan being nominally his confederates and counsellors, according to the ancient treaty of alliance between the three states, but in reality his dependents.<sup>b</sup>

#### THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS

Hitherto the Spaniards had done little more than to enlarge their discoveries upon the continent of America; they had visited most of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico and off the coast of the mainland, and had discovered the great Southern Ocean, which opened extensive prospects and unbounded expectations in that quarter.

But although the settlements at Hispaniola and Cuba had become considerably flourishing and important, and afforded great facilities for enterprise on the continent, no colony had been maintained there, except the feeble and languishing one at Darien, and nothing had been attempted towards the conquest of the extensive country which had been discovered. The ferocity and courage of the natives, with the other obstacles attending such an enterprise, had discouraged the adventurers who had explored the continent, and they returned contented with the discoveries they had made, and the taking possession of the country, without attempting to maintain any foothold in it. This was the state of Spanish affairs in America in the year 1518, twenty-six years after the discovery of the country by Columbus. But at this period a new era commenced, and the astonishing genius and almost incredible exertions of one man conquered a powerful and populous nation, which, compared with those tribes with which the Spaniards had hitherto been acquainted

<sup>b</sup> Besides the ordinary sacrifice, in which the victim's heart was cut out and laid on the altar, there was a gladiatorial sacrifice, where the victim contended with a succession of warriors before being offered up.

were a civilised people, understanding the arts of life, and were settled in towns, villages, and even large and populous cities.

Intelligence of the important discoveries made by Grijalva was no sooner communicated to Velasquez, than, prompted by ambition, he conceived the plan of fitting out a large armament for the conquest and occupation of the country; and so great was his ardour that, without waiting for the authority of his sovereign or the return of Grijalva, the expedition was prepared and ready to sail about the time the latter entered the port of Santiago de Cuba. Velasquez was ambitious of the glory which he expected would attend the expedition, yet, being sensible that he had neither the courage nor capacity to command it himself, he was greatly embarrassed in selecting a person who suited his views; as he wanted a man of sufficient courage, talents, and experience to command, but who at the same time would be a passive instrument in his hands. At length two of the secretaries of Velasquez recommended Hernando Cortes as a man suitable for his purpose; and, happily for his country but fatally for himself, he immediately fell in with the proposition. Cortes was one of the adventurers who came out to Hispaniola in the year 1504, when the island was under the governorship of Ovando, who was a kinsman of his; from which circumstance he was immediately employed in several lucrative and honourable stations; but not being satisfied with these, he accompanied Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba, and distinguished himself in its conquest.

So great and unremitted were his exertions in forwarding the expedition that he sailed from Santiago de Cuba on the 18th day of November, in the year 1518, a short time after he received his commission. Velasquez, who had been jealous of Cortes before he sailed, was confirmed in his suspicions of his fidelity as soon as he was no longer in his power, and immediately despatched orders to Trinidad to deprive him of his commission. But he had already acquired the confidence of his officers and men in such a degree as to be able to intimidate the chief magistrate of the place and depart without molestation. Velasquez, irritated and mortified at the failure of his first attempt to deprive Cortes of his commission, despatched a confidential friend to this place, with peremptory orders to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes and send him, under a strong guard, a prisoner to Santiago, and to countermand the sailing of the fleet. Cortes having obtained information of the designs of Velasquez before his messenger arrived, immediately took measures to counteract them.

The fleet consisted of eleven vessels, one of a hundred tons, three of seventy or eighty, and the residue small open barks. There were on board five hundred and eight soldiers and one hundred and nine seamen and artificers, making in all six hundred and seventeen men. A part of the men had firearms, the rest crossbows, swords, and spears. They had only sixteen horses, and ten small field-pieces. With this force Cortes was about to commence war, with a view of conquest, upon a nation whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown, and which was filled with people considerably advanced in civilisation. Although this expedition was undertaken for the purpose of aggression, and for plunder and conquest, upon the Spanish standards a large cross was displayed, with this inscription, "Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer!"

The expedition touched at the several places which had been visited by Grijalva, and continued its course to the westward until it arrived at San Juan de Ulua, where a large canoe filled with people, two of whom appeared to be persons of distinction, approached the fleet with signs of friendship,

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and came on board without any symptoms of fear or distrust. By means of a female Indian, who had previously been taken on board and was afterwards known by the name of Donna Marina, and who understood the Aztec, or Mexican, language, Cortes ascertained that the two persons of distinction were deputies despatched by the two governors of the province, and that they acknowledged the authority of a great monarch, whom they called Montezuma, who was sovereign of the whole country; and that they were sent to inquire what his object was in visiting their shores, and to offer him any assistance he might stand in need of in order to continue his voyage. Cortes informed them that he had visited their country with no other than the most friendly intentions, and for an object of very great importance to their king and country.

The next morning, without waiting an answer, the Spaniards landed; and the natives, like the man who warmed the frozen snake, which, reviving, bit his child to death, assisted them with great alacrity, little suspecting that they were introducing into their peaceful borders the invaders and despoilers of their country. In the course of the day Teutile and Pilpatoe, the two governors of the province, entered the camp of Cortes with a numerous retinue, and were received with much ceremony and apparent respect. Cortes informed them that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos, king of Castile, the most powerful monarch of the East, and that the object of his embassy was of such vast moment that he could communicate it to no one but Montezuma himself, and therefore requested that they would conduct him into the presence of the emperor. The Mexican officers were astonished at so extraordinary a proposition, and attempted to dissuade Cortes from it; but he insisted upon a compliance with his request, in a peremptory and almost authoritative manner. In the mean time he observed some of the natives delineating, on white cotton cloth, figures of the ships, horses, artillery, soldiers, firearms, and other objects which attracted their attention; and being informed that these were to be conveyed to Montezuma, he wished to fill their emperor with the greatest possible awe of the irresistible power of his strange guests. He instantly ordered the troops formed in order of battle; various martial movements and evolutions were performed; the horse exhibited a specimen of their agility and impetuosity; and the field-pieces were discharged into the wood, which made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on in silent amazement, until the cannon were fired, when some fled, others fell on the ground, and all were filled with consternation and dismay, and were confounded at the sight of men who seemed to command the thunder of heaven, and whose power appeared so nearly to resemble that of the Great Spirit.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma, and returned in a few days, although Mexico, where he resided, was one hundred and eighty miles from San Juan de Ulua, where Cortes was. This despatch was in consequence of an improvement in police, which had not then been introduced into Europe; couriers were stationed at given distances along the principal roads, and, being trained to the business, they conveyed intelligence with great despatch. Teutile and Pilpatoe were empowered to deliver the answer of their master to Cortes; but previous to which, agreeably to their instructions, and with the mistaken hope of conciliating his favour, they offered to him the presents which had been sent by the emperor. These were introduced with great ceremony, by a train of one hundred Indians, each loaded with the presents of his sovereign. They were deposited on mats so placed as to show them to the greatest advantage, and consisted of the manufactures

of the country, such as fine cotton stuffs, so splendid as to resemble rich silks; pictures of animals, and other national objects, formed of feathers of various hues with such wonderful art and skill as to rival the works of the pencil. But what most attracted the attention of the Spaniards, whose avidity for the precious metals knew no bounds, were the manufactures of gold and silver. Among the bracelets, collars, rings, and trinkets of gold, were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold, representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. These specimens of the riches of the country, instead of conciliating the favour of the Spaniards and inducing them to quit the country, had the effect of oil cast upon fire with the view to extinguish it; they inflamed their cupidity for gold to such a pitch that they could hardly be restrained in their ardour to become masters of a country affording such riches.

The Mexican monarch and his counsellors were greatly embarrassed and alarmed, and knew not what measures to adopt to expel from their country such bold and troublesome intruders. Their fears were increased by the influence of superstition, there having long prevailed a tradition that their country would be invaded and overrun by a formidable race of men, who would come from the regions towards the rising of the sun. Montezuma and his advisers, dreading the consequences of involving their country in war with enemies who seemed to be of a higher order of beings, and to command and direct the elements, sent to Cortes a more positive command to leave the country, and most preposterously accompanied this with a rich present, which rendered the Spaniards the more bent on becoming masters of a country that appeared to be filled with the precious metals. This terminated all friendly intercourse between the natives and the Spaniards, and hostilities were immediately expected.

At this crisis the situation of Cortes was rendered more alarming by disaffection among his men, which had been produced by the danger of their situation and the exertions of some of the officers who were friendly to Velasquez. Diego de Ordaz, the leader of the malcontents, presented a remonstrance to Cortes, demanding, with great boldness, to be conducted immediately back to Cuba. Cortes listened with attention to the remonstrance, and, in compliance with it, immediately gave orders for the fleet to be in readiness to sail the next day. This was no sooner known than it produced the effect Cortes had foreseen. The whole camp was in confusion, and almost in mutiny. All demanded to see their leader; and when Cortes appeared, they asked whether it was worthy Castilian courage to be daunted by the first appearance of danger, and to fly before the enemy appeared. They insisted on pursuing the enterprise, the value of which had vastly increased from what they had seen, and declared that they would follow him with alacrity through every danger, to the possession and conquest of those rich countries, of which they had seen such satisfactory evidence. Cortes, delighted with their ardour, declared that his views were the same as their own. As the first step towards planting a colony, Cortes assembled the principal men of his party, who proceeded to elect a council of magistrates, in whom its government was to be vested. As he had arranged this matter with his friends in the council, the resignation of Cortes was accepted, and immediately he was chosen, by their unanimous voice, captain-general of the army and chief justice of the colony; his commission was made out in the king's name, with the most ample powers, and was to continue in force until the royal pleasure might be ascertained. Before accepting this appointment the troops were consulted, and they unanimously confirmed the choice, and

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the air resounded with Cortes' name, and all swore to shed the last drop of their blood in support of his authority. Some of the adherents of Velasquez exclaimed against these illegal proceedings, but Cortes, by a prompt exercise of authority, and by arresting and putting in chains several of the leaders of the malcontents, suppressed a faction which, had it not been timely checked, might have endangered all his hopes. Cortes was now placed in a situation which he had long desired, having rendered himself entirely independent of the governor of Cuba.

Having employed some of his officers to survey the coast, he resolved to remove about forty miles to the northward, where there was a more commodious harbour, the soil more fertile, and in other respects a more eligible spot for a settlement. He immediately marked out the ground for a town, and, as avarice and religious fanaticism were the two principles which governed the conduct of all the Spanish adventurers in America, he named the town Villa Rica, de la Vera Cruz—the rich town of the true cross. In proceeding to this place the Spaniards had passed through the country of Cempoala and had an interview with several of the caciques of that nation, and learned, with much satisfaction, that they were unfriendly to Montezuma and anxious to throw off his yoke; he also learned many particulars concerning that monarch; that he was a great tyrant, and oppressed his subjects; and Cortes soon succeeded in persuading the caciques to acknowledge themselves, in a formal manner, to be the vassals of the Spanish monarch. Their example was followed by several other tribes. At this period Cortes despatched a vessel to Spain with a highly coloured description of the country he had discovered, confirmed by many of the specimens of wealth they had received from the natives, with an account of the progress he had made in establishing the Spanish authority over it; he attempted to justify his throwing off the authority of Velasquez and setting up for himself, and requested a confirmation of his authority from the crown.

Disaffection again appeared amongst the men, of a more alarming character than what had existed before, which, though promptly suppressed, filled the mind of Cortes with disquietude and concern, and led him to adopt one of the boldest measures of which history affords any account. After reflecting on the subject with deep solicitude, he resolved on destroying the fleet, which would place the Spaniards in a situation that they must conquer or perish; and, by the most plausible and artful representations, he succeeded in persuading his men to acquiesce in this desperate measure. With universal consent the ships were drawn on shore, and after being stripped of their sails, rigging, and everything of value, they were broken to pieces. His influence must have been unbounded, to be able to persuade his men to an act which is unparalleled in the annals of man; six hundred men voluntarily cut off their means of returning, and shut themselves up in a hostile country filled with warlike and ferocious inhabitants, whose savage mode of warfare spared their prisoners only for the torture or to be offered in sacrifice to their angry deities.

## ADVANCE INTO THE INTERIOR

Cortes now felt prepared to enter upon a career of victory and conquest in some measure suited to his ambition and rapacity. Having advanced to Cempoala, his zeal for religion led him to overturn the idols in the temples, and to place a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary in their stead; which rash step came near blasting all his hopes in the bud. The natives were

filled with horror, and were excited to arms by their priests; but Cortes had such an ascendancy over them that he finally pacified them and restored harmony. He marched from Cempoala on the 16th of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six field-pieces, with the intention of penetrating into the heart of a great and powerful nation. The residue of his men, most of whom were unfit for service, were left as a garrison at Vera Cruz.<sup>c</sup>

The Tlaxcalans assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders. Cortes, after waiting some days, in vain, for the return of his ambassadors, advanced into the Tlaxcalan territories. As the resolutions of people who delight in war are executed with no less promptitude than they are formed, he found troops in the field ready to oppose him. They attacked him with great intrepidity, and, in the first encounter, wounded some of the

Spaniards and killed two horses—a loss, in their situation, of great moment, because it was irreparable. From this specimen of their courage Cortes saw the necessity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in close order; he chose the stations where he halted with attention, and fortified every camp with extraordinary care. During fourteen days he was exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults, the Tlaxcalans advancing with numerous armies and renewing the attack in various forms, with a degree of valour and perseverance to which the Spaniards had seen nothing parallel in the New World.

When they perceived, in the subsequent engagements, that, notwithstanding all the efforts of their own valour, of which they had a very high opinion, not one of the Spaniards was slain or taken, they began to conceive them to be a superior order of beings, against whom human power could not avail. In this extremity they had recourse to their priests, requiring them to reveal the mysterious causes of such ex-

traordinary events, and to declare what new means they should employ in order to repulse those formidable invaders. The priests, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered this response: That these strangers were the offspring of the sun, procreated by his animating energy in the regions of the East; that by day, while cherished with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigour declined and faded like the herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. But Cortes had greater vigilance and discernment than to be deceived by the rude stratagems of an Indian army. The sentinels at his outposts, observing some extraordinary movement among the Tlaxcalans, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and, sallying out, dispersed the party with great slaughter, without allowing it to approach the camp. The Tlaxcalans being convinced by sad experience that their priests had deluded them, and satisfied that they attempted in vain either to deceive or to vanquish their enemies, their fierceness abated, and they began to incline seriously to peace.



HERNANDO CORTES  
(1485-1547)

[1519 A.D.]

They were at a loss, however, in what manner to address the strangers, what idea to form of their character, and whether to consider them as beings of a gentle or of a malevolent nature. There were circumstances in their conduct which seemed to favour each opinion. On the one hand, as the Spaniards constantly dismissed the prisoners whom they took, not only without injury but often with presents of European toys, and renewed their offers of peace after every victory, this lenity amazed people who, according to the exterminating system of war known in America, were accustomed to sacrifice and devour without mercy all the captives taken in battle, and disposed them to entertain favourable sentiments of the humanity of their new enemies. But, on the other hand, as Cortes had seized fifty of their countrymen who brought provisions to his camp, and, supposing them to be spies, had cut off their hands, this bloody spectacle, added to the terror occasioned by the firearms and horses, filled them with dreadful impressions of the ferocity of their invaders. This uncertainty was apparent in their mode of addressing the Spaniards: "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here are meat, and bread, and fruit to nourish you." The peace which both parties now desired with equal ardour was soon concluded. The Tlaxcalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend their persons and possessions from injury or violence.<sup>d</sup>

His troops being recruited, the Spanish general commenced his march towards Mexico, with six thousand Tlaxcalan warriors added to his force. He directed his route to Cholula, a considerable town fifteen miles distant, celebrated for its vast pyramid or temple, and as being regarded as the seat of their gods. Here, although they had entered the town without opposition and with much apparent respect, the Spaniards soon discovered a deep plot laid for their destruction, and, having obtained satisfactory proof, Cortes determined to make such an example as would inspire his enemies with terror. He drew his forces up in the centre of the town, and sent for most of the magistrates and chief citizens, under various pretences, who at a given signal were seized, and then the troops and the Tlaxcalans fell on the people, who, being deprived of their leaders and filled with astonishment, dropped their arms and remained motionless, without making the least effort to defend themselves. The slaughter was dreadful; the streets were filled with the dead and covered with blood. The priests and some of the chief families took refuge in the temples. These were set on fire and all consumed together. This scene of carnage continued for two days, during which six thousand of the natives perished, without the loss of a single individual of their destroyers.

## MEETING WITH MONTEZUMA

From Cholula it was but sixty miles to Mexico, and Cortes marched directly towards the capital; through every place he passed he was received as a deliverer, and heard the grievances of the inhabitants, all of which he promised to redress. He was highly gratified on perceiving that the seeds of discontent were scattered through the empire, and not confined to the remote provinces. As the Spaniards approached the capital, the unhappy monarch was distracted with hopes and fears, and knew not what to do.

One day he sent orders inviting them to advance; the next, commanding them to retire and leave the country. As the Spaniards drew near to the city, one thousand persons of distinction came out to meet them, clad in mantles of fine cotton and adorned with plumes; each, in his order, passed by and saluted Cortes in the manner deemed most respectful in their country. At length they announced the approach of the emperor himself. His retinue consisted of two hundred persons, dressed in uniform, with plumes and feathers, who marched two and two, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground; to these succeeded a higher rank, with more showy apparel. Montezuma followed in a litter, or chair, richly ornamented with gold and feathers, borne on the shoulders of four of his favourites; a canopy of curious workmanship was supported over his head; three officers walked before him with gold rods, which at given intervals they raised as a signal for the people to bow their heads and hide their faces, as unworthy to behold so august a sovereign. As he approached Cortes, the latter dismounted and advanced in the most respectful manner; Montezuma at the same time alighted, and, leaning on two of his attendants, approached with a slow and stately pace, cotton cloth being strewed on the ground, that he might not touch the earth. Cortes saluted him with profound reverence, according to the European fashion, and Montezuma returned the salutation in the manner of his country: he touched with his hand the ground, and then kissed it. This being the mode of salutation of an inferior to a superior, the Mexicans viewed with astonishment this act of condescension in their monarch, whom they had been accustomed to consider as exalted above all mortals and related to the gods. Montezuma, having conducted the Spaniards to the quarters provided for them, on retiring addressed Cortes as follows: "You are now with your brothers, in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The Spaniards were lodged in an ancient palace surrounded with a wall, with towers at proper distances which would serve for defence; the accommodations were not only sufficient for the Spaniards, but likewise for their Indian allies.<sup>c</sup>

Mexico was situated in a great salt lake communicating with a freshwater lake. It was approached by three principal causeways of great breadth, constructed of solid masonry, which, to use the picturesque language of the Spaniards, were two lances in breadth. The length of one of these causeways was two leagues, and that of another a league and a half; and these two ample causeways united in the middle of the city, where stood the great temple. At the ends of these causeways were wooden drawbridges, so that communication could be cut off between the causeways and the town, which would thus become a citadel. There was also an aqueduct which communicated with the mainland, consisting of two separate lines of work in masonry, in order that if one should need repair the supply of water for the city might not be interrupted.

The streets were the most various in construction that have ever been seen in any city in the world. Some were of dry land, others wholly of water, and others, again, had pathways of pavement, while in the centre there was room for boats. The foot-passengers could talk with those in the boats. It may be noticed that a city so constructed requires a circumspect and polite population.

Palaces are commonplace things to describe, but the abodes of the Mexican kings were not like the petty palaces of northern princes. One of the most observant of those Spaniards who first saw these wonders speaks of a palace of Montezuma's in which there was a room where three thousand persons

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could be well accommodated, and on the terrace-like roof of which a splendid tournament might have been given. There was a market-place twice as large as that of the city of Salamanca, surrounded with porticoes, in which there was room for fifty thousand people to buy and sell.

The great temple of the city maintained its due proportion of magnificence. In the plan of the city of Mexico, which is to be found in a very early edition of the *Letters of Cortes*, published at Nuremberg, and which is supposed to be the one that Cortes sent to Charles V, the space allotted to the temple is twenty times as great as that allotted to the market-place. Indeed, the sacred inclosure was in itself a town; and Cortes, who seldom stops in his terrible narrative to indulge in praise or in needless description, says that no human tongue could explain the grandeur and the peculiarities of this temple. Cortes uses the word "temple," but it might rather be called a sacred city, as it contained many temples, and the abodes of all the priests and virgins who ministered at them; also a university and an arsenal. It was inclosed by lofty stone walls, and was entered by four portals surmounted by fortresses. No less than twenty truncated pyramids, probably cased with porphyry, rose up from within that inclosure. High over them all towered the great temple dedicated to the god of war. This, like the rest, was a truncated pyramid, with ledges round it, and with two small towers upon the highest surface, in which were placed the images of the great god of war (Huitzilopochtli) and of the principal deity of all (Tezcatlipuk), the Mexican Jupiter. It is sad to own that an entrance into these fair-seeming buildings would have gone far to dissipate the admiration which a traveller—if we may imagine one preceding Cortes—would up to this moment have felt for Mexico. The temples and palaces, the polished, glistening towers, the aviaries, the terraces, the gardens on the housetops (many-coloured, for they were not like those at Damascus, where only the rose and the jasmine are to be seen)—in a word, the bright, lively, and lovely city would have been forgotten in the vast disgust that would have filled the mind of the beholder when he saw the foul, blood-besmeared idols, with the palpitating hearts of that day's victims lying before them, and the black-clothed, filthy, unkempt priest ministering to these hideous compositions of paste and human blood.\*

## MONTEZUMA MADE PRISONER

The Spaniards soon became alarmed for their safety, as it was apparent that by breaking down the bridges their retreat would be cut off, and they would be shut up in a hostile city, where all their superiority in arms could not prevent their being overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies. Reflecting with deep concern on his situation, Cortes resolved on a measure scarcely less bold and desperate than that of destroying his ships; this was, to seize the sovereign of a great empire in his own capital, surrounded by his subjects, and retain him as a prisoner in the Spanish quarters. When he first proposed this measure to his officers, most of them were startled with its audacity; but he convinced them that it was the only step that could save them from destruction, and they agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes repaired to the palace with five of his bravest officers, and as many trusty soldiers; thirty chosen men followed at some distance, and appeared to be sauntering along the street. The rest of the troops and their allies were prepared to sally out at the first alarm. As the Spaniards entered, the Mexican officers retired, and

Cortes addressed the monarch in a very different tone from what he had been accustomed to do, and accused him of being the instigator of the attack made on his garrison left at Vera Cruz, in which several Spaniards were killed, and demanded reparation. The monarch, filled with astonishment and indignation, asserted his innocence with great warmth, and, as a proof of it, ordered the officer who attacked the Spaniards to be brought to Mexico as a prisoner. Cortes pretended that he was satisfied with this declaration, but said that his soldiers would never be convinced that Montezuma did not entertain hostile intentions towards them, unless he repaired to the Spanish quarters, as a mark of confidence, where he would be served and honoured as became a great monarch.

The first mention of so strange and alarming a proposal almost bereft the unhappy monarch of his senses; he remonstrated and protested against it; the altercation became warm, and continued for several hours, when Velasquez de Leon, a daring and impetuous young officer, exclaimed with great vehemence: "Why waste more words or time in vain? Let us seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The audacity of this declaration, accompanied with fierce and threatening looks and gestures, intimidated Montezuma, who submitted to his fate and agreed to comply with their request. Montezuma now called in his officers and informed them of his determination; they heard it with astonishment and grief, but made no reply. He was accordingly carried to the Spanish quarters with great parade, but bathed in tears. We consult history in vain for any parallel to this transaction, whether we consider the boldness and temerity of the measure or the success with which it was executed.

Quilopocca, the commander who attacked the garrison at Vera Cruz, his son, and six of his principal officers were delivered to Cortes, to be punished as he deemed proper; and after a mock trial before a Spanish court-martial, they were condemned to be burned alive, which infamous and wicked sentence was carried into execution amidst vast multitudes of their astonished countrymen, who viewed the scene with silent horror.

Montezuma remained in the quarters of the Spaniards for six months, was treated with apparent respect and served by his own officers, but strictly watched and kept in "durance vile." During this period, Cortes, having possession of the sovereign, governed the empire in his name; his commissions and orders were issued as formerly and strictly obeyed, although it was known that the monarch was a prisoner in the hands of the invaders of the country. The Spaniards made themselves acquainted with the country, visited the remote provinces, displaced some officers whom they suspected of unfriendly designs, and appointed others more obsequious to their will; and so completely was the spirit of Montezuma subdued that at length Cortes induced him to acknowledge himself as tributary, and a vassal of the king of Castile. This last and most humiliating condition to which a proud and haughty monarch, accustomed to independent and absolute power, could be reduced, overwhelmed him with the deepest distress. He called together the chief men of the empire and informed them of his determination, but was scarcely able to speak, being frequently interrupted with tears and groans flowing from a heart filled with anguish.

Cortes had deprived Montezuma of his liberty, of his wealth, and of his empire; he wished now to deprive him of his religion. But though the unhappy monarch had submitted to every other demand, this he would not yield to; and Cortes, enraged at his obstinacy, had the rashness to order the idols of the temples thrown down by force; but the priests taking arms in their

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defence, and the people rallying in crowds to support them, Cortes was obliged to desist from an act which the inhabitants viewed as the highest sacrilege. This rash step excited the bitter enmity of the priests against the Spaniards, who regarded them as the enemies of the gods, who would avenge the insult which had been offered to them. They roused the leading men, and from this moment the Mexicans began to reflect on the means of destroying or expelling such audacious and impious invaders. They held frequent consultations with one another and with their captive prince. Being unwilling to have recourse to arms, if it could be avoided, Montezuma called Cortes into his presence and informed him that now all the objects of his mission were fulfilled, and it was the will both of the gods and of his people that the Spaniards should instantly depart from the empire, and if he did not comply with this request inevitable destruction would overtake them. Cortes, thinking it prudent not to appear to oppose the wishes of the Mexicans, informed Montezuma that he was expecting soon to leave the country, and had begun to make preparations for his departure.

Whilst Cortes was deeply anxious as to his situation, in consequence of the evident designs of the Mexicans, a more alarming danger threatened him from another quarter. Velasquez, governor of Cuba, having obtained intelligence of Cortes' proceedings—that he had renounced all dependence on his authority, was attempting to establish an independent colony, and had applied to the king to confirm his acts—was filled with indignation, and resolved to be avenged on the man who had so basely betrayed his confidence and usurped his authority. He engaged with great ardour in preparing an expedition which was destined to New Spain to arrest Cortes, bring him home in irons, and then to prosecute and complete the conquest of the country in his own name. The armament consisted of eighteen vessels, having on board eight hundred foot soldiers and eighty horsemen, with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, and then complete the conquest of the country. The fatal experience of Velasquez had neither inspired him with wisdom nor courage, for he still intrusted to another what he ought to have executed himself.<sup>c</sup>

It was time for Cortes to appear upon the scene of greatest danger; and accordingly, quitting Mexico with but seventy of his own men, he commended those whom he left and his treasures to Montezuma's good offices, as to one who was a faithful vassal to the king of Spain. This parting speech seems most audacious, but plenary audacity was part of the wisdom of Cortes. At Cholula he came up with his lieutenant, Juan Velasquez, and his men, joined company with them, and pushed on towards Cempoala. When he approached the town he prepared to make an attack by night on the position which Narvaez occupied, and which was no other than the great temple at Cempoala.

In the encounter Narvaez lost an eye; he was afterwards sent as a prisoner to Vera Cruz. His men, not without resistance on the part of some of them, ultimately ranged themselves under the banner of Cortes, and thus was a great danger turned into a welcome succour. Cortes received the conquered troops in the most winning manner, and created an enthusiasm in his favour.<sup>c</sup>

## REVOLT OF MEXICANS

A few days after the discomfiture of Narvaez a courier arrived with an account that the Mexicans had taken arms, and, having seized and destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built in order to secure the command

of the lake and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed several of them and wounded more, had reduced to ashes their magazine of provisions, and carried on hostilities with such fury that, though Alvarado and his men defended themselves with undaunted resolution, they must either be soon cut off by famine or sink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it still more alarming. On the departure of Cortes for Cempoala, the Mexicans flattered themselves that the long-expected opportunity of restoring their sovereign to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the odious dominion of strangers, was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppressors were divided, and the arms of one party turned against the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both. Consultations were held and schemes formed with this intention.

The Spaniards in Mexico, conscious of their own feebleness, suspected and dreaded those machinations. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, possessed neither that extent of capacity nor dignity of manners by which Cortes had acquired such an ascendancy over the minds of the Mexicans as never allowed them to form a just estimate of his weakness or of their own strength. Alvarado fell upon them, unarmed and unsuspecting of any danger, and massacred a great number, none escaping but such as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action so cruel and treacherous filled not only the city but the whole empire with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardless of the safety of their monarch, whose life was at the mercy of the Spaniards, or of their own danger in assaulting an enemy who had been so long the object of their terror, they committed all those acts of violence of which Cortes received an account.

To him the danger appeared so imminent as to admit neither of deliberation nor delay. He set out instantly with all his forces, and returned from Cempoala with no less rapidity than he had advanced thither. At Tlaxcala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found that disaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed, no person of note appearing to meet him with the usual respect. But uninstructed by their former error in admitting a formidable enemy into their capital, instead of breaking down the causeways and bridges, by which they might have inclosed Alvarado and his party, and have effectually stopped the career of Cortes, they again suffered him to march into the city without molestation, and to take quiet possession of his ancient station.

Cortes behaved on this occasion neither with his usual sagacity nor attention. He not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but embittered the insult by expressions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people.

Later the Mexicans attacked a considerable body of Spaniards who were marching towards the great square in which the public market was held, and compelled them to retire with some loss. Emboldened by this success, and delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced next day, with extraordinary martial pomp, to assault the Spaniards in their quarters. Their number was formidable, and their undaunted courage still more so. Though the artillery pointed against their numerous battalions, crowded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge, though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effect upon their naked bodies, the impetuosity of the assault did not abate. Fresh men rushed forward to occupy the places of the slain, and, meeting with the same fate, were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager for vengeance.

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The utmost efforts of Cortes' abilities and experience, seconded by the disciplined valour of his troops, were hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications that surrounded the post where the Spaniards were stationed, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.

Cortes beheld with wonder the implacable ferocity of a people who seemed at first to submit tamely to the yoke, and had continued so long passive under it. The soldiers of Narvaez, who fondly imagined that they followed Cortes to share in the spoils of a conquered empire, were astonished to find that they were involved in a dangerous war, with an enemy whose vigour was still unbroken, and loudly execrated their own weakness in giving such easy credit to the delusive promises of their new leader. But surprise and complaints were of no avail. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was requisite to extricate themselves out of their present situation. As soon as the approach of evening induced the Mexicans to retire, in compliance with their national custom of ceasing from hostilities with the setting sun, Cortes began to prepare for a sally next day, with such a considerable force as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation.

He conducted in person the troops destined for this important service. Every invention known in the European art of war, as well as every precaution suggested by his long acquaintance with the Indian mode of fighting, was employed to insure success. But he found an enemy prepared and determined to oppose him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by fresh troops, which poured in continually from the country, and their animosity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their priests, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods and in presence of their wives and children. Notwithstanding their numbers, and enthusiastic contempt of danger and death, wherever the Spaniards could close with them the superiority of their discipline and arms obliged the Mexicans to give way. But in narrow streets, and where many of the bridges of communication were broken down, the Spaniards could seldom come to a fair rencounter with the enemy, and, as they advanced, were exposed to showers of arrows and stones from the tops of the houses. After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell and part of the city was burned, the Spaniards, weary with the slaughter and harassed by multitudes which successively relieved each other, were obliged at length to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive as to compensate the unusual calamity of having twelve soldiers killed and above sixty wounded. Another sally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himself was wounded in the hand.

## DEATH OF MONTEZUMA; LA NOCHE TRISTE

Cortes now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was satisfied that he could neither maintain his present station in the centre of a hostile city nor retire from it without the most imminent danger. One resource still remained—to try what effect the interposition of Montezuma might have to soothe or overawe his subjects.<sup>d</sup>

Accordingly, the next morning, when the Mexicans advanced to the attack, the wretched prince, made the instrument of his own disgrace and of the

enslavement of his subjects, was constrained to ascend the battlement, clad in his royal robes, and to address his subjects and attempt to allay their rage and dissuade them from hostilities. As he came in sight of the Mexicans their weapons dropped from their hands, and they prostrated themselves on the earth; but when he stopped speaking, a deep and sullen murmur arose and spread through the ranks; reproaches and threats followed, and the feelings of the people swelling in a moment like a sudden rush of waters, volleys of arrows, stones, and every missile were poured upon the ramparts, so suddenly and with such violence that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to protect Montezuma, could cover him with their bucklers, he was wounded by the arrows and struck by a stone on the temple, which felled him to the ground. His fall occasioned a sudden transition in the feelings of the multitude; being horror-struck with the crime they had committed, they threw down their arms and fled with precipitation.

Montezuma was removed to his apartments by the Spaniards, but his proud spirit could not brook this last mortification, and perceiving that he was not only the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but the object of the vengeance and contempt of his subjects, he tore the bandages from his wounds in a transport of feeling, and persisted in a refusal to take any nourishment with a firmness that neither entreaties nor threats could overcome, and thus terminated his wretched existence. He obstinately refused, to the last, all the solicitations, accompanied with all the terrors of future punishment, to embrace the Christian faith.

With the death of Montezuma ended all hopes of pacifying the Mexicans, and Cortes was sensible that his salvation depended on a successful retreat. The morning following the fall of their prince the Mexicans renewed the assault with redoubled fury, and succeeded in taking possession of a high temple which overlooked the Spanish quarters and greatly exposed them to the missiles of the enemy. A detachment of chosen men ordered to dislodge them was twice repulsed, when Cortes, taking the command himself, rushed into the thickest of the combat with a drawn sword, and by his presence and example, after a dreadful carnage, the Spaniards made themselves masters of the tower and set fire to it. Cortes was determined to retreat from the city, but was at a loss in what way to attempt it, when a private soldier, who from a smattering of learning sustained the character of an astrologer, advised him to undertake it in the night, and assured him of complete success. Cortes the more readily fell in with this plan, as he knew it was a superstitious principle with the Mexicans not to attack an enemy in the night.<sup>c</sup>

They began to move, towards midnight, in three divisions. They marched in profound silence along the causeway which led to Tacuba. They reached the first breach in it without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered. But the Mexicans, unperceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper dispositions for a most formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridge in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horses and artillery along it, they were suddenly alarmed with a tremendous sound of warlike instruments and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of enemies; the lake was covered with canoes; flights of arrows and showers of stones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans rushing forward to the charge with fearless impetuosity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs. Unfortunately, the wooden bridge, by the weight of the artillery, was wedged so fast into the stones and mud that it was impos-

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sible to remove it. Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the second breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side, and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, yet, crowded together as they were on a narrow causeway, their discipline and military skill were of little avail, nor did the obscurity of the night permit them to derive great advantage from their firearms or the superiority of their other weapons.

All Mexico was now in arms; and so eager were the people in the destruction of their oppressors that they who were not near enough to annoy them in person, impatient of the delay, pressed forward with such ardour as drove on their countrymen in the front with irresistible violence. Fresh warriors instantly filled the places of such as fell. The Spaniards, weary with slaughter, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal; horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought, and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came.

Cortes, with about a hundred foot-soldiers and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, the bodies of the dead serving to fill up the chasms, and reached the mainland. Having formed them as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were yet capable of service, to assist his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them, by his presence and example, to persevere in the efforts requisite to effect it. He met with part of his soldiers who had broken through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake, and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba. But the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes his shattered battalion, reduced to less than half its number, the survivors dejected, and most of them covered with wounds.

All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage were lost; the greater part of the horses, and above two thousand Tlaxcalans, were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure which they had amassed was saved. This, which had been always their chief object, proved a great cause of their calamity; for many of the soldiers, having so overloaded themselves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action and retarded their flight, fell ignominiously, the victims of their own inconsiderate avarice. Amidst so many disasters, it was some consolation to find that Aguilar and Marina, whose function as interpreters was of such essential importance, had made their escape.<sup>d</sup>

#### RETREAT OF THE SPANIARDS

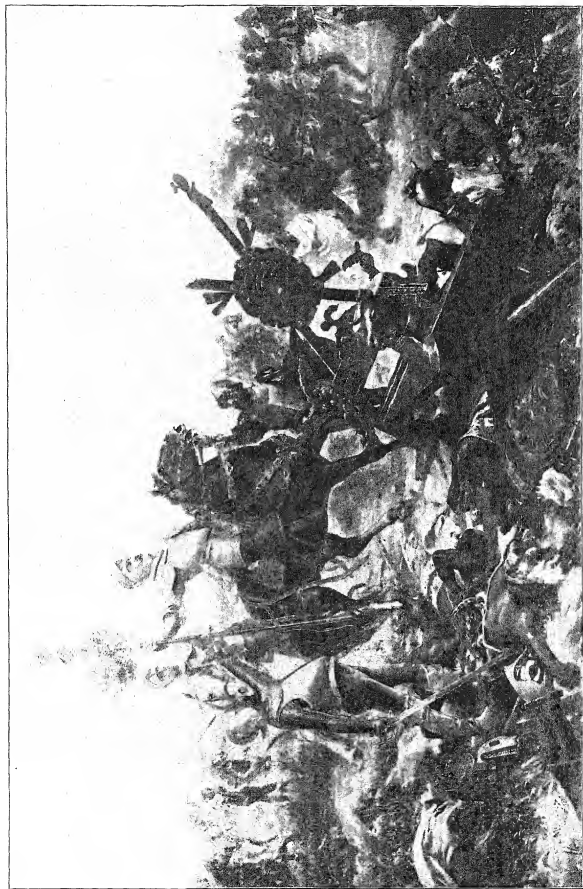
The Spaniards now commenced their march for Tlaxcala, and for six days continued it without respite, through swamps and over mountains, harassed by the Mexicans at a distance, and sometimes closely attacked. On the sixth day they approached near to Otumba, and discovered numerous parties moving in various directions. Their interpreter informed them that they often exclaimed, with exultation: "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet with the fate due to your crimes." The Spaniards continued their march until they reached the summit of a mountain, when an extensive valley opened to their astonished visions, covered with an innu-

merable multitude, which explained the meaning of what they had just seen and heard. The vast number of their enemies, and the suddenness with which they had appeared, appalled the stoutest hearts, and despair was depicted in every countenance. But Cortes, who alone was unshaken, informed them that there remained but two alternatives, to conquer or to perish, and immediately led them to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with courage; but so great is the superiority of discipline and military science over brute force, that the small battalion of the Spaniards made an irresistible impression, and forced its way through the armed multitude. Although the Mexicans were dispersed, and obliged to give way wherever the Spaniards approached, yet as they retreated in one quarter they advanced in another; so that the Spaniards were constantly surrounded, and had become nearly exhausted by their own carnage. At this crisis, Cortes, observing the standard of the Mexican Empire, and recollecting to have heard that on the fate of that depended the success of a battle, assembled some of his bravest officers and rushed with great impetuosity through the crowd, and by the stroke of a lance wounded the general who held it and threw him to the ground; whereupon one of his officers dismounted, stabbed him to the heart, and secured the imperial standard. The fall of their leader and standard had an instantaneous and magical effect; every tie which held them together seemed dissolved; a universal panic prevailed; their weapons dropped from their hands, and they all fled with precipitation to the mountains, leaving everything behind them. The spoil which the Spaniards collected compensated them, in some measure, for their loss in retreating from the Mexican capital.

The next day they entered with joy the territories of Tlaxcala, and, notwithstanding their dreadful calamities, they were kindly received by their allies, whose fidelity was not at all shaken by the declining condition of the Spanish power. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, Cortes did not abandon his plan of conquering the Mexican Empire. He obtained some ammunition and three field-pieces from Vera Cruz, and despatched four of the vessels of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to obtain ammunition and military stores and procure adventurers. Sensible that he could do nothing against Mexico without the command of the lake, he set about preparing the timber and other materials for twelve brigantines, which were to be carried by land to the lake in pieces and there put together and launched. These measures, which disclosed his intentions, occasioned disaffection again to appear among his troops; which with his usual address, but not without difficulty, he succeeded in suppressing.

#### SECOND MARCH UPON MEXICO

Whilst anxiously waiting for the return of his ships, two vessels, which had been sent out by Velasquez to reinforce Narvaez, were decoyed into Vera Cruz, and the crews and troops induced to follow the fortunes of Cortes; and soon after several vessels put in there, and the seamen and soldiers on board were also persuaded to join the Spanish adventurer, by which means Cortes received a reinforcement of one hundred and eighty men and twenty horses. He now dismissed such of Narvaez's men as served with reluctance, after which he mustered five hundred and fifty foot-soldiers and forty horse-men, and possessed a train of nine field-pieces. With this force, and ten thousand Tlaxcalans and other friendly Indians, he set out once more for the



VICTORY OF CORTES OVER THE AZTECS AT OTUMBA

(From the painting by Manuel Ramirez)



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conquest of the Mexican Empire. He began his march towards the capital on the 28th of December, 1520, six months after his disastrous retreat.<sup>c</sup>

Nor did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, had instantly raised his brother, Quetlavaca, to the throne. His avowed and inveterate enmity to the Spaniards would have been sufficient to gain their suffrages, although he had been less distinguished for courage and capacity. He had an immediate opportunity of showing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in person those fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital; and as soon as their retreat afforded him any respite from action, he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico, with prudence equal to the spirit which he had displayed in driving them out of it.

But while Quetlavaca was arranging his plan of defence, with a degree of foresight uncommon in an American, his days were cut short by the small-pox. This distemper, which raged at that time in New Spain with fatal malignity, was unknown in that quarter of the globe until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned amongst the greatest calamities brought upon it by its invaders. In his stead the Mexicans raised to the throne Guatemotzin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of such high reputation for abilities and valour that, in this dangerous crisis, his countrymen were greatly encouraged and with one voice called him to the supreme command.

As soon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories he discovered various preparations to obstruct his progress. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took possession of Tezcuco, the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the lake about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he determined to establish his headquarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his residence there more secure, he deposed the cacique, or chief, who was at the head of that community, under pretext of some defect in his title, and substituted in his place a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the new cacique and his adherents served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity.<sup>d</sup>

Tezcuco stood about half a league from the lake. It would be necessary to open a communication with it, so that the brigantines, when put together in the capital, might be launched upon its waters. It was proposed, therefore, to dig a canal, reaching from the gardens of Nezahualcoyotl, as they were called from the old monarch who planned them, to the edge of the basin. A little stream or rivulet which flowed in that direction was to be deepened sufficiently for the purpose; and eight thousand Indian labourers were forthwith employed on this great work, under the direction of the young Ixtlilxochitl.

Meanwhile Cortes received messages from several places in the neighbourhood, intimating their desire to become the vassals of his sovereign and to be taken under his protection. The Spanish commander required, in return, that they should deliver up every Mexican who should set foot in their territories. Some noble Aztecs, who had been sent on a mission to these towns, were consequently delivered into his hands. He availed himself of it to employ them as bearers of a message to their master, the emperor.

It was the plan of Cortes, on entering the valley, to commence operations by reducing the subordinate cities before striking at the capital itself. The first point of attack which he selected was the ancient city of Iztapalapan,

a place containing fifty thousand inhabitants, according to his own account. In a week after his arrival at his new quarters, Cortes, leaving the command of the garrison to Sandoval, marched against this Indian city, at the head of two hundred Spanish foot, eighteen horse, and between three and four thousand Tlaxcalans. The barbarians showed their usual courage, but after some hard fighting were compelled to give way before the steady valour of the Spanish infantry, backed by the desperate fury of the Tlaxcalans, whom the sight of an Aztec seemed to inflame almost to madness. The enemy retreated in disorder, closely followed by the Spaniards. When they had arrived within half a league of Iztapalapan, they observed a number of canoes filled with Indians, who appeared to be labouring on the mole which hemmed in the waters of the salt lake. Swept along in the tide of pursuit, they gave little heed to it, but, following up the chase, entered pell-mell with the fugitives into the city.

The houses stood some of them on dry ground, some on piles in the water. Cortes, supported by his own men, and by such of the allies as could be brought to obey his orders, attacked the enemy in this last place of their retreat. Both parties fought up to their girdles in the water. A desperate struggle ensued, as the Aztec fought with the fury of a tiger driven to bay by the huntsmen. It was all in vain. The enemy was overpowered in every quarter. The citizen shared the fate of the soldier, and a pitiless massacre succeeded, without regard to sex or age. Cortes endeavoured to stop it; but it would have been as easy to call away the starving wolf from the carcass he was devouring, as the Tlaxcalan who had once tasted the blood of an enemy. More than six thousand, including women and children, according to the conqueror's own statement, perished miserably in the unequal conflict. While engaged in this work of devastation, a murmuring sound was heard as of the hoarse rippling of waters, and a cry soon arose amongst the Indians that the dikes were broken. Cortes now comprehended the business of the men whom he had seen in the canoes at work on the mole which fenced in the great basin of Lake Tezcuco. It had been pierced by the desperate Indians, who thus laid the country under an inundation, by suffering the waters of the salt lake to spread themselves over the lower level, through the opening. Greatly alarmed, the general called his men together and made all haste to evacuate the city. Had they remained three hours longer, he says, not a soul could have escaped. They came staggering under the weight of booty, wading with difficulty through the water, which was fast gaining upon them. For some distance their path was illumined by the glare of the burning buildings. But as the light faded away in the distance, they wandered with uncertain steps, sometimes up to their knees, at others up to their waists, in the water, through which they floundered on with the greatest difficulty. As they reached the opening in the dike the stream became deeper, and flowed out with such a current that the men were unable to maintain their footing. The Spaniards, breasting the flood, forced their way through; but many of the Indians, unable to swim, were borne down by the waters. All the plunder was lost. The powder was spoiled; the arms and clothes of the soldiers were saturated with the brine, and the cold night wind, as it blew over them, benumbed their weary limbs till they could scarcely drag them along. At dawn they beheld the lake swarming with canoes full of Indians, who had anticipated their disaster, and who now saluted them with showers of stones, arrows, and other deadly missiles. Bodies of light troops hovering in the distance disquieted the flanks of the army in like manner. The Spaniards had no desire to close with the enemy. They only

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wished to regain their comfortable quarters in Tezeuco, where they arrived on the same day, more disconsolate and fatigued than after many a long march and hard-fought battle.

The close of the expedition, so different from its brilliant commencement, greatly disappointed Cortes. His numerical loss had, indeed, not been great, but this affair convinced him how much he had to apprehend from the resolution of a people who, with a spirit worthy of the ancient Hollanders, were prepared to bury their country under water rather than to submit. Still the enemy had little cause for congratulation; since, independently of the number of slain, they had seen one of their most flourishing cities sacked, and in part, at least, laid in ruins—one of those, too, which in its public works displayed the nearest approach to civilisation. Such are the triumphs of war!

The expedition of Cortes, notwithstanding the disasters which checkered it, was favourable to the Spanish cause. The fate of Iztapalapan struck a terror throughout the valley. The consequences were soon apparent in the deputations sent by the different places eager to offer their submission, and, could they do so with safety, to throw off the Mexican yoke. But he was in no situation to comply with their request. He now felt, more sensibly than ever, the incompetency of his means to his undertaking. "I assure your majesty," he writes in his letter to the emperor, "the greatest uneasiness which I feel, after all my labours and fatigues, is from my inability to succour and support our Indian friends, your majesty's loyal vassals." Far from having a force competent to this, he had scarcely enough for his own protection. His Indian allies were in deadly feud with these places, whose inhabitants had too often fought under the Aztec banner not to have been engaged in repeated wars with the people beyond the mountains. Cortes set himself earnestly to reconcile these differences. His arguments finally prevailed, and the politic general had the satisfaction to see the high-spirited and hostile tribes forego their long-cherished rivalry, and, resigning the pleasures of revenge so dear to the barbarian, embrace one another as friends and champions in a common cause. To this wise policy the Spanish commander owed quite as much of his subsequent successes as to his arms.

Thus the foundations of the Mexican Empire were hourly loosening, as the great vassals around the capital, on whom it most relied, fell off one after another from their allegiance. The Aztecs, properly so called, formed but a small part of the population of the valley. This was principally composed of cognate tribes, members of the same great family of the Nahuatlacs, who had come upon the plateau at nearly the same time. They were mutual rivals, and were reduced one after another by the more warlike Mexican, who held them in subjection, often by open force, always by fear. Fear was the great principle of cohesion which bound together the discordant members of the monarchy, and this was now fast dissolving before the influence of a power more mighty than that of the Aztec. This, it is true, was not the first time that the conquered races had attempted to recover their independence; but all such attempts had failed for want of concert. It was reserved for the commanding genius of Cortes to extinguish their old hereditary feuds, and, combining their scattered energies, to animate them with a common principle of action.

While these occurrences were passing, Cortes received the welcome intelligence that the brigantines were completed and waiting to be transported to Tezeuco. He detached a body for the service, consisting of two hundred Spanish foot and fifteen horse, which he placed under the command of Sandoval.

There were thirteen vessels in all, of different sizes. They had been constructed under the direction of the experienced shipbuilder Martin Lopez, aided by three or four Spanish carpenters and the friendly natives, some of whom showed no mean degree of imitative skill. The brigantines, when completed, had been fairly tried on the waters of the Zahuapan. They were then taken to pieces, and as Lopez was impatient of delay, the several parts, the timbers, anchors, ironwork, sails, and cordage, were placed on the shoulders of the *tamanes*, and under a numerous military escort were thus far advanced on the way to Tezcuco. Sandoval dismissed a part of the Indian convoy as superfluous.

Twenty thousand warriors he retained, dividing them into two equal bodies for the protection of the *tamanes* in the centre. His own little body of Spaniards he distributed in like manner.

"It was a marvellous thing," exclaims the conqueror, in his letters, "that few have seen—or even heard of—this transportation of thirteen vessels of war on the shoulders of men, for nearly twenty leagues across the mountains!" It was, indeed, a stupendous achievement, and not easily matched in ancient or modern story; one which only a genius like that of Cortes could have devised, or a daring spirit like his have so successfully executed. Little did he foresee, when he ordered the destruction of the fleet which first brought him to the country, and with his usual foresight commanded the preservation of the ironwork and rigging—little did he foresee the important uses for which they were to be reserved. So important, that on their preservation may be said to have depended the successful issue of his great enterprise.

He greeted his Indian allies with the greatest cordiality, testifying his sense of their services by those honours and attentions which he knew would be most grateful to their ambitious spirits. "We come," exclaimed the hardy warriors, "to fight under your banner; to avenge our common quarrel, or to fall by your side"; and with their usual impatience they urged him to lead them at once against the enemy. "Wait," replied the general, bluntly, "till you are rested, and you shall have your hands full."

#### CONSPIRACY AGAINST CORTES

At the very time when Cortes was occupied with reconnoitring the valley, preparatory to his siege of the capital, a busy faction in Castile was labouring to subvert his authority and defeat his plans of conquest altogether. The fame of his brilliant exploits had spread not only through the isles, but to Spain and many parts of Europe, where a general admiration was felt for the invincible energy of the man, who with his single arm, as it were, could so long maintain a contest with the powerful Indian empire. The absence of the Spanish monarch from his dominions, and the troubles of the country, can alone explain the supine indifference shown by the government to the prosecution of this great enterprise. To the same causes it may be ascribed that no action was taken in regard to the suits of Velasquez and Narvaez, backed, as they were, by so potent an advocate as Bishop Fonseca, president of the council of the Indies. The reins of government had fallen into the hands of Adrian of Utrecht, Charles' preceptor, and afterwards pope—a man of learning, and not without sagacity, but slow and timid in his policy, and altogether incapable of that decisive action which suited the bold genius of his predecessor, Cardinal Ximenes.

In the spring of 1521, however, a number of ordinances passed the council

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of the Indies which threatened an important innovation in the affairs of New Spain. It was decreed that the royal audience of Hispaniola should abandon the proceedings already instituted against Narvaez for his treatment of the commissioner Ayllon; that that unfortunate commander should be released from his confinement at Vera Cruz; and that an arbitrator should be sent to Mexico, with authority to investigate the affairs and conduct of Cortes, and to render ample justice to the governor of Cuba. There were not wanting persons at court who looked with dissatisfaction on these proceedings, as an unworthy requital of the services of Cortes, and who thought the present moment, at any rate, not the most suitable for taking measures which might discourage the general, and perhaps render him desperate. But the arrogant temper of the bishop of Burgos overruled all objections; and the ordinances, having been approved by the Regency, were signed by that body, April 11th, 1521. A person named Tapia, one of the functionaries of the audience at Santo Domingo, was selected as the new commissioner to be despatched to Vera Cruz. Fortunately circumstances occurred which postponed the execution of the design for the present, and permitted Cortes to go forward unmolested in his career of conquest.

But while thus allowed to remain, for the present at least, in possession of authority, he was assailed by a danger nearer home, which menaced not only his authority, but his life. This was a conspiracy in the army, of a more dark and dangerous character than any hitherto formed there. It was set on foot by a common soldier named Antonio Villafañá, a native of Old Castile, of whom nothing is known but his share in this transaction. He was one of the troop of Narvaez, that leaven of disaffection which had remained with the army, swelling with discontent on every light occasion, and ready at all times to rise into mutiny. They had voluntarily continued in the service, after the secession of their comrades at Tlaxcala; but it was from the same mercenary hopes with which they had originally embarked in the expedition, and in these they were destined still to be disappointed. They had little of the true spirit of adventure which distinguished the old companions of Cortes, and they found the barren laurels of victory but a sorry recompense for all their toils and suffering.

With these men were joined others, who had causes of personal disgust with the general; and others, again, who looked with distrust on the result of the war. The gloomy fate of their countrymen who had fallen into the enemy's hands filled them with dismay. They felt themselves the victims of a chimerical spirit in their leader, who with such inadequate means was urging to extremity so ferocious and formidable a foe; and they shrunk with something like apprehension from thus pursuing the enemy into his own haunts, where he could gather tenfold energy from despair.

These men would have willingly abandoned the enterprise and returned to Cuba, but how could they do it? Cortes had control over the whole route from the city to the seacoast, and not a vessel could leave its ports without his warrant. Even if he were put out of the way, there were others, his principal officers, ready to step into his place and avenge the death of their commander. It was necessary to embrace these also in the scheme of destruction; and it was proposed, therefore, together with Cortes, to assassinate Sandoval, Olid, Alvarado, and two or three others most devoted to his interests. The conspirators would then raise the cry of liberty, and doubted not that they should be joined by the greater part of the army, or enough, at least, to enable them to work their own pleasure. They proposed to offer the command, on Cortes' death, to Francisco Verdugo, a brother-in-law of

Velasquez. He was an honourable cavalier, and not privy to their design. But they had little doubt that he would acquiesce in the command thus in a manner forced upon him, and this would secure them the protection of the governor of Cuba, who, indeed, from his own hatred of Cortes, would be disposed to look with a lenient eye on their proceedings.

The conspirators even went so far as to appoint the subordinate officers, an *alguacil mayor* in place of Sandoval, a quartermaster-general to succeed Olid, and some others. The time fixed for the execution of the plot was soon after the return of Cortes from his expedition. A parcel, pretended to have come by a fresh arrival from Castile, was to be presented to him whilst at table, and when he was engaged in breaking open the letters the conspirators were to fall on him and his officers and despatch them with their poniards. Such was the iniquitous scheme devised for the destruction of Cortes and the expedition. But a conspiracy, to be successful, especially when numbers are concerned, should allow but little time to elapse between its conception and its execution.

On the day previous to that appointed for the perpetration of the deed, one of the party, feeling a natural compunction at the commission of the crime, went to the general's quarters and solicited a private interview with him. He threw himself at his commander's feet, and revealed all the particulars relating to the conspiracy, adding that in Villafañá's possession a paper would be found containing the names of his accomplices. Cortes, thunder-struck at the disclosure, lost not a moment in profiting by it. He sent for Alvarado, Sandoval, and one or two other officers marked out by the conspirators, and after communicating the affair to them, went at once with them to Villafañá's quarters, attended by four *alguacils*.

They found him in conference with three or four friends, who were instantly taken from the apartment and placed in custody. Villafañá, confounded at this sudden apparition of his commander, had barely time to snatch a paper containing the signatures of the confederates from his bosom and attempt to swallow it. But Cortes arrested his arm and seized the paper. As he glanced his eye rapidly over the fatal list, he was much moved at finding there the names of more than one who had some claim to consideration in the army. He tore the scroll in pieces, and ordered Villafañá to be taken into custody. He was immediately tried by a military court hastily got together, at which the general himself presided. There seems to have been no doubt of the man's guilt. He was condemned to death, and after allowing him time for confession and absolution, the sentence was executed by hanging him from the window of his own quarters.

Those ignorant of the affair were astonished at the spectacle; and the remaining conspirators were filled with consternation when they saw that their plot was detected, and anticipated a similar fate for themselves. But they were mistaken. Cortes pursued the matter no further. A little reflection convinced him that to do so would involve him in the most disagreeable and even dangerous perplexities. And however much the parties implicated in so foul a deed might deserve death, he could ill afford the loss even of the guilty, with his present limited numbers. He resolved, therefore, to content himself with the punishment of the ringleader.

He called his troops together and briefly explained to them the nature of the crime for which Villafañá had suffered. He had made no confession, he said, and the guilty secret had perished with him. He then expressed his sorrow that any should have been found in their ranks capable of so base

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an act, and stated his own unconsciousness of having wronged any individual among them; but if he had done so, he invited them frankly to declare it, as he was most anxious to afford them all the redress in his power. But there was no one of his audience, whatever might be his grievances, who cared to enter his complaint at such a moment; least of all were the conspirators willing to do so, for they were too happy at having, as they fancied, escaped detection, to stand forward now in the ranks of the malcontents. The affair passed off, therefore, without further consequences. The conduct of Cortes in this delicate conjuncture shows great coolness and knowledge of human nature. Had he suffered his detection, or even his suspicion, of the guilty parties to appear, it would have placed him in hostile relations with them for the rest of his life.

As it was, the guilty soldiers had suffered too serious apprehensions to place their lives hastily in a similar jeopardy. They strove, on the contrary, by demonstrations of loyalty and the assiduous discharge of their duties, to turn away suspicion from themselves. Cortes, on his part, was careful to preserve his natural demeanour, equally removed from distrust and—what was perhaps more difficult—that studied courtesy which intimates, quite as plainly, suspicion of the party who is the object of it. To do this required no little address. Yet he did not forget the past. Cortes kept his eye on all their movements, and took care to place them in no situation, afterwards, where they could do him injury.

## LAUNCHING OF BRIGANTINES

As was stated previously, the brigantines being completed, the canal also, after having occupied eight thousand men for nearly two months, was finished. It was a work of great labour, for it extended half a league in length, was twelve feet wide and as many deep. The sides were strengthened by palisades of wood or solid masonry. At intervals, dams and locks were constructed, and part of the opening was through the hard rock. By this avenue the brigantines might now be safely introduced on the lake.

Cortes was resolved that so auspicious an event should be celebrated with due solemnity. On the 28th of April the troops were drawn up under arms, and the whole population of Tezcuco assembled to witness the ceremony. Mass was performed, and every man in the army, together with the general, confessed and received the sacrament. Prayers were offered up by Father Olmedo, and a benediction invoked on the little navy, the first—worthy of the name—ever launched on American waters.

The general's next step was to muster his forces in the great square of the capital. He found they amounted to eighty-seven horse and eight hundred and eighteen foot, of whom one hundred and eighteen were arquebusiers and crossbow-men. He had three large field-pieces of iron, and fifteen lighter guns or falconets of brass. The heavier cannon had been transported from Vera Cruz to Tezcuco, a little while before, by the faithful Tlaxcalans. He was well supplied with shot and balls, with about ten hundred weight of powder, and fifty thousand copper-headed arrows, made after a pattern furnished by him to the natives. The number and appointments of the army much exceeded what they had been at any time since the flight from Mexico, and showed the good effects of the late arrivals from the islands.

He had already sent to his Indian confederates, announcing his purpose

of immediately laying siege to Mexico, and called on them to furnish their promised levies within the space of ten days at farthest. The Tlaxcalans arrived within the time prescribed. They came fifty thousand strong, according to Cortes, making a brilliant show with their military finery, and marching proudly forward under the great national banner, emblazoned with a spread eagle, the arms of the republic. With as blithe and manly a step as if they were going to the battle-ground, they defiled through the gates of the capital, making its walls ring with the friendly shouts of "Castile and Tlaxcala!"

The siege of Mexico was full of picturesque incidents, in which the Spanish genius for fighting barbarians won a gradual success on sea and land. At length, after the brigantines had gained a complete victory over a swarm of canoes, and Cortes had reduced three-fourths of the city of Mexico to ashes, he forced his way into the central square. Guatemotzin, attempting to escape across the lake, was taken captive, and brought before Cortes.

Cortes came forward with a dignified and studied courtesy to receive him. The Aztec monarch probably knew the person of his conqueror, for he first broke silence by saying, "I have done all that I could to defend myself and my people. I am now reduced to this state. You will deal with me, Malinche,

as you list." Then, laying his hand on the hilt of a poniard stuck in the general's belt, he added, with vehemence, "Better despatch me with this, and rid me of life at once." Cortes was filled with admiration at the proud bearing of the young barbarian, showing in his reverses a spirit worthy of an ancient Roman. "Fear not," he replied, "you shall be treated with all honour. You have defended your capital like a brave warrior. A Spaniard knows how to respect valour even in an



CHAC MOOL STATUE, MEXICO  
(Aztec Antiquity)

enemy." He then inquired of him where he had left the princess, his wife; and being informed that she still remained under protection of a Spanish guard on board the brigantine, the general sent to have her escorted to his presence. He invited his royal captives to partake of the refreshments which their exhausted condition rendered so necessary. Meanwhile the Spanish commander made his dispositions for the night, ordering Sandoval to escort the prisoners to Cojohuacan, whither he proposed himself immediately to follow. The other captains, Olid and Alvarado, were to draw off their forces to their respective quarters. It was impossible for them to continue in the capital, where the poisonous effluvia from the unburied carcasses loaded the air with infection. A small guard only was stationed to keep order in the wasted suburbs. It was the hour of vespers when Guatemotzin surrendered, and the siege might be considered as then concluded. The evening set in dark and the rain began to fall before the several parties had evacuated the city.

During the night a tremendous tempest, such as the Spaniards had rarely witnessed, and such as is known only within the tropics, burst over the Mexican valley. The thunder, reverberating from the rocky amphitheatre of

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hills, bellowed over the waste of waters, and shook the *teocallis* and crazy tenements of Tenochtitlan—the few that yet survived—to their foundations. The lightning seemed to cleave asunder the vault of heaven, as its vivid flashes wrapped the whole scene in a ghastly glare for a moment, to be again swallowed up in darkness. The war of elements was in unison with the fortunes of the ruined city. It seemed as if the deities of Anahuac, scared from their ancient abodes, were borne along shrieking and howling in the blast, as they abandoned the fallen capital to its fate.

## EVACUATION OF THE CITY

On the day following the surrender Guatemotzin requested the Spanish commander to allow the Mexicans to leave the city, and to pass unmolested into the open country. To this Cortes readily assented, as, indeed, without it he could take no steps for purifying the capital. He gave his orders accordingly for the evacuation of the place, commanding that no one, Spaniard or confederate, should offer violence to the Aztecs, or in any way obstruct their departure. The whole number of these is variously estimated at from thirty to seventy thousand, besides women and children, who had survived the sword, pestilence, and famine. It is certain they were three days in defiling along the several causeways—a mournful train; husbands and wives, parents and children, the sick and the wounded, leaning on one another for support, as they feebly tottered along, squalid, and but half covered with rags, that disclosed at every step hideous gashes, some recently received, others festering from long neglect, and carrying with them an atmosphere of contagion. Their wasted forms and famine-stricken faces told the whole history of the siege; and as the straggling files gained the opposite shore they were observed to pause from time to time, as if to take one more look at the spot so lately crowned by the imperial city once their pleasant home, and endeared to them by many a glorious recollection.

On the departure of the inhabitants, measures were immediately taken to purify the place, by means of numerous fires kept burning day and night, especially in the infected quarter of Tlatelolco, and by collecting the heaps of dead which lay mouldering in the streets and consigning them to the earth. Of the whole number who perished in the course of the siege it is impossible to form any probable computation. The accounts range widely from one hundred and twenty thousand, the lowest estimate, to two hundred and forty thousand. The number of the Spaniards who fell was comparatively small, but that of the allies must have been large, if the historian of Tezcuco is correct in asserting that thirty thousand perished of his own countrymen alone. That the number of those destroyed within the city was immense cannot be doubted, when we consider that, besides its own redundant population, it was thronged with that of the neighbouring towns, who, distrusting their strength to resist the enemy, sought protection within its walls.

The booty found there—that is, the treasures of gold and jewels, the only booty of much value in the eyes of the Spaniards—fell far below their expectations. It did not exceed, according to the general's statement, a hundred and thirty thousand *castellanos* of gold, including the sovereign's share, which, indeed, taking into account many articles of curious and costly workmanship, voluntarily relinquished by the army, greatly exceeded his legitimate fifth. Yet the Aztecs must have been in possession of a much larger

treasure, if it were only the wreck of that recovered from the Spaniards on the night of the memorable flight from Mexico. Some of the spoil may have been sent away from the capital, some spent in preparations for defence, and more of it buried in the earth or sunk in the water of the lake. Their menaces were not without a meaning. They had, at least, the satisfaction of disappointing the avarice of their enemies.

Cortes had no further occasion for the presence of his Indian allies. He assembled the chiefs of the different squadrons, thanked them for their services, noticed their valour in flattering terms, and, after distributing presents among them, with the assurance that his master, the emperor, would recompense their fidelity yet more largely, dismissed them to their own homes. They carried off a liberal share of the spoils of which they had plundered the dwellings—not of a kind to excite the cupidity of the Spaniards—and returned in triumph—short-sighted triumph!—at the success of their expedition and the downfall of the Aztec dynasty.

#### PRESCOTT ON THE FALL OF THE AZTECS

Thus, after a siege of nearly three months' duration, unmatched in history for the constancy and courage of the besieged, seldom surpassed for the severity of its sufferings, fell the renowned capital of the Aztecs. Unmatched, it may be truly said, for constancy and courage, when we recollect that the door of capitulation on the most honourable terms was left open to them throughout the whole blockade, and that, sternly rejecting every proposal of their enemy, they, to a man, preferred to die rather than surrender. More than three centuries had elapsed since the Aztecs, a poor and wandering tribe from the far northwest, had come on the plateau. There they built their miserable collection of huts on the spot—as tradition tells us—prescribed by the oracle. Their conquests, at first confined to their immediate neighbourhood, gradually covered the valley, then, crossing the mountains, swept over the broad extent of the table-land, descended its precipitous sides, and rolled onwards to the Mexican gulf and the distant confines of Central America. Their wretched capital, meanwhile, keeping pace with the enlargement of territory, had grown into a flourishing city filled with buildings, monuments of art, and a numerous population, that gave it the first rank among the capitals of the western world. At this crisis came over another race from the remote East, strangers like themselves, whose coming had also been predicted by the oracle, and, appearing on the plateau, assailed them in the very zenith of their prosperity, and blotted them out from the map of nations forever! The whole story has the air of fable rather than of history—a legend of romance—a tale of the genii.

Yet we cannot regret the fall of an empire which did so little to promote the happiness of its subjects or the real interests of humanity. Notwithstanding the lustre thrown over its latter days by the glorious defence of its capital, by the mild munificence of Montezuma, by the dauntless heroism of Guatemotzin, the Aztecs were emphatically a fierce and brutal race, little calculated, in their best aspects, to excite our sympathy and regard. Their civilisation, such as it was, was not their own, but reflected, perhaps imperfectly, from a race whom they had succeeded in the land. It was, in respect to the Aztecs, a generous graft on a vicious stock, and could have brought no fruit to perfection. They ruled over their wide domains with a sword instead of a sceptre. They did nothing to ameliorate the condition, or in

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any way promote the progress, of their vassals. Their vassals were serfs, used only to minister to their pleasure, held in awe by armed garrisons, ground to the dust by imposts in peace, by military conscriptions in war. They did not, like the Romans, whom they resembled in the nature of their conquests, extend the rights of citizenship to the conquered. They did not amalgamate them into one great nation, with common rights and interests. They held them as aliens—even those who in the valley were gathered round the very walls of the capital. The Aztec metropolis, the heart of the monarchy, had not a sympathy, not a pulsation, in common with the rest of the body politic. It was a stranger in its own land.

The Aztecs not only did not advance the condition of their vassals, but, morally speaking, they did much to degrade it. How can a nation where human sacrifices prevail, and especially when combined with cannibalism, further the march of civilisation? How can the interests of humanity be consulted where man is levelled to the rank of the brutes that perish? The influence of the Aztecs introduced their gloomy superstition into lands before unacquainted with it, or where, at least, it was not established in any great strength. The example of the capital was contagious. As the latter increased in opulence, the religious celebrations were conducted with still more terrible magnificence, in the same manner as the gladiatorial shows of the Romans increased in pomp with the increasing splendour of the capital. Men became familiar with scenes of horror and the most loathsome abominations. Women and children—the whole nation—became familiar with and assisted at them. The heart was hardened, the manners were made ferocious, the feeble light of civilisation, transmitted from a milder race, was growing fainter and fainter, as thousands and thousands of miserable victims throughout the empire were yearly fattened in its cages, sacrificed on its altars, dressed and served at its banquets. The whole land was converted into a vast human shambles. The empire of the Aztecs did not fall before its time.

Whether these unparalleled outrages furnish a sufficient plea to the Spaniards for their invasion, whether we are content to find a warrant for it in the natural rights and demands of civilisation, or, on the one or the other of which grounds the conquests by most Christian nations in the East and the West have been defended, it is unnecessary to discuss. It is more material to inquire whether, assuming the right, the conquest of Mexico was conducted with a proper regard to the claims of humanity. And here we must admit that, with all allowance for the ferocity of the age and the laxity of its principles, there are passages which every Spaniard who cherishes the fame of his countrymen would be glad to see expunged from their history; passages not to be vindicated on the score of self-defence, or of necessity of any kind, and which must forever leave a dark spot on the annals of the conquest. And yet, taken as a whole, the invasion, up to the capture of the capital, was conducted on principles less revolting to humanity than most, perhaps than any, of the other conquests of the Castilian crown in the New World.

Whatever may be thought of the conquest in a moral view, regarded as a military achievement it must fill us with astonishment. That a handful of adventurers, indifferently armed and equipped, should have landed on the shores of a powerful empire inhabited by a fierce and warlike race, and, in defiance of the reiterated prohibitions of its sovereign, have forced their way into the interior; that they should have done this without knowledge of the language or of the land, without chart or compass to guide them, without any idea of the difficulties they were to encounter, totally uncertain

whether the next step might bring them on a hostile nation or on a desert, feeling their way along in the dark, as it were; that, though nearly overwhelmed by their first encounter with the inhabitants, they should have still pressed on to the capital of the empire, and, having reached it, thrown themselves unhesitatingly into the midst of their enemies; that, so far from being daunted by the extraordinary spectacle there exhibited of power and civilisation, they should have been but the more confirmed in their original design; that they should have seized the monarch, have executed his ministers before the eyes of his subjects, and, when driven forth with ruin from the gates, have gathered their scattered wreck together, and after a system of operations, pursued with consummate policy and daring, have succeeded in overturning the capital and establishing their sway over the country—that all this should have been so effected by a mere handful of indigent adventurers, is a fact little short of the miraculous, too startling for the probabilities demanded by fiction, and without a parallel in the pages of history.

Yet this must not be understood too literally; for it would be unjust to the Aztecs themselves, at least to their military prowess, to regard the conquest as directly achieved by the Spaniards alone. This would indeed be to arm the latter with the charmed shield of Ruggiero and the magic lance of Astolfo, overturning its hundreds at a touch. The Indian empire was in a manner conquered by Indians. The first terrible encounter of the Spaniards with the Tlaxcalans, which had nearly proved their ruin, did in fact insure their success. It secured to them a strong native support on which to retreat in the hour of trouble, and round which they could rally the kindred races of the land for one great and overwhelming assault. The Aztec monarchy fell by the hands of its own subjects, under the direction of European sagacity and science. Had it been united, it might have bidden defiance to the invaders. As it was, the capital was dis severed from the rest of the country, and the bolt, which might have passed off comparatively harmless had the empire been cemented by a common principle of loyalty and patriotism, now found its way into every crack and crevice of the ill-compacted fabric, and buried it in its own ruins. Its fate may serve as a striking proof that a government which does not rest on the sympathies of its subjects cannot long abide; that human institutions when not connected with human prosperity and progress must fall—if not before the increasing light of civilisation, by the hand of violence; by violence from within if not from without. And who shall lament their fall??

#### MEXICO AFTER THE CONQUEST

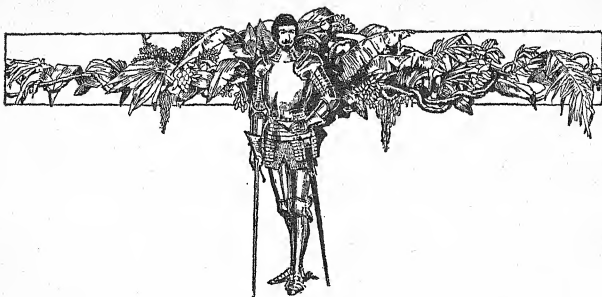
The accounts of Cortes' victories and conquests which were sent to Spain filled his countrymen with admiration, and excited the highest expectations with the people and the government. Charles V, who had succeeded to the throne, appointed Cortes captain-general of New Spain; and even before he had received any legal sanction, he assumed the power of governor, and adopted measures to secure the vast country he had conquered to his sovereignty as a colony of Spain. He determined to rebuild the capital, and there to establish the seat of his government, and on an extended plan laid the foundations of the most magnificent city in the New World.

The Mexicans, conquered and degraded as they were, did not quietly submit to their new masters; but aroused by oppression or despair, they often, with more courage than discretion, rushed to arms, and were not only

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defeated in every contest, but the Spaniards, regarding these attempts to regain their liberty as rebellion against their lawful sovereign, put the caciques and nobles who fell into their hands to death, and reduced the common people to the most humiliating and degrading servitude. The massacres and cruelties of the Spaniards are almost incredible. "In almost every district of the Mexican Empire," says Robertson,<sup>d</sup> "the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood. In the country of Panuco, sixty caciques or leaders and four hundred nobles were burned at one time; and, to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies." This sanguinary scene was succeeded by another, if possible still more revolting and horrible to the natives. On suspicion, or pretence, that Guatemotzin had conspired against the Spanish authority and excited his former subjects to take up arms, the unhappy monarch, with the caciques of Tezcuco and Tacuba, the two most distinguished personages in the empire, without even the formality of a trial, were brought to a public and ignominious execution, and hanged on a gibbet in the presence of their countrymen, who witnessed the scene with indescribable horror, as they had long been accustomed to reverence their sovereign with homage and awe.

For all his toils and sufferings, his splendid achievements, his extensive conquests, and all the cruelties and crimes he committed for his sovereign, Cortes received the reward which usually attends those who perform great services for their country: he was envied, calumniated, suspected, recalled, deprived of his authority and of all benefit from his exertions, except the glory of being the conqueror of Mexico and the oppressor and destroyer of a great and once prosperous and happy nation.<sup>e</sup>



## CHAPTER II

### THE CONQUEST OF PERU

OF the numerous nations which occupied the great American continent at the time of its discovery by the Europeans, the two most advanced in power and refinement were undoubtedly those of Mexico and Peru. But, though resembling one another in extent of civilisation, they differed widely as to the nature of it; and the philosophical student of his species may feel a natural curiosity to trace the different steps by which these two nations strove to emerge from the state of barbarism, and place themselves on a higher plane in the scale of humanity.

The empire of Peru, at the period of the Spanish invasion, stretched along the Pacific from about the second degree north to the thirty-seventh degree of south latitude; a line, also, which describes the western boundaries of the modern republics of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chili. Its breadth cannot so easily be determined; for, though bounded everywhere by the great ocean on the west, towards the east it spread out, in many parts, considerably beyond the mountains, to the confines of barbarous states, whose exact position is undetermined, or whose names are effaced from the map of history. It is certain, however, that its breadth was altogether disproportioned to its length.

By a judicious system of canals and subterraneous aqueducts, the waste places on the coast were refreshed by copious streams, that clothed them in fertility and beauty. Terraces were raised upon the steep sides of the Cordillera; and, as the different elevations had the effect of difference of latitude, they exhibited in regular gradation every variety of vegetable form, from the stimulated growth of the tropics, to the temperate products of a northern clime; while flocks of llamas — the Peruvian sheep — wandered with their shepherds over the broad, snow-covered wastes on the crests of the sierra, which rose beyond the limits of cultivation. An industrious population settled along the lofty regions of the plateaus, and towns and hamlets, clustering amidst orchards and wide-spreading gardens, seemed suspended in the air far above the ordinary elevation of the clouds.

[—1480 A.D.]

On Lake Titicaca extensive ruins exist at the present day, which the Peruvians themselves acknowledge to be of older date than the pretended advent of the incas, and to have furnished them with the models of their architecture. The date of their appearance, indeed, is manifestly irreconcilable with their subsequent history. No account assigns to the inca dynasty more than thirteen princes before the conquest. But this number is altogether too small to have spread over four hundred years, and would not carry back the foundations of the monarchy, on any probable computation, beyond two centuries and a half — an antiquity not incredible in itself, and which, it may be remarked, does not precede by more than half a century the alleged foundation of the capital of Mexico. The fiction of Manco Capac and his sister-wife was devised, no doubt, at a later period, to gratify the vanity of the Peruvian monarchs, and to give additional sanction to their authority by deriving it from a celestial origin.

We may reasonably conclude that there existed in the country a race advanced in civilisation before the time of the incas; and, in conformity with nearly every tradition, we may derive this race from the neighbourhood of Lake Titicaca; a conclusion strongly confirmed by the imposing architectural remains which still endure, after the lapse of so many years, on its borders. Who this race were, and whence they came, may afford a tempting theme for inquiry to the speculative antiquarian. But it is a land of darkness that lies far beyond the domain of history.

## EMPIRE OF THE INCAS

The same mists that hang round the origin of the incas continue to settle on their subsequent annals; and, so imperfect were the records employed by the Peruvians, and so confused and contradictory their traditions, that the historian finds no firm footing on which to stand till within a century of the Spanish conquest. At first, the progress of the Peruvians seems to have been slow, and almost imperceptible. By their wise and temperate policy, they gradually won over the neighbouring tribes to their dominion, as these latter became more and more convinced of the benefits of a just and well regulated government.

As they grew stronger, they were enabled to rely more directly on force; but, still advancing under cover of the same beneficent pretexts employed by their predecessors, they proclaimed peace and civilisation at the point of the sword. The rude nations of the country, without any principle of cohesion among themselves, fell one after another before the victorious arm of the incas. Yet it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century that the famous Topa Inca Yupanqui, grandfather of the monarch who occupied the throne at the coming of the Spaniards, led his armies across the terrible desert of Atacama, and, penetrating to the southern region of Chili, fixed the permanent boundary of his dominions at the river Maule. His son, Huayna Capac, possessed of ambition and military talent fully equal to his father's, marched along the Cordillera towards the north, and, pushing his conquests across the equator, added the powerful kingdom of Quito to the empire of Peru.

The ancient city of Cuzco, meanwhile, had been gradually advancing in wealth and population, till it had become the worthy metropolis of a great and flourishing monarchy.

Towards the north, on the sierra or rugged eminence already noticed, rose a strong fortress, the remains of which at the present day, by their vast size, excite the admiration of the traveller.

The nobility of Peru consisted of two orders, the first and by far the most important of which was that of the incas, who, boasting a common descent with their sovereign, lived, as it were, in the reflected light of his glory. As the Peruvian monarchs availed themselves of the right of polygamy to a very liberal extent, leaving behind them families of one or even two hundred children, the nobles of the blood royal, though comprehending only their descendants in the male line, came in the course of years to be very numerous.

The other order of nobility was the *curacas*, the caciques of the conquered nations, or their descendants. They were usually continued by the government in their places, though they were required to visit the capital occasionally, and to allow their sons to be educated there as the pledges of their loyalty.

It was the inca nobility, indeed, who constituted the real strength of the Peruvian monarchy. Attached to their prince by ties of consanguinity, they had common sympathies and, to a considerable extent, common interests with him. Distinguished by a peculiar dress and insignia, as well as by language and blood, from the rest of the community, they were never confounded with the other tribes and nations who were incorporated into the great Peruvian monarchy. After the lapse of centuries, they still retained their individuality as a peculiar people. They were to the conquered races of the country what the Romans were to the barbarous hordes of the empire, or the Normans to the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles. Clustering around the throne, they formed an invincible phalanx, to shield it alike from secret conspiracy and open insurrection. Though living chiefly in the capital, they were also distributed throughout the country in all its high stations and strong military posts, thus establishing lines of communication with the court, which enabled the sovereign to act simultaneously and with effect on the most distant quarters of his empire. They possessed, moreover, an intellectual pre-eminence which, no less than their station, gave them authority with the people. Indeed, it may be said to have been the principal foundation of their authority. The crania of the inca race show a decided superiority over the other races of the land in intellectual power; and it cannot be denied that it was the fountain of that peculiar civilisation and social polity, which raised the Peruvian monarchy above every other state in South America. Whence this remarkable race came, and what was its early history, are among those mysteries that meet us so frequently in the annals of the New World, and which time and the antiquary have as yet done little to explain.<sup>b</sup>

#### EARLY HISTORY OF ECUADOR

Whether all the tribes who populated this country were of the same race is unknown, also what kings and what number of them reigned over the land; mention only is made of Quito, the last king, more powerful than his predecessors, who appears to have given his name to this kingdom situated in the centre of more than fifty provinces, larger or lesser states, nearly all independent.

This was their condition for some centuries, when a strange tribe called the Cara tribe, whose king was named Shyri Caran (lord or king of the Caras), came up from the shores of the Pacific Ocean (their country) by the valley of the river Esmeraldas, and took possession of the kingdom of Quito, about the year 280 of the Christian era. In the three hundred and twenty years preceding the year 1300, eleven shyris succeeded one another as kings of the land.

Three other shyris reigned over the land until 1450, and extended the dominion of their ancestors either by conquest or alliance. The fame of this

[1475-1525 A.D.]

country excited the envy of the incas of Peru, and Tupac Yupanqui, then the reigning inca, made several conquests in the kingdom of Quito and advanced as far as Mocha in 1460, where his progress was checked by the stubborn resistance of this province. Hualcopo Duchisela, the fourteenth shyri, was reigning at the period.

Hualcopo's son Cacha, the fifteenth shyri, ascended the throne, and regained the province of Puruhu (Chimborazo), which as we have said had been usurped by the conqueror Tupac Yupanqui; but that of Cacha remained under the dominion of the incas. Upon the death of his father Tupac Yupanqui, the inca Huainacpac, called the Great or the Conqueror, ascended the throne, raised an army, and in 1475 set his troops of Cuzco in movement, to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Quito. He personally conducted the march, and after partial victories and advantages, by which he became master of nearly the whole kingdom, he completed his conquest of it by the celebrated battle of Hatuntaqui in which Cacha, the fifteenth shyri, was killed. Huainacpac believed that this victory would leave him in peaceful possession of the kingdom, and observed with surprise that the nobles and the army proclaimed Pacha, legitimate daughter of Cacha, queen. Foreseeing that this proclamation would lead to fresh annoyances and difficulties, he adopted the measure of marrying Pacha, the lawful shyri, which enabled him to legally add to the crown the emerald, emblem of the kings of Quito. Huainacpac never returned to the capital of Cuzco, but made Quito his residence, and governed the whole empire for thirty-eight years. This was the most brilliant and flourishing period in the history of the kingdom of Quito.

By his wife Pacha, Huainacpac had a son, the beloved Atahualpa, another son having previously been born to him in Cuzco, fruit of his first marriage with Rava Oello. Huainacpac died in 1525, after residing thirty-eight years in Quito, and left the kingdom divided between his two sons.

The inca Huascar came into the empire of Cuzco, such as it was when governed by his paternal ancestors, and the shyri Atahualpa inherited the kingdom of Quito, as possessed by his maternal ancestors.<sup>c</sup> It was about this time that the Spaniards arrived in Peru, and, as the history of the Spanish conquest of that country is closely connected with that of Quito, the two may be considered together.

## EARLY HISTORY OF CHILI

The story of the Spanish conquest of Peru includes also that of Chili.<sup>a</sup> Before the arrival of the Spaniards in Chili, the country was inhabited by the Moluches, or warriors; though speaking the same tongue, they were divided into different groups. The Huilliches inhabited the country now comprised between Chiloé and Valdivia. The Pehuénches lived more to the north, reaching as far as the Moule or Napel. The Pehuénches were the strongest and most numerous, and among them were the warlike Aucas or Araucanos. This celebrated tribe eventually gave its name to all the native inhabitants to the south of Biobio, divided into four groups or *butalmapus*. The name *pehuénches* still exists, and is principally applied to those inhabiting the eastern skirts and valleys of the Andes to the north. Each group was formed of various tribes, and each tribe of different families united by common interests. Each tribe obeyed an ulmen or chief warrior, whom the Spaniards called a *cacique*. Occasionally in times of war several tribes formed an alliance, and then they recognised the supreme authority of a chief called a *toqui*.

More than half a century before the Spaniards arrived for the first time in Chili the country had been invaded by the army of the inca Yupanqui. The invaders entered by Tucuman, and subjected all the territory between Copiapo and the Maule, but to the south of this river they met with stout resistance from the valiant Promaucaes and Araucanians. After fierce fighting the Peruvians were compelled to retreat to the north of the Maule or Rapel and Cachapoal, where they defended themselves with extensive fortifications. The northern territory, converted into a tributary state of the incas, greatly benefited by the Peruvians' advanced civilisation. Their government was mild and paternal, they perfected agriculture and different industries, and made canals for irrigation, and also bridges and roads. When the Spaniards arrived prepared for conquest, the Indians of the north and centre of Chili had already acquired habits of peace and labour.<sup>d</sup>

#### EXPEDITION OF PIZARRO

The success of Cortes, and other Spanish adventurers in America, stimulated the ambition of their countrymen, and gave additional impulse to the spirit of enterprise and discovery, which was the prevailing passion of the day. The discoveries and conquests which had been made, and the settlements that had been established, served both as incentives and facilities to new and bolder enterprises. The settlement at Panama, on the western coast of the isthmus of Darien, greatly facilitated the plans of adventurers in that quarter, and became, in some measure, the parent of most of the early settlements on the coast of the Southern Ocean.

Soon after the conquest of Mexico, about the year 1524, three obscure individuals, residing at Panama, formed a plan for discovering and conquering the rich countries to the eastward of that colony, which had long attracted the attention of adventurers. These individuals were Francisco Pizarro, the natural son of a Spanish gentleman, a soldier, and one of the early adventurers to the New World; Diego de Almagro, also a soldier, and whose origin was equally humble with that of his associate, one being a bastard and the other a foundling; and Hernando Luque, an ecclesiastic, who was employed in the double capacity of priest and schoolmaster at Panama. The last, by some means not known, had acquired considerable wealth, but his two associates possessed but little; each, however, was to embark his whole fortune in the enterprise, together with all his hopes. The contract between them was solemnised by religious sanctions, although its object was rapine and murder.

With all their united means and exertions they were enabled only to fit out one small vessel, with one hundred and twelve men, Pedrarias [Pedro Arias de Avila], the governor of Panama, having first authorised the expedition. This was commanded by Pizarro, and afterward Almagro sailed with seventy men more as a re-inforcement. Such were the men, and such the means, by which one of the most extensive empires on the globe was to be conquered — an empire where civilisation and the arts had made great progress, and whose government was not only established on divine authority, but its sovereign claimed relationship with the gods, and was venerated by his subjects accordingly.

Their first expedition was productive of little more advantage than the discovery of the opulent country of which they were in pursuit, whose existence had become a matter of doubt, in consequence of the failure of several attempts at discovery. After having touched at various places, and suffered incredible hardships, they discovered the coast of Chili, and landed at Tacamez, where

[1525 A.D.]

they beheld with pleasure a fertile and inviting country, very different from any they had discovered in the Southern Ocean. The country was cultivated, and the natives were clad in garments of white cotton stuffs, and adorned with trinkets of gold and silver. Although delighted with these appearances, the adventurers did not presume to invade so populous a country with a handful of men, worn out with hardships and wasted by disease. They stopped at the island of Gallo, and Almagro returned to Panama to obtain re-inforcements, leaving Pizarro with part of the men.

Pedro de los Rios, having succeeded Pedrarias as governor of the colony, and apprehending that the settlement of Panama would be weakened, and even exposed, by sending off adventurers in a distant and uncertain enterprise, he prohibited Almagro from raising more recruits, and despatched a vessel to bring back Pizarro and his followers, who were left behind. When the vessel arrived, Pizarro, inflexibly bent on his purposes, peremptorily refused to obey the orders of the governor, and used every persuasion to induce his men to remain with him. He drew a line on the sand with his sword, and informed his followers that those who wished to abandon their leader and the glorious enterprise, would pass over: thirteen only remained to share the fortune of their commander. This small and dauntless band removed to the island of Gorgona, as being a more safe situation, where they remained for more than five months, constantly tortured with hopes and fears, and suffering everything, short of death, from an unhealthy climate and the want of provisions. At length a vessel arrived from the governor, to convey them to Panama, which occasioned such excessive joy, such a sudden transition of feeling, that not only his followers, but the crew of the vessel, agreed to follow Pizarro, and, instead of returning to Panama, they bore away to the southeast, and had the good fortune to discover the coast of Peru.

After touching at several places, they landed at Tumbez, situated about three degrees south of the equatorial line; here was a magnificent temple, and a palace of the incas, or sovereigns of the empire. The fertility of the country, the improvements, civilisation, and wealth of the inhabitants, was now, for the first time, fully unfolded to the view of the Spaniards; the rich stuffs, in which many of the inhabitants were clad, the ornaments of gold and silver which adorned their persons, and the more massy and splendid ornaments of the precious metals which enriched their temples, and even the common utensils, composed of gold and silver, attracted their enraptured vision, convinced them that their fondest dreams were realised, and that at last they had discovered the land of Ophir — the country of gold. They feasted their eyes and their hopes on these inviting objects; and gazed until they almost imagined themselves masters of the country, and possessed of all the wealth they saw and coveted. But, with his small force, Pizarro did not attempt anything against the country, and contented himself with sailing along the coast, and trading with the inhabitants; he procured several llamas, vessels of silver and gold, and several curious specimens of their manufactures, to be exhibited as memorials of the opulent country he had discovered and explored. He also brought off two native youths, under the pretence of instructing them in the Castilian language, but with the real intention of employing them as interpreters.

But the flattering accounts which Pizarro gave of the opulence of the country, supported by the specimens he had brought with him, did not change the inflexible resolution of the governor of Panama; he still refused to authorise, or even countenance, the scheme of Pizarro and his two associates; in consequence of which, they determined to apply directly to their sovereign.

Having agreed among themselves that Pizarro should be governor, Almagro adelantado, or lieutenant-governor, and Luque bishop of the country they might conquer, Pizarro set sail for Spain, and succeeded beyond the utmost extent of his hopes. He obtained the appointment of captain-general and adelantado of the country he had discovered, described to extend six hundred miles along the coast south of the river Santiago; but his unbounded ambition led him to grasp everything for himself, and to disregard the rights of Almagro; yet as the views of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the expected appointment. When Pizarro arrived at Panama he found Almagro so exasperated at his conduct, that he was exerting all his influence to embarrass and frustrate his plans, and at the same time to fit out an expedition himself, on his own account. Alarmed at the consequences of an opposition from one who had been connected with him in the enterprise, Pizarro exerted himself to effect a reconciliation; and, by offering to relinquish to Almagro the office of adelantado, a reunion among the confederates was established.

The confederates now exerted themselves to fit out an armament for the conquest of the country: but with all their united efforts, aided by the alluring accounts of the country, three small vessels, with one hundred and eight men, was the extent of the force which they could raise, and with this Pizarro did not hesitate to invade an extensive country, filled with people. He landed in the bay of St. Matthew, and advancing toward the south, in the province of Coaque they plundered the inhabitants of gold and silver to the amount of \$40,000, a large portion of which they remitted in one of their vessels to Almagro, at Panama, to enable him to procure recruits; and despatched another vessel to Nicaragua. This display of the riches of the country, and the wealth they had already acquired, had a most happy influence on the cause, and procured several small re-inforcements. Pizarro continued his march along the coast, and met with little resistance from the inhabitants, who, surprised and terrified at the sudden appearance of such formidable invaders, either deserted their habitations and fled, or sued for peace and favour. He proceeded to Tumbez, and from thence to the river Piura, near the mouth of which, at a favourable site, he planted the first colony in Peru, which he called St. Michael.<sup>e</sup>

#### STATE OF PERU AT COMING OF SPANIARDS

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year 1526, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province which he had added to his dominions; and [as we have already seen], notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which seems to have happened about the year 1529, he appointed his successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race.

Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with greater reputation and splendour than any of his predecessors,

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the destination of Huana Capac concerning the succession appeared so repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed sacred, that it was no sooner known at Cuzco than it excited general disgust. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array.

Thus the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and that of the other asserted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity to which, under a succession of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a stranger. In such a contest the issue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huascar, who had been taken prisoner in a battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for some time, that, by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury. Had he made any hostile attempt in his former visit to Peru in the year 1527, he must then have encountered the force of a powerful state, united under a monarch, possessed of capacity as well as courage, and unembarrassed with any care that could divert him from opposing his progress. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were so intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whom, it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leisure.

#### PIZARRO'S MARCH INTO THE INTERIOR

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foresight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourse with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmolested, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. During their progress, the Spaniards had acquired some imperfect knowledge of this struggle between the two contending factions. The first complete information with respect to it, they received from messengers whom Huascar sent to Pizarro, in order to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper.

Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and foresaw so clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom, which he had invaded, that, without waiting for the re-inforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to

crush both. Enterprising as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations against Americans, and distinguished as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly suppose, that, after having proceeded hitherto slowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his system of operation, and have ventured upon a measure so hazardous, without some new motive or prospect to justify it.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garrison in St. Michael, sufficient to defend a station of equal importance as a place of retreat in case of any disaster, and as a port for receiving any supplies which should come from Panama, he began his march with a very slender and ill-accoutred train of followers. They consisted of sixty-two horsemen, and a hundred and two foot-soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross-bows, and three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days' march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer despatched by the inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favoured the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter.

While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. From Motupè they advanced towards the mountains which encompassed the low country of Peru, and passed through a defile so narrow and inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against a numerous army. But here, likewise, from the same inconsiderate credulity of the inca, the Spaniards met with no opposition, and took quiet possession of a fort erected for the security of that important station. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and, as an evidence of their sincerity, sent them presents of greater value than the former.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he despatched his brother Ferdinand and Hernando de Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his

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pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country.

They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atahualpa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards, who had never met in America with anything more dignified than the petty cacique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that an European of the sixteenth century could form.

## CAPTURE OF THE INCA

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken. From his own observation of American manners during his long service in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from seizing Montezuma, he knew of what consequence it was to have the inca in his power. For this purpose he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character that he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspecting simplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize the person of the inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no disgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross-bowmen, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Early in the morning the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in a uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with

precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this calvacade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the inca drew near the Spanish quarters, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vice-gerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the popes, the donation made to the king of Castile by Pope Alexander of all the regions of the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the king of Castile, as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it up to his ear: "This," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing"; and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs."

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of

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his chosen band, advanced directly towards the inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro, seizing the inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the inca.

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru; and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to the indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

At first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, laboured to console him with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the inca quickly discovered their ruling passion, which, indeed, they were nowise solicitous to conceal, and, by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

## DEATH OF THE INCA

Atahualpa, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of the gods, or the houses of the inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca.

The Peruvians, accustomed to obey implicitly the mandates of their sovereign, flocked in, from all parts of the empire, loaded with the precious metals, so that in a short period the greater part of the stipulated quantity was produced, and Atahualpa assured Pizarro that the residue would arrive as soon as there was sufficient time to convey it from the remote provinces. But such piles of gold so inflamed the avarice of a needy soldiery, that they could no longer be restrained, and Pizarro was obliged to order the whole melted down, and divided among his followers. The captive monarch, having performed his part of the contract, now demanded to be set at liberty; but the perfidious Spanish leader had no such intention, his only object being to secure the plunder; and he even meditated taking the life of his credulous

captive, at the very time the latter was employed in amassing the treasures for his ransom. Atahualpa was subjected to a mock trial, and condemned to be burned: his last moments were embittered by the friar Valverde, who, although he had used his influence to procure his condemnation, and sanctioned the sentence with his own signature, attempted to console him in his awful situation, and to convert him to Christianity. The only argument that had any influence on the trembling victim was that of mitigating his punishment; and on the promise of being strangled, instead of consumed by a slow fire, he consented to be baptised, by the hand of one of his murderers, who exercised the holy functions of priest.

After the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty; Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, was also declared sovereign at Cuzco, and the governors of many of the provinces assumed independent authority, so that the empire was torn to pieces by intestine dissensions.

The intelligence of the immense wealth acquired by Pizarro and his followers, which those who had returned had conveyed to Panama, Nicaragua, and Guatemala, confirmed by a display of the treasures, produced such an electric effect, that it was with difficulty the governors of those places could restrain their people from abandoning their possessions and embarking for Peru, as adventurers. Numerous reinforcements arrived from various quarters, which enabled Pizarro to force his way into the heart of the country, and take possession of Cuzco, the capital of the empire. The gold and silver found here, after all that had been removed, exceeded what had been received as the ransom of Atahualpa.

#### REVOLT OF PERUVIANS

Whilst the Spanish commander was thus employed, Benalcazar, who had been left in command at St. Michael, having received some reinforcements, left a garrison at that place, and set out with the rest of the troops under his command for the conquest of Quito. After a long and difficult march, over mountains and rivers, exposed to the fierce attacks of the natives, he entered the city of Quito. The tranquillity of the interior, and the arrival of Ferdinand Pizarro, brother of the commander-in-chief, with considerable reinforcements, induced the latter to march back to the seacoast, where, in the year 1534, he laid the foundation of the city of Lima, distinguished in after times for its wealth and earthquakes. In the mean time, Amalgro set out on an expedition for the conquest of Chili; and several parties were ordered by Pizarro into distant provinces, which had not been subjugated. These various enterprises had reduced the troops at Cuzco to a small number. The Peruvians, aware of this circumstance, and being now persuaded that the Spaniards would not voluntarily retire from their country, but intended to establish themselves in it, were at last aroused from their inactivity, and seemed determined to expel their rapacious invaders.

Preparations, through the whole empire, were carried on with such secrecy and despatch, as to elude the utmost vigilance of the Spaniards; and Manco Capac, who was acknowledged by all as sovereign at this time, having made his escape from the Spaniards at Cuzco, where he had been detained as a prisoner, the standard of war was immediately raised; troops assembled from all parts of the empire, and, according to the Spanish writers of that period, two hundred thousand men laid siege to Cuzco, which was defended for nine months by one hundred and seventy Spaniards. A numerous army also

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invested Lima, and all communication between the two cities was cut off. The Peruvians not only displayed the utmost bravery, but, imitating the discipline of their enemies, large bodies were marshalled in regular order: some of their bravest warriors were armed with swords and spears; others appeared with muskets, obtained from the Spaniards, and a few of the boldest, at the head of whom was the inca himself, were mounted on horses, which they had taken from their invaders, and charged like Spanish cavaliers. All the exertions of the Spanish garrison, directed by the two brothers of the commander-in-chief, and rendered desperate from their situation, could not resist the incessant attacks of the Peruvians; they recovered possession of one half of their capital; and the Spaniards, worn out with uninterrupted service, suffering for the want of provisions, and ignorant as to their brethren in other stations, and the number of their enemies daily increasing, were ready to despair; the stoutest hearts sunk under such accumulated, such appalling difficulties and dangers.

At this hour of darkness, when the lamp of hope emitted but a glimmering ray, Almagro appeared at Cuzco. But even this event the Pizarros hardly knew whether to regard as auspicious or calamitous, as they knew not whether he had come as a friend or foe. Whilst in Chili, he had received a patent from the crown, constituting him governor of Chili, and defining its limits, which, by his own construction, included the city of Cuzco; and being informed of the revolt of the Peruvians, he marched back to prevent the place from falling into the possession of the natives, and also to rescue it from the hands of the Pizarros. Almagro was, therefore, the enemy of both parties, and both attempted to negotiate with him. The inca, knowing his situation and pretensions, at first attempted to make terms with him; but soon being convinced that no faith could be had with a Spaniard, he fell suddenly upon him, with a numerous body of his bravest troops. The discipline and good fortune of the Spaniards once more prevailed, and the Peruvians were defeated with an immense slaughter, and their whole army dispersed. Almagro's attention was now directed against the garrison; and having surprised the sentinels, he entered the town by night, surrounded the house where the two Pizarros quartered, and compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. Francisco Pizarro, having defeated and driven off the Peruvians who invested Lima, sent a detachment of five hundred men to Cuzco to the relief of his brothers, in case they had not already fallen into the hands of the Peruvians. On their arrival they were astonished to find an enemy in their own countrymen, which was the first knowledge they had of the events that had occurred at Cuzco. After first attempting, without success, to seduce Alvarado, their commander, Almagro surprised and fell upon them in the night in their camp, took Alvarado and his principal officers prisoners, and completely routed the party.

#### CONFLICT BETWEEN ALMAGRO AND PIZARRO

Pizarro, alarmed for the safety of his two brothers, as well as for the security of his possessions, opened a negotiation with Almagro; and having artfully prolonged the same for several months, and by deception and perfidy procured the liberation of his brothers, threw off all disguise, abandoned the negotiation, and prepared to settle the dispute in the field; and seven hundred men, ready to march to Cuzco, attested the rapidity of his preparations. The command of these troops he gave to his two brothers, who anxious for victory, and thirsting for revenge, penetrated through the defiles of one branch of the Andes, and appeared on the plain before Cuzco. Almagro had five hundred

men, veteran soldiers, and a greater number of cavalry than his enemy: being worn out by services and fatigues, too great for his advanced age, he was obliged to entrust the command to Orgognez, who, though an officer of much merit, had not the same ascendancy over the troops as their chief, whom they had long been accustomed to follow in the career of victory. Pizarro had a superiority in numbers, and an advantage from two companies armed with muskets, and disciplined to their use. Whilst countrymen and brethren, who had made common cause in plundering and massacring the natives, were drawn up in hostile array, and under the same banners, to shed each other's blood, the Indians, like distant clouds, covered the mountains, and viewed with astonishment, but with pleasure, that rapacity and violence of which they had been the victims, about to recoil on the heads of their invaders, and to be inflicted by their own hands. They were prepared to fall on the victorious party, who, exhausted by the contest, might be an easy prey, and thus appropriate the victory to themselves.

The conflict was fierce and tremendous; for "when Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war"; for a considerable time the result was doubtful, but Orgognez, having received a dangerous wound, his party was completely routed, himself slain in cold blood, one hundred and forty killed, and the rest fell into the hands of the victors. Almagro, who had witnessed the action from a litter with the deepest emotions, attempted to escape, but was made a prisoner. After being detained in custody for several months, he was subjected to a mock trial, and sentenced to death.<sup>e</sup>

The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the history of the New World there is not a more striking instance of the wonderful ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that, after seeing one of the contending parties ruined and dispersed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune presented an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage.

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a considerable booty, consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the ideas of the recompense which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent assuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every standard erected by the leaders who undertook any of those new expeditions, volunteers resorted, with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them; and thus Pizarro had the satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies.

#### DELIBERATIONS IN SPAIN CONCERNING PERU

As, during the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country

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upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendour, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious that while the leaders, entrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy in destroying one another, all attention to the public good must cease; and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the disunion of the Spaniards presented to them, and extirpate both the victors and vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Nothing therefore remained but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and inquiring upon the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorised to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid, and his abilities, integrity, and firmness, justified the choice. His instructions; though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was entrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for, at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined in a prison, where he remained above twenty years.

While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candour of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were

assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion of those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each concerning the recompense due to them rose gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

#### EXPEDITION OF GONZALO PIZARRO

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces, and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which not only extended their knowledge of the country, but added considerably to the territories of Spain in the New World.

One of these territories was that part of Peru which is now known as Bolivia. At the time of the coming of the Spaniards it formed a part of the empire of the incas, but ruins of buildings found in the country show traces of a much older civilisation. Almagro passed through Bolivia on his way to Chili, and afterwards the Pizarro brothers established their authority on the high plateau. In 1545 the silver mines of Potosi were discovered. According to Mr. Dawson, *g* "the discovery of Potosi revolutionised Upper Peru — as Bolivia was then called." He thinks it probable that the high and relatively inaccessible plateau would long have escaped Spanish settlement had it not been for the appeal that the mines made to Spanish cupidity. It is well known that Pizarro's followers came as conquerors and not as settlers. They cared only for the gold that had been accumulated by the civilised natives, and when they had secured that, there was nothing to induce them to remain in Bolivia. As soon, however, as it became known that there were seemingly inexhaustible deposits of silver at Potosi, Bolivia was seen to be the greatest source of that metal in the known world, and its importance to the Castilian king was proportionately enhanced. Dawson declares that a single mountain had produced two billion ounces of silver. Little wonder, then, that the supply seemed inexhaustible.

Pedro de Valdivia re-assumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and, notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of Santiago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion in that province. But of all the enterprises undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and

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other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, nearly one half of whom were horsemen; with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants.

The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men; but when they descended into the low country, their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. The immense plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the new world, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Marañon [Amazon], and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francisco de Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far ahead of their countrymen, who followed slowly and with difficulty by land.

## INDEPENDENT VOYAGE OF ORELLANA

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent, and transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Marañon, until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-soldiers in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark; his crime is, in some measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the South, until he reached the great channel of the Marañon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks; and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean, where new perils

awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlement in the island of Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain.

The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the New World. and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly and with difficulty that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the extensive countries that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Marañon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had entrusted with such an important command, could be so base and so unfeeling, as to desert him at such a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Marañon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest-hearted veteran sunk within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly.

Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those which they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword-belts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, perished in this wild disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and, as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only fourscore got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

#### CONSPIRACY AGAINST FRANCISCO PIZARRO

But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves

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as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority, from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and, looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement.

Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessities, and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But, either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," said he carelessly, "about my life; it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Rada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal which this connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On the day appointed, Rada and his companions met in Almagro's house, and waited with anxiety for the hour when the governor should issue from the church. But great was their consternation when they learned that he was not there, but was detained at home, as currently reported, by illness. Little doubting that their design was discovered, they felt their own ruin to be the inevitable consequence, and that, too, without enjoying the melancholy consolation of having struck the blow for which they had incurred it. Greatly perplexed, some were for disbanding, in the hope that Pizarro might, after all, be ignorant of their design. But most were for carrying it into execution at once, by assaulting him in his own house. The question was summarily decided by one of the party, who felt that in this latter course lay their only chance of safety. Throwing open the doors, he rushed out, calling on his comrades to follow him, or he would proclaim the purpose for which they had met. There was no longer hesitation, and the cavaliers issuing forth, with Rada at their head, shouting, as they went, "Long live the king! Death to the tyrant!"

It was the hour of dinner, which, in this primitive age of the Spanish

colonies, was at noon. Yet numbers, roused by the cries of the assailants, came out into the square to inquire the cause. "They are going to kill the marquis," some said very coolly; others replied, "It is Picado." No one stirred in their defence. The power of Pizarro was not seated in the hearts of his people. As the conspirators traversed the *plaza*, one of the party made a circuit to avoid a little pool of water that lay in their path. "What!" exclaimed Rada, "afraid of wetting your feet, when you are to wade up to your knees in blood!" And he ordered the man to give up the enterprise and go home to his quarters. The anecdote is characteristic.

The governor's palace stood on the opposite side of the square. It was approached by two courtyards. The entrance to the outer one was protected by a massive gate, capable of being made good against a hundred men or more. But it was left open, and the assailants, hurrying through to the inner court, still shouting their fearful battle-cry, were met by two domestics loitering in the yard. One of these they struck down. The other, flying in all haste towards the house, called out, "Help, help! the men of Chili are all coming to murder the marquis!"

#### DEATH OF PIZARRO

Pizarro at this time was at dinner, or, more probably, had just dined. He was surrounded by a party of friends, who had dropped in, it seems, after mass, to inquire after the state of his health, some of whom had remained to partake of his repast. Among these was Don Francisco de Alcantara, Pizarro's half-brother by the mother's side, the judge Velasquez, the bishop-elect of Quito, and several of the principal cavaliers in the place, to the number of fifteen or twenty. Some of them, alarmed by the uproar in the courtyard, left the saloon, and, running down to the first landing on the stairway, inquired into the cause of the disturbance. No sooner were they informed of it by the cries of the servant, than they retreated with precipitation into the house; and, as they had no mind to abide the storm unarmed, or at best imperfectly armed, as most of them were, they made their way to a corridor that overlooked the gardens, into which they easily let themselves down without injury. Velasquez, the judge, the better to have the use of his hands in the descent, held his rod of office in his mouth, thus taking care, says a caustic old chronicler, not to falsify his assurance that "no harm should come to Pizarro while the rod of justice was in his hands!"

Meanwhile, the marquis, learning the nature of the tumult, called out to Francisco de Chaves, an officer high in his confidence, and who was in the outer apartment opening on the staircase, to secure the door, while he and his brother Alcantara buckled on their armour. Had this order, coolly given, been as coolly obeyed, it would have saved them all, since the entrance could easily have been maintained against a much larger force, till the report of the cavaliers who had fled had brought support to Pizarro. But unfortunately Chaves, disobeying his commander, half opened the door, and attempted to enter into a parley with the conspirators. The latter had now reached the head of the stairs, and cut short the debate by running Chaves through the body, and tumbling his corpse down into the area below. For a moment they were kept at bay by the attendants of the slaughtered cavalier, but these too, were quickly despatched; and Rada and his companions, entering the apartment, hurried across it, shouting out, "Where is the marquis? Death to the tyrant!"

Alcantara, who in the adjoining room was assisting his brother to buckle

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on his mail, no sooner saw that the entrance to the antechamber had been gained, than he sprang to the doorway of the apartment, and, assisted by two young men, pages of Pizarro, and by one or two cavaliers in attendance, endeavoured to resist the approach of the assailants. A desperate struggle now ensued. Blows were given on both sides, some of which proved fatal, and two of the conspirators were slain, while Alcantara and his brave companions were repeatedly wounded.

At length Pizarro, unable in the hurry of the moment to adjust the fastenings of his cuirass, threw it away, and enveloping one arm in his cloak with the other seized his sword, and sprang to his brother's assistance. It was too late; for Alcantara was already staggering under the loss of blood, and soon fell to the ground. Pizarro threw himself on his invaders, like a lion roused in his lair, and dealt his blows with as much rapidity and force as if age had no power to stiffen his limbs. "What ho!" he cried, "traitors! have you come to kill me in my own house?" The conspirators drew back for a moment, as two of their body fell under Pizarro's sword; but they quickly rallied, and, from their superior numbers, fought at great advantage by relieving one another in the assault.

Still, the passage was narrow, and the struggle lasted for some minutes, till both of Pizarro's pages were stretched by his side, when Rada, impatient of the delay, called out, "Why are we so long about it? Down with the tyrant!" and taking one of his companions, Narvaez, in his arms, he thrust him against the marquis. Pizarro, instantly grappling with his opponent, ran him through with his sword. But at that moment he received a wound in the throat, and reeling he sank to the floor, while the swords of Rada and several of the conspirators were plunged into his body. "Jesu!" exclaimed the dying man, and, tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke, more friendly than the rest, put an end to his existence.

The conspirators, having accomplished their bloody deed, rushed into the street, and, brandishing their dripping weapons, shouted out, "The tyrant is dead! The laws are restored! Long live our master the emperor, and his governor, Almagro!" The men of Chili, roused by the cheering cry, now flocked in from every side to join the banner of Rada, who soon found himself at the head of nearly three hundred followers, all armed and prepared to support his authority. A guard was placed over the houses of the principal partisans of the late governor, and their persons were taken into custody. Pizarro's house, and that of his secretary Picado, were delivered up to pillage, and a large booty in gold and silver was found in the former. Picado himself took refuge in the dwelling of Riquelme, the treasurer; but his hiding place was detected — betrayed, according to some accounts, by the looks, though not the words, of the treasurer himself — and he was dragged forth and committed to a secure prison.

The whole city was thrown into consternation, as armed bodies hurried to and fro on their several errands, and all who were not in the faction of Almagro trembled lest they should be involved in the proscription of their enemies. So great was the disorder that the Brothers of Mercy, turning out in a body, paraded the streets in solemn procession, with the host elevated in the air, in hopes by the presence of the sacred symbol to calm the passions of the multitude.

But no other violence was offered by Rada and his followers than to apprehend a few suspected persons, and to seize upon horses and arms wherever they were to be found. The municipality was then summoned to recognise the

authority of Almagro; the refractory were ejected without ceremony from their offices, and others of the Chili faction were substituted. The claims of the new aspirant were fully recognised; and young Almagro, parading the streets on horseback, and escorted by a well-armed body of cavaliers, was proclaimed by sound of trumpet governor and captain-general of Peru.

Meanwhile, the mangled bodies of Pizarro and his faithful adherents were left weltering in their blood. Some were for dragging forth the governor's corpse to the market-place, and fixing his head upon a gibbet. But Almagro was secretly prevailed on to grant the entreaties of Pizarro's friends, and allow his interment. This was stealthily and hastily performed, in the fear of momentary interruption. A faithful attendant and his wife, with a few black domestics, wrapped the body in a cotton cloth and removed it to the cathedral. A grave was hastily dug in an obscure corner, the services were hurried through, and, in secrecy, and in darkness dispelled only by the feeble glimmering of a few tapers furnished by these humble menials, the remains of Pizarro, rolled in their bloody shroud, were consigned to their kindred dust. Such was the miserable end of the conqueror of Peru—of the man who but a few hours before had lorded it over the land with as absolute a sway as was possessed by its hereditary incas. Cut off in the broad light of day, in the heart of his own capital, in the very midst of those who had been his companions-in-arms and shared with him his triumphs and his spoils, he perished like a wretched outcast. "There was none even," in the expressive language of the chronicler, "to say, God forgive him!"

A few years later, when tranquillity was restored to the country, Pizarro's remains were placed in a sumptuous coffin and deposited under a monument in a conspicuous part of the cathedral. And in 1607, when time had thrown its friendly mantle over the past, and the memory of his errors and his crimes was merged in the consideration of the great services he had rendered to the crown by the extension of her colonial empire, his bones were removed to the new cathedral, and allowed to repose side by side with those of Mendoza, the wise and good viceroy of Peru.

#### PRESCOTT'S ESTIMATE OF PIZARRO

Pizarro was eminently perfidious. Yet nothing is more opposed to sound policy. One act of perfidy fully established becomes the ruin of its author. The man who relinquishes confidence in his good faith gives up the best basis for future operations. Who will knowingly build on a quicksand? By his perfidious treatment of Almagro, Pizarro alienated the minds of the Spaniards. By his perfidious treatment of Atahualpa, and subsequently of the inca Manco, he disgusted the Peruvians. The name of Pizarro became a by-word for perfidy. Almagro took his revenge in a civil war; Manco in an insurrection which nearly cost Pizarro his dominion. The civil war terminated in a conspiracy which cost him his life. Such were the fruits of his policy.

But Pizarro's ruling motives, so far as they can be scanned by human judgment, were avarice and ambition. The good missionaries, indeed, followed in his train, and the Spanish government, as usual, directed its beneficent legislation to the conversion of the natives. But the moving power with Pizarro and his followers was the lust of gold. This was the real stimulus to their toil, the price of perfidy, the true guerdon of their victories. This gave a base and mercenary character to their enterprise; and when we contrast the ferocious cupidity of the conquerors with the mild and inoffensive manners

[1541 A.D.]

of the conquered, our sympathies, the sympathies even of the Spaniards, are necessarily thrown into the scale of the Indian.

But as no picture is without its lights, we must not, in justice to Pizarro, dwell exclusively on the darker features of his portrait. There was no one of her sons to whom Spain was under larger obligations for extent of empire; for his hand won for her the richest of the Indian jewels that once sparkled in her imperial diadem. When we contemplate the perils he braved, the sufferings he patiently endured, the incredible obstacles he overcame, the magnificent results he effected with his single arm, as it were, unaided by the government — though neither a good nor a great man in the highest sense of that term, it is impossible not to regard him as a very extraordinary one.<sup>b</sup>

#### APPOINTMENT OF NEW GOVERNORS

The shocking dissensions in Peru being known at the court of Castile, Vaca de Castro received a royal commission, appointing him governor of Peru, for the purpose of quieting the existing disturbances, and establishing the authority of the Spanish government. Having landed at Quito, he immediately, and with great energy, adopted measures to suppress the insurrection, and bring the daring conspirators to punishment. He marched toward Cuzco, whither Almagro had retired; the hostile parties met at Chupaz, about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and both determined to decide the contest at once. The action was bloody and decisive, and characterised by that fierceness, impetuosity, and vindictive spirit, which the deadly animosities of both parties, and desperate situation of one, were calculated to inspire; and the slaughter was in proportion to the maddening fury of the combatants. Of fourteen hundred men, the whole number engaged on both sides, more than one thousand lay dead and wounded on the field of battle. Superiority of numbers prevailed, and young Almagro and his party, or all who escaped the sword, fell into the hands of the victors. And although they were countrymen and fellow-Christians, the tender mercies of their conquerors were cruelties; forty were executed as rebels; many were banished, and young Almagro, their leader, was publicly beheaded at Cuzco. These events occurred in 1542. At length the torch of civil dissension, if not extinguished, ceased to burn; and a short period of repose was restored to a country whose history hitherto was but a succession of carnage and bloodshed.

But tranquillity in Peru was not of long continuance; new regulations having been framed for the government of the Spanish possessions in America, which greatly alarmed the settlers, by depriving them of their oppressive power over the natives, and Nugñez Vela being sent out to Peru as governor, to enforce them, the elements of dissension were again brought into action, and the gathering clouds threatened another storm of civil war. The rashness and violence of the new governor increased the disorders, and spread the disaffection throughout the provinces. The malcontents from all quarters looked to Gonzalo Pizarro as their leader and deliverer; and, having taken the field, he soon found himself at the head of one thousand men, with which he moved toward Lima. But before he arrived there a revolution had taken place; the governor and the judges of the court of Audience, had long been in contention, and finally the latter, gaining the ascendancy, seized the governor, and sent him prisoner to a desert island on the coast.

Pizarro, finding things in this state of disorder, beheld the supreme authority within his reach, and compelled the judges of the royal audience to appoint him governor and captain-general of Peru. He had scarcely possessed him-

self of his usurped authority, before he was called to defend it, against a formidable opponent. Nugñez Vela, the governor, being set at liberty by the officer entrusted with conducting him to Spain, landed at Tumbes, raised the royal standard, and resumed his functions as viceroy of the province. Many distinguished individuals declared in his favour, and, from the violence of Pizarro's administration, he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force. Pizarro immediately prepared to meet him, and to decide, by the umpirage of the sword, the validity of their respective pretensions. But Vela, being inferior in the number of his forces, and unwilling to stake his power and his life on the issue of an engagement, retreated toward Quito, and was pursued with great celerity by Pizarro.

Not being able to defend Quito, the viceroy continued his march into the province of Popayan, where he received so considerable reinforcements that he determined to march back to Quito, and decide the contest. Pizarro, confiding in the known bravery of his troops, rejoiced at an opportunity to meet him; the conflict, as usual, was sharp, fierce, and bloody; Pizarro was victorious, and the viceroy, who fell covered with wounds, had his head cut off and placed on a gibbet in Quito, whilst the conquerors made a triumphal entry into the city. All opposition to the authority of the victor ceased, and Pizarro now found himself supreme master of Peru, and of the South Sea, as he possessed a fleet which had captured Panama, and commanded the ocean.

These alarming dissensions gave great concern to the government of Spain, and led to the appointment of Pedro de la Gasca, with unlimited authority to suppress them, and restore tranquillity and the power of the parent country. He came without troops, and almost without attendants; his conduct was directly the reverse of Vela, his predecessor; he was truly the minister of peace; it was his object to reclaim, not to subdue: and by his conciliatory conduct, and mild and judicious measures, he effected more than he could have done by the sword. Several of Pizarro's officers declared in his favour, and from the contagion of example, and the oblivion which he proclaimed to all past offences, and a promise of redressing grievances, his adherents daily and rapidly increased. Pizarro, as is the case of all usurpers, when their power is in danger, was filled with apprehension and rage. He sent deputies to bribe Gasca, and if that could not be done, to cut him off by assassination or poison; but his messengers, instead of executing his diabolical orders, joined Gasca themselves. Irritated at the disaffection of his officers and men, he prepared to decide the dispute in the field; and Gasca, perceiving that it would become necessary to employ force, took steps to assemble troops in Peru, and collect them from other colonies. Pizarro marched rapidly to Cuzco, and attacked Centeno, who had joined Gasca, and although he had but half the number of men, he obtained a signal victory, attended with immense slaughter.

This good fortune was probably the cause of his ruin, as it elevated his hopes so high as inclined him to refuse all terms of accommodation, although Gasca continued to the last extremely moderate in his demands, and seemed more desirous to reclaim than to conquer. Gasca having tried, without success, every means of avoiding the distressing alternative of imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, at length, at the head of sixteen hundred men, moved toward Cuzco; and Pizarro, with one thousand more experienced veterans, confident of victory, suffered him to advance to within four leagues of the capital, when he marched out, eager to meet him. He chose his ground, drew up his men in line of battle, and at the very moment he expected the action to commence, some of his principal officers galloped off and surrendered themselves to the enemy: their example was followed by others, and this ex-

[1549 A.D.]

traordinary conduct spread distrust and amazement from rank to rank; one company after another threw down their arms, and went over to the royalists. Pizarro, and some of his officers who remained faithful, attempted to stop them by entreaties and threats, but it was all in vain; they soon found themselves deserted of nearly their whole army. Pizarro fell into the hands of Gasca, and was beheaded the next day; several of his most distinguished and notorious followers shared the same fate; Carvajal, at the advanced age of fourscore, and who had long been accustomed to scenes of carnage and peril, on being informed of his sentence, carelessly replied: "Well, a man can die but once."

Gasca, as moderate and just after victory as before, pardoned all the rest, and exerted himself to soothe the feelings of the remaining malcontents; he simplified the collection of the revenue, re-established the administration of justice, and provided for the protection and bettering the condition of the Indians; and having accomplished every object of his mission, he returned to Spain, in 1549, as poor as he left it, but universally admired for his talents, virtues, and important services. He entrusted the government of Peru to the court of Audience. For several years after this the machinations and rapacity of several ambitious chiefs distracted the Peruvian states with civil contentions; but at length the authority of Spain was completely and firmly established over the whole of that extensive and valuable portion of America.<sup>e</sup>



### CHAPTER III

#### SPANISH DOMINION IN AMERICA

THAT part of the southern continent of America, stretching to the eastward of Darien, comprising the provinces of Cartagena and Santa Martha, was discovered by Roderigo de Bastigas, in the year 1520, and was subjugated by Pedro de Heredia, in the year 1532. As early as the year 1544, Cartagena had become a considerable town, and its harbour was the safest and best fortified of any in the Spanish territories in the new world. Its situation is favourable for commerce, and it was selected as the port at which the Spanish galleons should first begin to trade, on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were to return, in order to prepare for their homeward voyage. The province of Venezuela was first visited by Ojeda, in the year 1499, in his voyage of discovery, which has before been noticed. Observing an Indian village, built on piles, to raise it above the stagnant water, the Spaniards, from their propensity to discover resemblances between America and Europe bestowed on it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice.

Charles V, to obtain a large loan of the Velsers of Augsburg, then the wealthiest merchants in Europe, granted to them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief, on condition that they were to subjugate the natives, and plant a colony in the territory. The proprietors sent out some German adventurers, who, instead of establishing a colony, wandered about the country in search of mines, and to plunder the natives. In a few years their avarice and rapacity desolated the province, instead of settling it, and the proprietors, despairing of succeeding in the enterprise, relinquished their grant, and the occupation of the country, when the Spaniards again took possession of it; but notwithstanding its natural advantages, it long remained one of their most unpromising settlements.

The new kingdom of Granada, as it was called, is an interior region, and was subjugated to the authority of Spain, in 1536, by Benalcazar, who invaded it from Quito, where he was in command under Pizarro and Quesada. The natives being more improved than any in America, not excepting the Peruvians and Mexicans, defended themselves with resolution, bravery, and persever-

[1536-1728 A.D.]

ance; but here, as everywhere else, discipline and science prevailed over barbarian force. The Indians in New Granada, not having been subjected to the same services of working in mines, which in other parts of America have wasted that miserable race, continued more populous in this colony than in any other. Gold was found here, not by digging into the bowels of the earth, but mixed with the soil near the surface, on the more elevated tracts. One of the governors of Santa Fé carried to Spain a lump of pure gold, found in one of the provinces of New Granada, valued at more than \$3,000.

The kingdom of New Granada was first established in 1547, and was under the government of a captain-general and royal audience: the seat of government was fixed at Santa Fé de Bogota. In 1718 it was erected into a viceroyalty, together with several other provinces; but this government was annulled in 1724, and restored in 1740, and continued an independent government until the breaking out of the revolution, when it was incorporated into the republic of Colombia.

The provinces of Caracas and Cumana lie to the eastward of Venezuela, and, together with Cartagena and Santa Martha, formed what was anciently called the kingdom of Terra Firma, and all are now included in the republic of Colombia. These two provinces were, for a long period, principally known and distinguished for the cultivation and commerce in the nuts of the cocoa-tree, which, next to those produced in Guatemala, on the South Sea, are the best in America. A paste, formed from the nut or almond of the cocoa-tree, compounded with certain ingredients, constitutes chocolate, the manufacture and use of which the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans; and being a palatable and wholesome beverage, it was soon introduced into use in Europe, and became an important article of commerce.

From the contiguity of the settlements of the Dutch to the coast of Caracas, on the island of Curaçao, and their superior enterprise in traffic, they engrossed most of the cocoa trade from Caracas, and Spain itself was obliged to receive the article from foreigners, at an exorbitant price, although the product of their own colonies. To remedy an evil, not more detrimental to the interests than disgraceful to the enterprise of Spain, in the year 1728 Philip V granted to a company of merchants an entire and exclusive monopoly of the commerce with Caracas and Cumana. This association, sometimes called the Company of Caracas, restored to Spain this branch of the commerce of America, greatly extended it, as the consumption of the article increased, and being subjected to proper regulations, to counteract the effects of the monopoly, advanced the growth and progress of the settlement.

## VICEROYALTIES OF MEXICO AND PERU

Mexico, or New Spain, and Peru were at first regarded by the Spaniards as the most important and valuable portions of America; not so much on account of their fertility, or any geographical superiority, as from the consideration of their being inhabited by people in a higher state of improvement, and consequently affording more gratifying objects for the rapacity of the first adventurers. The numbers of adventurers which these objects, and the civil contentions which they occasioned, originally drew to these countries, tended to commence their settlement under more favourable auspices than any other colonies enjoyed. The rich mines, afterward discovered, had a powerful operation to attract enterprise and allure adventurers; and the complete subjugation of the natives, both in Mexico and Peru, and reducing them

[1536 A.D.]

to a condition of domestic servitude and apportioning them, together with the lands, among the first adventurers (whilst in other districts the natives, more wild and ferocious, without fixed habitations, subsisting by hunting, could not otherwise be overcome than by being exterminated or expelled), were among the causes which continued, for a long period, to promote the growth of Mexico and Peru, and to render them the principal of the Spanish colonies; and the same causes occasioned the other settlements to be regarded only as appendages of one or the other of these, or of little importance. Hence, after the Spanish conquests in America had been so far completed as to justify the establishment, on the part of Spain, of regular colonial governments, their whole American dominions were divided into two immense governments, one called the viceroyalty of New Spain, the other the viceroyalty of Peru; the seats of government were Mexico and Lima. The former comprehended all the possessions of Spain in the northern division of the American continent, and the latter comprised all her settlements and territories in South America.

New Spain embraced, under the Spaniards, a much more extensive region than the empire of Mexico, or the dominions of Montezuma and his predecessors: the vast territory called New Navarre, extending to the north and west, and the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, stretching along the east side of the gulf of California, and also the peninsula of California, on the opposite side of the gulf, and the provinces of Yucatan and Honduras, extending from the bay of Campeche to beyond Cape Gracias à Dios, were comprised within the territories of New Spain, which did not belong to the Mexican Empire. These countries were mostly visited and subjugated by Spanish adventurers, in the early part of the sixteenth century. The peninsula of California was discovered by Cortés, in 1536, and was so entirely neglected, that for a long period it was not known whether it was an island or a peninsula. Towards the close of the seventeenth century the Jesuits explored it, established it as an important mission, made great progress in civilising the rude and ferocious natives, and established the same dominion over them that they did over the natives in Paraguay. At length the government, growing jealous of the Jesuits, they were expelled from the Spanish dominions, and José Galvez was sent out to examine the province, who gave a favourable account of the country, and of the pearl-fishery on the coast. He also discovered several mines, apparently valuable.

Honduras and the peninsula of Yucatan attracted attention principally from the valuable dye-woods which they afforded, the logwood tree being produced in greater abundance there than in any other part of America. After having long exclusively enjoyed the profitable logwood trade, the Spaniards were disturbed in it by some adventurers from Jamaica, who commenced cutting logwood at the cape forming the southeast promontory of Yucatan; then in the bay of Campeche, and afterward in the bay of Honduras. These encroachments alarmed the Spaniards, and they endeavoured to stop them, by remonstrance, negotiation, and by force; but after a contention for half a century, the fortune of war, and naval superiority of Britain enabled her to extort from Spain a reluctant consent to the existence of a settlement of foreigners in the heart of her own possessions. Mortified, however, at this concession, she attempted to counteract its consequences by encouraging the cutting of logwood on the west coast of Yucatan, where the wood was of superior quality. To promote this object, she permitted the importation of logwood into Spain, without the payment of any duty, by which means this commerce became very flourishing, and that of the English, in the bay of

[1536-1624 A.D.]

Honduras declined. East of Honduras were the provinces of Costa Rica and Veragua, which were much neglected by the Spaniards, as of little value.

The viceroyalty of Peru, in addition to the Peruvian territories, comprehended Chili, the conquest of which, as we have seen, was first attempted by Almagro, and afterward by Valdivia, both of whom met with a most fierce opposition from the natives, and the latter was defeated and slain; but Villagra, his successor in command, restored victory to the Spanish standard; and finally the district on the seacoast was subdued, the natives continuing masters of the mountainous regions; and for more than two centuries they kept up hostilities with their Spanish neighbours, almost without interruption, and their hostile incursions greatly retarded the settlement of the most fertile country in America, possessing the most delicious climate in the New or Old World; for, though bordering on the torrid zone, it is exempt both from the extremes of heat and cold, lying, as it were, under the shade of the Andes, which protects it on the east, and being constantly refreshed by the cooling seabreezes from the west. It also possesses many valuable mines; yet with all these advantages, at the end of more than two centuries from its conquest, its whole white population did not exceed eighty thousand; but since the establishment of a direct intercourse with the mother country round Cape Horn, it has realised its natural advantages, and advanced in importance accordingly.

## SETTLEMENT OF URUGUAY

Attached to the viceroyalty of Peru were all the vast regions claimed by Spain east of the Andes, watered by the Rio de la Plata, its branches, the Colorado, and other streams emptying into the Atlantic. The Spanish territories east of the La Plata, comprehending the province of Paraguay, and some other districts, were, for centuries, in a great degree undefined, and a subject of dispute with Portugal.<sup>b</sup>

When Rio de la Plata was discovered by Juan Diaz de Solis in the first years of the sixteenth century, Uruguay was peopled by savage tribes settled on the banks of its rivers, whose history prior to this is unknown to us, and of whose customs we know little more than the few details given us by the first historians of these regions of America. The Spaniards chose for their settlements the banks of the Paraguay, the Parana, and the western bank of the Plata; and the eastern side of the Uruguay was well nigh deserted, for a century and a half barely serving as pasture land for herds of cattle and horses which multiplied in great numbers without the care of man. The Brazilians took advantage of the abandoned state of the country to carry off large numbers of animals under pretext that the territory belonged to the crown of Portugal, and as the Spaniards also claimed dominion, they founded in 1624 the town of Santo Domingo Soriano, and the Portuguese the Colonia del Sacramento in 1680, both wishing to forward their own interests.

The foundation of Colonia occasioned a series of wars and treaties by which the two monarchs wished to secure the dominion of Uruguay and to settle European questions. During this period, extending over a century and a quarter, Colonia, the eastern missions, and the lands bordering on Rio Grande alternately belonged to the Portuguese and to the Spanish. But the latter never lost their dominion over the lands in the interior, and founded various towns on the shores of the Atlantic, and on the river Plata, the principal of which was Montevideo. When the disputes for dominion were settled the Spaniards possessed all the land comprised between the southern limits of

Misiones, the sources of Rio Negro, Lake Mirim, the Atlantic Ocean, and Rio de la Plata.

While war followed war, the country became populated and civilisation increased. The condition of the most important section of the country will be seen by the report submitted to the viceroy by the corporation of Montevideo. The boundaries of this town of Montevideo situated in the Banda Oriental of Rio de la Plata, forty leagues from Buenos Ayres, as conceded to it by General Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, in 1726, in the name of the king, and approved by his majesty, in 1727, are as follows: on the south, Rio de la Plata; on the west, the river Cufre; on the north, the Cuchilla Grande; and on the east, the mountain named Pan de Azucar.

The climate, between 33° and 39° south latitude, is temperate, neither the extremes of heat or cold are felt; the country is on the whole level although it abounds in hills and valleys, as the latter are not too deep or the former too high to prevent horse and carriage traffic. With the exception of the summits of the mountains and a few banks of stone in the fields the whole of the country is fit for cultivation.

Wheat, barley, flax, hemp, maize, and all sorts of vegetables and fruits can be grown with facility. There are abundant and good pasture lands even on the summits of the mountains. Although it abounds in streams and rivers there are no irrigated lands, nor is irrigation easy as those lands which are not subject to inundations are much higher than the water level. The soil of the lands in the vicinity of the inundations and of the valleys and declivities is moist, and resists a drought for a long time. The lands divided among the settlers of Minas, situated on the tributary rivulets of the Metal, the San Francisco and the Campanero may be irrigated with ease, as all those streams are rapid and descend from a great height to the valley where this town is situated. Native trees grow on the banks of the rivers and streams, which yield wood fit for ranches and other purposes, but not for houses, as it is neither firm nor durable. Bread and meat form the staple food of the inhabitants, which some obtain by cultivation of their own lands and breeding cattle, and others — about a third of the population — obtain from the lands of others.

Small flakes of gold are found on the banks of some of the tributaries of the San José and Santa Lucia, which some of the inhabitants go to find but show little knowledge or energy in the work. In the district called Las Minas lead, silver, copper, and gold are found, but those who have attempted to separate these metals, said to be much mixed, have lost both time and money, perhaps through want of skill. Their actual commerce consists in skins, tallow, and salted meats, which they are beginning to prepare; it is probable that this branch may be brought to perfection with experience. If a commerce in wheat in exchange for timber, yerba mate, and cotton were opened by land and by river, with Paraguay and the towns of Misiones, it might become an important branch. Wool, butter, and cheeses could be exported to Cadiz, Havana, and other ports, as sheep breed well and their wool is fine. Butter and cheeses are in general good, and would be improved if the farmers were encouraged by the exporting of these products to many parts of the kingdom which now receive butter and cheese from Flanders.<sup>c</sup>

#### SETTLEMENT OF PARAGUAY AND ARGENTINA

Paraguay has been rendered celebrated for the extraordinary missions of the Jesuits, and the authority of Spain over it was never more than nominal.

[1535-1788 A.D.]

The territory west of the La Plata was divided into the provinces of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman.

The province of Rio de la Plata [modern Argentina] was established distinct from that of Paraguay, in 1620, and was afterward called Buenos Ayres. The town of Buenos Ayres was founded by Pedro de Mendoza, in 1535, but was abandoned in 1538, and its inhabitants removed to Assumption, where a fort had been built two years before, by Ayolas, and named from the day on which he fought and defeated the natives on the spot where it was erected. Mendoza returned to Spain, and was succeeded as governor by Ayolas, and on his death Irala was chosen to succeed him; but was soon deprived of his authority by Don Alvarez, who arrived with a commission from Spain. Of the three thousand Europeans who had entered the La Plata, six hundred only remained at Assumption: the rest had fallen victims to the climate, the ferocity of the savages, and the hardships to which they had been exposed. Alvarez was seized by Irala, and sent to Spain, in 1544. The city of Assumption was erected into a bishopric, in 1547; but the bishop did not arrive until 1554, when Irala received a commission as governor. In 1557, Ciudad Real was founded in the province of La Guayra, as an *encomienda*, within which forty thousand Indians were brought into habits of industry; and a few years after the *encomienda* of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the province of Chiquitos, which comprised sixty thousand native inhabitants, was established. Irala died in 1557, and named Gonzales de Mendoza lieutenant-general and commander of the province. His death, which was in one year after, was followed by civil dissensions.

In the year 1586, the Jesuits first appeared in Paraguay, and in 1609, Father Torres, their provincial, obtained authority from the governor of the province to form the converted Indians into townships, to be independent of the Spanish settlements. They only acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Spain: this power was confirmed by Philip III of Spain. During twenty years a great number of the natives were reduced to habits of industry, by the labours of the Jesuits; but in 1630 they were attacked by the Paulistas [or Portuguese settlers], or *mamelukes*, and in two years sixty thousand were destroyed or carried off. To defend their settlements, in 1639, the Jesuits obtained authority from Spain to embody and arm their Indian converts in the manner of Europeans. The Jesuits employed their converts in other pursuits: in 1668, they rebuilt the city of Santa Fé, and the following year five hundred of them worked on the fortifications and the cathedral of Buenos Ayres.

In 1580 Buenos Ayres was rebuilt by the governor of Paraguay [Juan de Garay], from which time it gradually emerged from obscurity into an important town, and became the seat of the viceroyalty. The Portuguese attempted a settlement on the north bank of the La Plata, in 1679, when Garro, governor of the province of Rio de la Plata, by order of the viceroy of Peru, expelled the Portuguese, and levelled their fort to the ground. This settlement was for a long time a subject of dispute between the two nations, but in 1778, it was ceded to Spain. Civil dissensions arose at Asuncion; Don Diego, the governor, was obliged to flee; but was reinstated in 1722, yet soon after seized by Antequera, and confined as a prisoner. Antequera had been sent from Lima as a commissioner, to inquire into the condition of Paraguay, and finding the administration corrupt, he undertook to reform it, and to introduce a representative government. He met with resistance not only from the governor, but his patriotic exertions and liberal principles roused the jealousy, and brought upon him the hostility, of the viceroy, who sent a body of troops from

Peru to oppose him, and check his innovations. These troops were defeated by Antequera, who entered the city in triumph.

But the governor of Buenos Ayres, having marched against him, and being deserted by his adherents, he fled to a convent, and was afterward seized and sent a prisoner to Lima. In 1725, tranquillity was re-established, but was of short continuance; a new governor being appointed, a faction refused to admit him into the city; Mompó, the leader of the malcontents, was seized and sent to Buenos Ayres.

Antequera having been condemned for treason, was executed in 1731, at Lima, which occasioned great excitement at Asuncion as his popularity was so great that he was canonised as a martyr to liberty. The dissensions continued until 1735, when Zabala, governor of Buenos Ayres, succeeded in re-establishing tranquillity, and correcting the abuses which had crept into the government.

The increasing prosperity of the Jesuits began to excite prejudices and jealousies; various accusations were made against them; but on examination most of them were found groundless, and they were confirmed in their rights, in 1745, by a royal decree. Their prosperity and power, however, soon after began to decline, and the expulsion of their order from Spain, in 1767, was followed by the subversion of their dominion in America. Their possessions were annexed to the government of Paraguay, at which time they had 769,353 horned cattle, 94,983 horses, and 221,537 sheep.

The erection of the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata led to the establishment of the government at Buenos Ayres, and promoted the prosperity of that city, and all the provinces on the La Plata, and west of the Andes. This measure was followed by one equally liberal and enlightened, in 1778, which in a great degree removed the restrictions on commerce, and opened a free trade with the northern country and the interior of Peru. From this period Buenos Ayres began to acquire that importance and rank which it is entitled to maintain, from its valuable position for commerce, and its rich interior country. Its trade rapidly increased, as well as the general commerce of the La Plata. It was promoted by a royal ordinance, adopted in 1794, permitting salted meat and tallow to be exported to Spain, and the other colonies free of duty.

#### SPAIN'S ADMINISTRATION OF HER COLONIES

At so early a period as the year 1511 Ferdinand established a tribunal for conducting the affairs of his American settlements, called the "council of the Indies"; and in 1524 it was newly modelled and improved by Charles V. It possessed jurisdiction over every department of government in Spanish America; framed the laws and regulations respecting the colonies; made all the appointments for America reserved to the crown; and all officers, from the viceroys to the lowest, were accountable to the council of the Indies for their official conduct. The king was always supposed to be present in this council, and its meetings were held where he resided. No law, relative to American affairs, could be adopted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the council. All appeals from the decisions of the highest tribunals in America, the *audiencia*, or court of audience, were made to the council of the Indies.

The colonial system of Spain over her American dominions was founded on the principle that these dominions were vested in the crown, not in the nation; which was assumed on no better authority than the bull of Pope Alexander VI, bestowing on Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries which they might discover west of a given latitude. Hence the Spanish possessions

[1501 A.D.]

in America were regarded as the personal property of the sovereign. The authority of the original adventurers, commanders, and governors, by whom the country was discovered and subjected to the dominion of Spain, was constituted by, and they were accountable to, the king, and removable by him at pleasure. All grants of lands were made by the sovereign, and if they failed from any cause, they reverted to the crown again. All political and civil power centred in the king, and was executed by such persons, and in such manner, as the will of the sovereign might suggest, wholly independent, not only of the colonies, but of the Spanish nation. The only civil privilege allowed to the colonists was strictly municipal, and confined to the regulation of their interior police, and commerce in the cities and towns, for which purpose they made their own local regulations or laws, and appointed town and city magistrates. But this single ray of liberty must of necessity be tolerated, and has never been extinct in the most despotic states. The Spanish American governments were not merely despotic like those of Russia or Turkey, but they were a more dangerous kind of despotism, as the absolute power of the sovereign was not exercised by himself, but by deputy.

At first, as has been stated, the dominions of the Spanish crown in the new world were divided, for the purpose of government, into two great divisions or viceroyalties, New Spain and Peru. Afterward, as the country became more settled, the viceroyalty of Santa Fé de Bogota was created, composed of the kingdoms of New Granada, Terra Firma, and the province of Quito, and still later that of Rio de la Plata. A deputy or viceroy was appointed to preside over each of these governments, who was the representative of his sovereign, and possessed all his prerogatives within his jurisdiction. His authority was as supreme as that of his sovereign over every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. He appointed most of the important officers of his government, and supplied the vacancies occasioned by death to those appointed by the crown. His court was formed on the model of that of Madrid and displayed an equal and often superior degree of magnificence and state. He maintained horse and foot guards, a regular household establishment, and all the ensigns and trappings of royalty. His government was formed on the same model as that of Spain, and the tribunals that assisted in its administration were similar to those of the parent country, the appointments to which were sometimes made by the viceroy, and at others by the king, but all were subject to the deputy's authority, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice was entrusted to tribunals called audiences, formed on the model of the Spanish court of chancery. One of these courts was established in every province, and consisted of a number of judges, proportioned to its extent and the business to be done; they had jurisdiction over both civil and criminal causes.

The viceroy was prohibited from interfering with the decisions of these judicial tribunals, and in some instances they could bring his regulations under their review, and present remonstrances, or carry the matter before the king and the council of the Indies, which was the only particular in which there was any intermediate power between him and the people subject to his authority. On the death of a viceroy the supreme power vested in the court of audience, and the senior judge, assisted by his associates, exercised all the functions of the vacant office. In addition to the council of the Indies, in which was reposed the supreme power, as to the civil, ecclesiastical, military, and commercial affairs of America, there was established, as early as 1501, a board of trade at Seville, called *Casa de la Contracción*. It took cognisance of whatever related to the commercial intercourse with America, regulated the export and import

cargoes and the inspection, the freights of the ships, and the time of the sailing of the fleets, and decided judiciously on all matters, both civil and criminal, growing out of the commercial transactions between Spain and her American possessions. The doings and decisions of this board might be reviewed by the council of the Indies.

#### COMPARISON OF SPANISH AND BRITISH COLONIES

The fundamental principles of the Spanish colonial system were different from those of Great Britain, as respected its American dominions; although this difference will be found on examination to depend almost entirely on the different constitutions of the two countries. Great Britain, as well as Spain, regarded the countries in America, discovered by her subjects, as belonging to the crown rather than to the nation, and all grants and patents were made by the king, without the concurrence of parliament; and the rights and powers of the grantees in the proprietary governments, were also created by the crown. The charter governments were likewise established by the crown, and the rights and privileges allowed to the colonists, and the prerogatives reserved to the king, were dictated by the will of the sovereign. The authority of parliament, as the organ of the nation, over the colonies, does not at first appear to have been exercised, and although this was afterward attempted, it was never fully allowed or acquiesced in by the colonies. It was the exercise of this authority that led to the difficulties between the parent state and its colonies, which resulted in a separation. In the colonial governments established by Britain in America, very important civil privileges were allowed to the colonists, but their rights were not equal to those of English subjects at home, and the difference was to the same extent as the authority exercised over them by parliament; the prerogatives of the sovereign being at least as great, as respected his colonial subjects, as at home.

The Spanish American colonies possessed no political privileges; their only civil rights were purely municipal; the authority of the crown was absolute in the colonial governments, but scarcely more so than it was in the parent state, and it could hardly have been expected that subjects in distant colonies would have been allowed privileges which were not enjoyed by those at home. As respects constitutional or political rights, the Spanish colonists enjoyed essentially the same as the subjects of Old Spain, yet the exercise of the power of the sovereign, being by deputy, and at a great distance, it was much more oppressive, and exposed to greater abuses. As respects the equality of privileges, between the inhabitants of the colonies and those of the parent country, the Spanish colonists stood on a better footing than the English. If the colonies were absolutely and entirely subject to the government of the parent state, it was not, perhaps, material to them whether this governing power resided in the crown or jointly in the crown and the nation. In either case they were slaves.

But the different constitutions of the two nations occasioned a corresponding difference in the government of their colonies. The power of the sovereign in Spain being absolute, the same authority was exercised over his dominions in America; but the authority of the king of England being limited, and the government a mixed one, in which the people by their representatives participated, similar systems were established in the British dominions in the New World. In all their colonies the representative principle was introduced and local legislatures were established, which exercised the ordinary powers of legislation, the executive power remaining in the sovereign.

1519 A.D.]

## RESTRICTIONS ON COMMERCE

It was the policy of the Spanish sovereigns, or government, as to their American colonies, to render them, in every way that could be done, contributory to the power and prosperity of Spain. In the grants of the country, made to the first adventurers, the Spanish monarchs reserved one fifth of the gold and silver that might be obtained, and for a considerable period the precious metals were the only objects that attracted attention, either in the colonies or Old Spain. The right of the sovereign to a share of the products of the mines was ever after maintained, and it was the intention of Spain to confine the industry of the colonies to mining, for two reasons: one, the revenue derived to the crown from this source, and the other, to prevent such branches of agriculture as might interfere with the products of Spain. The cultivation of the vine and olive were at first prohibited in America, and afterward allowed in Peru and Chili, in consequence of the difficulty of conveying such bulky articles as wine and oil across the isthmus to Panama; and these colonies were not permitted to export the products of the vine or olive to those parts of Spanish America which could obtain them from Spain; and, with this privilege, that of cultivating tobacco, which was raised in other parts of Spanish America, but under regulations of a royal monopoly.

The same jealousy crippled the industry of the colonies in other departments; several kinds of manufactures were prohibited, which it was thought might prove detrimental to the mother country. The commercial restrictions imposed on the colonies were still more rigid and intolerable. In pursuance of the maxim that the colonies were, in every possible way, to be rendered contributory to the interests of Spain, without regarding their own, they were denied all commerce with every other portion of the world; their own productions must all be carried to Spain, in the first instance, wherever might be the place of their consumption, and all their own wants must be supplied by the parent state; and even this direct commerce they were not permitted to carry on themselves; no vessel, owned in the colonies, was ever allowed to carry to Europe the produce of the country to which it belonged. All the trade with the colonies was carried on in Spanish bottoms, and under such regulations as subjected them to great inconvenience. Not only was every species of commerce with America, by foreigners, prohibited under the severest penalties, and confiscation and death inflicted on the inhabitants who had the temerity to trade with them, but no foreigner was suffered to enter the colonies without express permission. Even the commerce of one colony with another was either prohibited, or trammelled with intolerable restrictions.

Thus was Spanish America shut up from the world, crippled in its growth, kept in leading strings, and in a perpetual state of minority; and whilst chastised with the lash of a jealous and unfeeling master, was insulted by being reminded of his parental affection and relationship. These impolitic and unjust measures, founded in a spirit of selfishness and jealousy, together with the hardships which attend the planting of new settlements, so checked the spirit of emigration, that at the expiration of sixty years from the first discovery of America, the number of Spaniards in all their settlements, did not exceed fifteen thousand.

An ecclesiastical establishment was instituted in Spanish America, as an auxiliary branch of the government, on a similar model to that in Spain, and was extremely burdensome to a young and growing state. At so early a period as the year 1501, the payment of tithes was required, and laws made to enforce it.

## COMMERCIAL CONCESSIONS TO FOREIGN POWERS

The stinted, fettered, and restricted commerce which subsisted between Spain and her colonies for more than two centuries and a half was calculated to retard their growth, and keep them always in a state of dependence and minority. They were not permitted to act for themselves in the most common and necessary concerns; but must wear such apparel, and consume such meats and drinks as parental authority saw fit to allow them. This restricted and contemptible commercial system was scarcely less injurious to Spain than to her colonies.

The naval superiority of the English and Dutch enabled them to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, which exposed the colonies to suffer for the want of the necessities of life, and introduced an extensive smuggling trade. It also compelled the Spanish monarch so far to relax the rigour of his system as to permit France, then his ally, to open a trade with Peru; the French carried such quantities of goods there, that they found their way into all the Spanish provinces. This trade was prohibited.

By the Treaty of Utrecht, Great Britain obtained a concession which secured to her a foothold for commercial purposes in the Spanish colonies in America. Philip V transferred to Britain, with the consent of France, the privilege or contract which the latter had enjoyed, of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, and the more dangerous right of sending annually one ship of five hundred tons to the fair at Porto Bello. This led to the establishment of British factories at Cartagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other places. The residence of the agents and merchants of a rival power in the most important towns drew aside the veil which had hitherto concealed from the world the interior condition of the Spanish colonies, and excited a spirit of commercial cupidity which led to an extensive contraband trade. This, at first, was carried on principally from Jamaica, and other British colonies. As might have been foreseen, the privilege granted to the British was at once abused, and greatly extended. Instead of a ship of five hundred tons one of nine hundred tons was sent to Porto Bello; and this was accompanied with several smaller vessels, which moored in some neighbouring creek, and clandestinely conveyed their cargoes to the principal ship. The inspectors of the fair, blinded by presents, remained ignorant of these frauds. From the intrinsic defects of the Spanish colonial system, and the weakness of granting the privileges spoken of to the most enterprising commercial nation in the world, the commerce carried on in the galleons, so long the pride of Spain, and even the envy of other nations, was almost annihilated before the middle of the eighteenth century.

Alarmed at the extent and pernicious consequences of the contraband trade, Spain stationed ships of war along the coast most exposed to this illicit traffic, to suppress it. These were called *guarda costas*; they checked the smuggling trade to a considerable degree, which led to complaints on the part of Great Britain, and finally to war, on the claim of some outrages committed by the *guarda costas*. Spain, however, obtained a release from the *assiento*, or privilege granted to England, and was once more at liberty to manage her commerce with her colonies in her own way, without restraint. The contraband trade, however, continued; the Dutch and French engaged in it, as well as the English; and to such an extent was it carried that sometimes when the galleons arrived the markets were glutted, and their cargoes could scarcely be disposed of. The galleons were prevented from sailing by wars, and often

[1720-1778 A.D.]

retarded by various accidents, and this occasioned a new regulation, by which commerce with the colonies was carried on by register ships, fitted out during the intervals of the sailing of the fleets. The advantages of this commerce were so apparent that in the year 1748 the galleons were no longer employed, and the trade with Peru and Chili was prosecuted in a direct route, round Cape Horn, in single ships. Still the register ships were all obliged to take their departure from Cadiz, and to return to that port.

The Dutch, from the vicinity of their settlement at Curaçao to Caracas, having engrossed a considerable part of the cocoa trade of that province, Spain, in 1728, granted to a company of merchants an exclusive monopoly of the trade with Caracas and Cumana; and both the parent state and the colonies derived great benefit from the commercial enterprise of this company.

#### RELAXATION OF OLD RESTRICTIONS

From the want of more frequent intercourse between Spain and her colonies, it often happened that important events, which occurred in the latter, were known for some time by foreign nations before intelligence of them had reached Spain. To remedy this evil, in 1764, a system of packets was established, to be despatched on the first day of every month, to Havana; from whence letters were sent to Vera Cruz, Porto Bello, and so transmitted throughout the Spanish settlements. The packet-boats also sailed, once a month, to Buenos Ayres, to accommodate the settlements east of the Andes. Objects of commerce connected themselves with this arrangement; the packets were vessels of considerable burden, and carried out goods, and brought back a return cargo in the productions of the colonies.

The way being in some degree prepared, the following year, 1765, Charles III abrogated the restrictions on the trade to Cuba, and other islands to the windward, leaving it open to all his subjects, with no other restrictions but that of their sailing to particular ports in each island. The beneficial effects, both to Old Spain and the colonies, resulting from a relaxation of the ancient laws, being sensibly felt, one relaxation proved the necessity of another, and in 1778 the monopoly was still further done away; and the colonial trade, which had been confined to Cadiz and Seville for two and a half centuries, was permitted to be carried on in fourteen other Spanish seaports, which produced a most important and favourable change, both to the colonies and the revenue of Spain.

The restrictions upon the internal intercourse and commerce of the Spanish colonies were, if possible, more grievous and pernicious in their consequences than those on the intercourse with Spain. From their first settlement all intercourse was prohibited, under the severest penalties, between the different provinces in the South Sea. Peru, Chili, New Spain, New Granada, and Guatemala were cruelly inhibited from all commerce, and from all intercourse whatsoever with each other, which would so obviously have promoted their mutual comfort, prosperity, and advancement. At length, in 1774, Charles III removed this severe and infamous restriction, and opened a free trade.

Spain received a considerable revenue from her colonies, notwithstanding the extensive contraband trade which, at some periods, amounted to one-third of the whole commerce. The revenue consisted of three branches; the first, that which was paid to the king, as lord-paramount, or sovereign of the country; the second, what accrued to him as head of the church; and the third, imposts, or duties. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the revenue raised by Spain in America was estimated at a million and a half

sterling. This, however, was only the direct revenue, raised in the colonies, and did not include the duties levied in Old Spain, on all the exports to her colonies, and some other branches of revenue.

If the revenue was great, the expenses of the colonial government were equally so, and were wholly defrayed by the crown. The Spanish colonial system was not confined to civil government, but embraced commerce, religion, finance, and a military establishment; all of which were under the authority and management of the crown. It was also complex, in an extreme degree, in each department; consequently was encumbered with such a number and variety of offices, tribunals, and boards, as not only occasioned an enormous expense, but rendered it unwieldy, tardy in its movements, and almost unmanageable. Its weight was also increased by the external parade and pomp which it maintained. Everything was on a large scale; the expenses of living were great, all salaries were high, and most of the officers of the government received, by perquisites, and in the various ways which human ingenuity could devise, several times as much as their salaries. The viceroys maintained horse and foot guards, a train of household attendants, and all the pomp and dignity of a regal establishment. They enjoyed a salary of \$30,000 in the latter part of the eighteenth century; but this was a small part of their income: by monopolising certain branches of commerce, the disposal of all the lucrative offices, by presents, and by innumerable frauds and abuses of power, they usually, after continuing in office a few years, returned to Spain with a princely fortune. It is asserted that a viceroy, at one festival, the anniversary of his birthday, received \$50,000 in presents.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF DON JOSEPH GALVEZ

The more enlarged views of policy, which led to the relaxation of the ancient laws, and the adoption of more equitable and just commercial regulations, called attention to the internal condition of the Spanish colonies, and occasioned various salutary reformatations and improvements. The colonial system, founded on false and inequitable principles, defective and oppressive in itself, was rendered more insupportable from the abuses and corruption which everywhere had crept into the administration. Not only a correction of abuses, but a reformation of the system, was successfully attempted in the latter part of the eighteenth century, during the enlightened administration of Don Joseph Galvez. Having spent seven years in America, as inspector-general of New Spain, and visited most of the remote provinces, he was elevated, on his return to Spain, to the head of the department for India, or, more properly, American affairs. He commenced his administration, which forms a memorable epoch in the history of Spanish America, by a general reformation of the whole system. The increase of population and wealth in the colonies had so multiplied the business of the courts of audience, that the number of judges were wholly inadequate to a faithful discharge of duties of the office. He increased the number of judges, raised their salaries, and enlarged their powers of appointment.

From the extension of the settlements great inconvenience was experienced, notwithstanding the establishment of the third viceroyalty of New Granada, in consequence of the remoteness of many of the provinces from the seat of government; and the further the administration was removed from the seat of authority, the greater were the abuses which attended it. There were provinces subject to the government of New Spain, more than two

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thousand miles from Mexico, and some appertaining to the viceroyalty of Peru were still farther from Lima. To remedy this evil a fourth viceroyalty was created in 1776, comprising the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and San Juan. The seat of government was established at Buenos Ayres, and Don Pedro Zavallos raised to this new dignity, who was well acquainted with the countries over which he had to preside, having long resided in them, in a subordinate station. This division, together with what was taken off at the erection of the viceroyalty of New Granada, reduced the territory of the viceroyalty of Peru to one third its original extent. The remote provinces of Sonora, Sinaloa, California, and New Navarre, which belonged to the jurisdiction of New Spain, were likewise formed into a separate government, which was conferred on the chevalier de Croix, who, although not possessed of the title and dignity of viceroy, was wholly independent of the viceroyalty of New Spain. Several of these provinces contained some of the richest mines of gold in America, recently discovered, and this was among the reasons that urged the erection of a new government, which, from its vicinity, might afford the protection and facilities that the mining operations required. Another, and perhaps the most patriotic measure of the count de Galvez, was the establishment of intendancies for the superintendence and protection of the Indians. This measure had a happy effect on the natives; under the active superintendence of the intendants, whose duty it was to watch over their rights, as guardians and protectors, this miserable race enjoyed securities and advantages of which they were deprived under the tyranny of the subaltern Spanish and Indian magistrates, to whom they had been subjected.

At a subsequent period some alterations took place in the political divisions of Spanish America, so that at the commencement of the political revolution, which restored all the Spanish dominions on the American continent to independence and liberty, its civil divisions consisted of the four viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru, Buenos Ayres, and New Granada, and the territories called captain-generalcies of Chili, Venezuela, and Guatemala. These seven distinct governments were independent of each other; a viceroy presided over the four first, and an officer, called a captain-general, over the three last, all of which were appointed by the king; were independent of each other, and directly dependent on the crown. These governments were subdivided into provinces, over which presided a governor, or *corregidor*, and also into intendancies, which formed the jurisdiction of an officer called an intendant. This latter division was principally for that part of the government which related to the Indians. The governors and intendants were appointed by the king, but accountable to the viceroy, or captain-general, to whose jurisdiction the province belonged.

The provinces were again divided into departments, over which presided a delegate of the governor or officer at the head of the government of the province, and likewise subordinate magistrates, called *alcaldes*, appointed by the municipalities, denominated *cabildos*. The viceroys and captain-generals possessed both civil and military power, and generally the governors possessed the same; but in some instances they enjoyed only civil authority, in which cases there was a military chief, or officer in the province, called *comandante*, who held the military command. The supreme judicial power was vested in the court of audience, of which there was one or more in each of the viceroyalties and captain-generalcies; the separate judges of this tribunal were called *oidores*, and their number varied according to the population and

business of their jurisdictions. A subordinate judicial authority was vested in the governors, corregidores, and their delegates; and the *alcaldes* also possessed a limited jurisdiction, but could not act, unless they were law-professors, without the advice of an assessor, or lawyer. The decisions of all these inferior tribunals might be reviewed by the royal audience, whose decrees were final, except in some important cases an appeal was allowed to the council of the Indies.

There were also in some of the seaports tribunals called *consulados*, having cognisance of commercial affairs only, from whose decisions an appeal might be made to the viceroy. In addition to these authorities there were spiritual tribunals, with jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs. At the head of these was the holy Inquisition, whose jurisdiction was undefined, and its proceedings secret, tyrannical, and cruel. Its punishments were inflicted by fine, imprisonment, torture, the gallows, and the stake. In each diocese there was a spiritual court, composed of the bishop, the fiscal *procurador*, or lawyer, and the *provisor*. The ecclesiastical courts, as well as others, were subject to the control of the viceroy, and consequently were used to advance the ambitious views of the state, as well as the church.

There was nothing like popular influence in either branch of the government; no mode in which the voice of the people could be expressed; nor was there a tribunal or officer who was amenable to, or whose authority emanated directly from, the people. There was no meeting of the inhabitants, except at church, and for public worship on religious festivals, and the press could scarcely be said to exert any influence; so far as it did, however, it was only an instrument of tyranny and oppression. Even the *cabildos*, or corporations, which regulated the internal police of cities and towns, consisting of from six to twelve members, according to their population or business, were entirely independent of popular influence. These officers were called *regidores*, the governor of the province being ex-officio president of the *cabildo*, and controlled all its acts. The office of *regidore* was held during life, having a fixed price, which, in Buenos Ayres and Chili, was about five hundred dollars, and was purchased like any other commodity in market. The executive officers of the *cabildos*, called *alquazils*, answering to sheriffs and constables in the United States, were sold at given prices, the same being the case in a great measure with the *alcaldes*, who were a kind of petty magistrates, or justices of the peace. The administration was corrupt in all departments, beyond any example in modern times. The viceroys, captain-generals, intendants, members of the court of audience, archbishops and bishops who were appointed by the king, almost without exception were Spaniards; and most of the civil and military appointments were conferred on natives of Old Spain. Down to the year 1810, one hundred and sixty viceroys, and five hundred and eighty-eight captain-generals, governors, and presidents of the royal audience, had been appointed in America, of whom only eighteen were natives of the country, these obtaining their appointments in consequence of having received their education in Spain. Thus, for ages, was Spanish America governed by swarms of foreign officers, who had no other interest than to gratify their employers and enrich themselves.

#### FIRST SYMPTOMS OF INSURRECTION

The influence of the political revolution in the British colonies, and the effects of commercial freedom which Spanish America enjoyed after the regulations of 1778, gave rise to the first symptoms of a spirit of reformation and

[1779-1781 A.D.]

political improvement which appeared in the Spanish colonies. Down to this period, and in general, until the breaking out of the revolution in the parent country, and the overthrow of the monarchy by Bonaparte, the Spanish creoles in America, notwithstanding the political oppression which they suffered, and their personal degradation as a class, were distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to their king and country. About the middle of the eighteenth century a conspiracy was formed in Caracas, headed by a man named Leon, the object of which, however, was not so much political as commercial, it being the design of the conspirators to break up the company of Guipuzcoa, sometimes called the company of Caracas, who had long enjoyed a monopoly of all the trade of that and several other provinces. The plot did not succeed, and Leon was condemned to death, his house razed to the ground, and a column placed on the spot as a memorial of the horror of his offence, and the fate that awaited all traitors. In 1780 an alarming revolution broke out in Peru, among the natives, seconded by some of the creole inhabitants. Previous to the reformation and correction of abuses which took place during the administration of Count de Galvez, the corregidores practised such intolerable extortions and frauds on the Indians, compelling them to receive their necessary supplies on their own terms, as finally drove them into measures of open resistance.

Tupac Amaru, a native Peruvian, of the royal inca blood, became the leader of the malcontents; and several individuals of influence joining him, the flame of resistance was spread for three hundred leagues into the interior of the country; and so numerous and formidable did the party become, that Tupac Amaru was proclaimed Inca of Peru. The Spanish authorities adopted energetic and vindictive measures to suppress the insurgents; the contest lasted three years, and exhibited many bloody scenes. The malcontents were often successful; but Tupac Amaru did not conduct in his new dignity so as to maintain the attachment of his adherents; their zeal consequently began to abate, and their efforts to relax; and being attacked by the troops of Buenos Ayres, as well as by those of Lima, and most of the Spanish inhabitants declaring in favour of the government, the insurgents were overpowered, and compelled to submit. Tupac Amaru, and most of the principal leaders, were put to death, in a manner cruel and abhorrent to the feelings of humanity in the extreme. The loyalty of the creoles led them to take part with the government, notwithstanding the oppression which they suffered, on an occasion when it was in their power, by joining with the Indians, to have effected a political revolution.

Before this insurrection was suppressed, the Spanish government was alarmed by civil commotions in New Granada. In 1781, some new regulations and additional taxes, adopted by Regente Pineros, the viceroy, were opposed by almost the whole population of the province of Socorro. An armed multitude, amounting to seventeen thousand, marched toward Santa Fé, crying, "Long live the king — death to our bad governors." The viceroy not being able to oppose them in arms, had recourse to superstition: they advanced without opposition to within about thirty-six miles of the capital, where, instead of being confronted by an army, they were met by Gongora the archbishop, in his pontifical robes, holding the host in his hands. The suddenness and surprise of this appeal to their religious feelings, filled them with awe and timidity. The archbishop, availing himself of the happy moment, proposed a conference to Don Salvador Plata, their leader, which resulted in an accommodation, and the dispersion of the malcontents. But the terms of capitulation were not adhered to. These indications of a spirit of

reform and freedom in the colonies occasioned the greatest jealousy and alarm in the court of Madrid, and the adoption of such severe and harsh measures to suppress it, as rather tended to increase the evil. Printing presses were prohibited, even in towns of forty or fifty thousand inhabitants, and books of almost every description were proscribed, as dangerous and seditious. In New Granada, several persons, merely on suspicion of entertaining revolutionary designs, were subjected to the torture; and similar measures, of a distrustful policy, were pursued in other provinces, all of which tended to increase the discontents of the colonists. Nothing was done to conciliate their feelings, or redress the grievances of which they complained, or which even had the appearance of reforming any of the glaring abuses that everywhere prevailed. Power and coercion were the only means made use of; the sword, the rack, and the inquisition, were to control the minds as well as the bodies of the colonists, and convince them that they had no greater liberties, no other rights, than those of submission to the will of an arbitrary tyranny.

The political events, which occurred in Europe, subsequently to 1778, produced a spirit of political inquiry that spread over that continent, and even reached the shores of the Spanish dominions in America, where light and liberty had so long been proscribed and shut out, as the greatest evils that could afflict the human race. Many of the Spanish creoles informed themselves with the history and the principles of the American and French revolutions; and the more they became acquainted with liberty the more lovely it appeared, and the more odious the tyranny of the Spanish colonial government. Elevated by such sentiments, and relying on the assurances of assistance from the British, derived from the proclamation of the governor of Trinidad, a number of creoles at Caracas, in 1797, formed a plan to revolutionise that province. When on the eve of making the attempt to carry their plans into execution, the conspiracy was discovered, and Don M. Gual, and J. M. España, the apparent leaders, escaped to a neighbouring island. Two years after, the latter, having the presumption to return to La Guayra, was seized, condemned, and executed, and thus became one of the first martyrs of Colombian liberty.

#### BRITISH INTERFERENCE IN SOUTH AMERICA

It had long been a favourite project of Mr. Pitt to aid the emancipation of South America, and to open a trade with that country. He had frequent conferences with the ex-Jesuit, Juan Pablo Viscardi Guzman, a native of Peru, and an enthusiast in favour of the independence of America, who represented the country to be impatient under the Spanish yoke, and ripe for revolt. He also published in London an appeal to his countrymen, using all the powers of his eloquence in attempting to bring them to a sense of their degraded condition. The British ministry encouraged General Miranda in his designs to revolutionise Venezuela, and aided the premature expedition which he fitted out in 1801; and furnished the funds for that which he afterward fitted out from the United States, in 1806, though it was done without the assistance or sanction of congress. This expedition failed without accomplishing anything, and a number of young men from the United States, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, became victims of their own credulity, and the cruelty of tyrannical power. It is said that, during Mr. Adams' administration, the British ministry made proposals to the American government to assist in the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, which did not meet a favourable reception.

[1797-1807 A.D.]

The failure of Miranda's expedition did not discourage the British government; for in 1806, Spain then being in alliance with France in the war which prevailed in Europe, they fitted out a squadron under Sir Home Popham, which entered the La Plata on the 25th of June, and anchored about twelve miles below Buenos Ayres, where the troops disembarked without opposition.

The inhabitants, and the viceroy Soliemente, were filled with consternation. After experiencing a feeble opposition at Rio Chucto, three miles from the city, General Beresford entered the capital, and took possession of the citadel. Don J. M. Pueyredon, afterward director, at the head of a company of hussars, was the only officer who did anything to oppose the advance of the English. The Spaniards, on learning the small number of their enemies, determined to expel them. The viceroy had escaped to Montevideo, and Liniers, a French emigrant, but an officer in the Spanish service, passed over to the eastern shore of the river, exciting the people to arms. The viceroy collected one thousand regulars, which he joined with those of Liniers, to whom the command of the united forces was given. With these troops, Liniers immediately recrossed the river, when the inhabitants flocking around his standard, soon enabled him to attack the British with great effect, compelling them, after they had sustained a heavy loss, to surrender, on the 12th of August, 1806. Soon after this event, reinforcements arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, which enabled Sir Home Popham to reduce Montevideo by storm.

This expedition, as appeared from the trial of Sir Home Popham, was not expressly authorised by the British ministry, but was so far from being disapproved of by them, that it was followed up by a bold and extensive plan of conquest. Two squadrons, each with a large body of troops, one commanded by General Whitlock, the other by General Crawford, were fitted out for the capture of Buenos Ayres; after accomplishing this, Crawford had received orders to proceed around Cape Horn, and capture Valparaiso, and, for the more effectually securing their conquest, to establish military posts across the continent, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso. The object of the ministry was entirely changed since 1797; now it was not to aid the inhabitants in establishing their independence, but to subjugate the country. The commanders, in their instructions from Mr. Windham, secretary of war, were directed to discourage all hopes of any other change in the condition of these countries than that of their being annexed to the crown of Great Britain.

On the 10th of May, 1807, the expedition under General Whitlock arrived at Montevideo, and on the 15th of June following that under General Crawford arrived. General Whitlock, who assumed the chief command, had now under his control about ten thousand of the best troops in the British service, and made immediate preparations for attacking the capital. The viceroy, arriving at Buenos Ayres, was opposed by the inhabitants, and finally deposed by the cabildo. Liniers, being raised to the chief command, was assisted by the inhabitants in making great exertions to defend the capital. Every avenue to the city was obstructed by breastworks of hides, from fifteen to twenty feet thick; small pieces of artillery were planted on the houses, which were barricaded and formed into fortresses, and all the citizens were under arms. The British having landed on the 28th of June, traversed a swampy country of about thirty miles, and presented themselves on the morning of the 5th of July in front of Buenos Ayres. The British general having formed his troops in a line along the suburbs, commenced the attack — and never were men more surprised with their reception. The cannon, planted on the

[1807 A.D.]

trenches which intersected the streets, poured a destructive fire of grape on the advancing columns, while from the roofs and windows of the houses they were assailed, with appalling effect, by an incessant shower of musketry, bombs, and hand-grenades. As the English advanced further into the city, they exposed themselves to a hotter and more destructive fire; and while thus exposed to be mowed down, the enemy were out of their reach, and in a great measure secure from their fire. The column under General Auchmuty, which entered the upper part of the town, after a sanguinary conflict took possession of a large building where bull-fights were held; and that which entered the south part, led by General Crawford, after losing one half its number, took shelter in a large church; here they defended themselves for some time, but finally were obliged to surrender. The British in this engagement lost one third of their whole army. The next day an armistice was concluded, by which they agreed to evacuate the La Plata in two months.

Never was there a more complete failure of an expedition, or perhaps a plan of conquest founded on more erroneous conceptions. The British ministry expected that the inhabitants of the country were so uneasy under the Spanish yoke that they would flock to their standards, and instructions were given General Whitlock for organising a military force in the country. But instead of this, they found not a single friend; all the inhabitants took arms, and manifested a most violent animosity toward them. They refused after the armistice to purchase even a single article of their merchandise, although at the very time they were suffering for the want of them. Had the English come to the aid of the inhabitants in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and establishing the independence of the country, the expedition would in all probability have proved successful, and thus have secured to Britain her primary object — the trade of the country.

Notwithstanding the fatal termination of this enterprise, another expedition still more formidable was prepared for the same object, the destination of which was changed by the breaking out of the revolution of Spain. These, and other attempts made on the coast of the Spanish colonies, induced the government to adopt measures for providing a larger military force in the sea-ports; and the indications of a revolutionary spirit which had been disclosed so alarmed the court of Madrid, as to occasion new military regulations for the greater security of the capital, and to enable the viceroys and generals of the provinces to support each other in case of civil commotions. It is to the subversion of the monarchy of Spain, by Bonaparte, that in a great measure the world is indebted for the independence of Spanish America, and all the hopes inspired by the successful and patriotic career it has hitherto pursued, for its present condition and glorious prospects. Thus an act of tyranny and usurpation in one hemisphere, was rendered conducive to the establishment of liberty in another, and the emancipation of a large portion of the globe.<sup>b</sup>



## CHAPTER IV

### REVOLUTIONS IN SPANISH AMERICA

THE causes of the revolution in Spanish America are not found in any change of policy on the part of Spain, nor in any essential variation in the sentiments of the Americans respecting the parent country. A people who enjoyed no political rights could be deprived of none; no disputes, therefore, could arise respecting the rights of the colonies and the prerogatives of the crown, as existed between Great Britain and her American possessions. The flames of civil war were not kindled in the Spanish colonies by resistance to a tax on tea, or a denial of the unqualified right of taxation, claimed to be binding on the colonies "in all cases whatsoever" — since to this they had for three centuries quietly submitted. Although the North American and French revolutions may have shed some rays of light over these countries, yet the causes of their recent civil changes are to be sought for solely in the peculiar condition of Spain, and the total derangement of her monarchy.

Leaving out of the account the unfortunate attempt at La Paz, the bloody drama of the revolution first opened in Colombia, and as the struggle there was most protracted and severe, and its final success having been the means of the emancipation of the other colonies, Colombia seems to possess a more commanding revolutionary character than any of her sister republics.

Spain had for more than a century been on a decline when, in 1808, a finishing stroke was given to her degradation by the ambitious designs of the emperor Napoleon. Not satisfied with having reduced the peninsula to a condition little above that of a conquered state, and with draining off its resources to support his wars, Bonaparte made one of the boldest attempts recorded in history to seize on the country and transfer the crown to his own family. Partly by fraud, but more by force, he obtained possession of the persons of Ferdinand VII, his father, and most of the royal family, caused them to pass over into France, and detained them at Bayonne, where, in May, 1808, the father was constrained to abdicate to his son, and the latter to renounce his crown to Joseph Bonaparte.<sup>b</sup>

#### GENERAL REVOLT OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN COLONIES

The invasion of Spain and the captivity of the king afforded the Spanish colonies the opportunity they required for rising in revolt. The unlooked-

for news caused a deep and natural agitation in America. The junta of Seville and the regency of Cadiz claimed the same authority over the colonies as the king, but the Americans opposed their authority; they were not prepared to recognise Joseph Bonaparte, but were equally averse to obeying the Spanish juntas. They maintained that the American provinces had the same right as the Spanish to govern themselves during the king's captivity by means of special juntas. Two parties were formed throughout the colonies: the Spaniards proper, holding the high civil and ecclesiastical posts, wished obedience to be given to the junta of Seville and the regency of Cadiz; the Spanish-Americans or creoles, on the contrary, would not recognise the authority of the Spanish juntas, and wished special juntas to be formed in the colonies themselves. To disguise their secret aspirations for absolute independence, the leaders of the revolution repeated, "We will obey the king when he is set at liberty; until then we will have an independent government." The result of these disputes was the general revolt of the Spanish-Americans from Mexico to Plata and Chili (1810). The creoles then established their national juntas of government, and commenced the reform of the colonial institutions; the Spanish party resisted, and war broke out. While the Spaniards of the mother country were defending their independence against the French, the colonies in America were similarly occupied against Spain herself.

When Ferdinand VII recovered his liberty, blood had already been shed in the colonies, and the latter would no longer submit to this base and despotic monarch who, on his return to Spain, persecuted the very men who had shown such heroism in fighting for him against the French. The revolutionists had to fight not only against the Spanish forces but also against political and religious prejudices; to many Americans the revolution was a sin against God and the king; on the other hand they lacked arms, ammunition, and ships, and the money to buy them; nevertheless by their determined will they vanquished all obstacles and worked prodigies.

In the first instance the advantage was to the revolutionists, but on the expulsion of the French and the return of Ferdinand VII Spain was able to send more troops against the revolted colonies. From 1814 to 1815 the revolutionists were everywhere defeated, in spite of which they recommenced the struggle and recovered the advantage. The outbreak of the liberal revolution in the mother country in 1820, provoked by Ferdinand's despotism, favoured the Americans by dividing the Spaniards, and preventing the setting out of an army prepared to fight against them.

Bolivar and Sucre, San Martin and O'Higgins, were the great champions of South American independence. Setting out from north and south almost simultaneously, the Colombian troops led by the liberator Bolivar, and the Chilian and Argentine led by San Martin, met victorious in Peru, centre of Spanish power in South America. The illustrious General Sucre, the liberator's second, set the seal forever on Spanish-American independence by the memorable victory of Ayacucho, December 9th, 1824. Shortly afterwards the Spaniards lost their last defences, and of all her former colonies, now converted into republics, in the beginning of 1826 only Porto Rico and Cuba were left to Spain.

Upon the fall of Napoleon the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed the Holy Alliance, with the object, scarcely holy, of combating liberal ideas in all parts and restoring absolute government. Powerless to subject her revolted colonies, Spain invoked the intervention and aid of the European monarchs against the new republics of America, but the policy of the United

[1814-1822 A.D.]

States, supported by England, defeated the plans of the Holy Alliance. Shortly after, the United States definitely recognised the independence of the new republics, 1822. The following year the king of France, in concert with the Holy Alliance, brought an army against the Spanish liberals and defeated them, re-establishing the despotic sway of Ferdinand VII, who caused a renewal of the plots of the Holy Alliance against the Latin-American republics. President Monroe of the United States, however, declared that the states would consider as hostile to themselves any European interference with the new republics. This attitude of the United States and the decisive defeat of the Spaniards at Ayacucho, in the following year, brought England to a decision. Following the advice of Canning, she recognised the independence of the new American states, and her example was immediately followed by the remaining European powers. Spain, who had solicited even the spiritual support of the pope, finally lost hope of European intervention to regain her former colonies; she was compelled therefore to resign herself, and in various treaties recognised the independence of nearly all the colonies. The new republics naturally formed one family; they all professed the same religion, spoke the same tongue, and had inherited from Spain the same vices and virtues. They were all of the same origin, had fought together the battle of independence, and had the same mission to maintain a democratic republic, and by liberty to regenerate themselves. Their political interests were therefore solidary — whatever benefited or harmed one, benefited or harmed all.<sup>c</sup>

#### REVOLUTION IN NEW GRANADA

The war of independence in New Granada and Peru is closely associated with the name of the creole, Simon Bolivar of Caracas.<sup>1</sup> This distinguished general and statesman, of European education, devoted his strength and his fortune to the liberation of his countrymen, and did not allow himself to be turned aside from his goal by their ingratitude. Venezuela had already proclaimed its independence in 1811; a terrible earthquake, which almost wholly destroyed the capital Caracas and killed twenty thousand people in Valencia, was interpreted by the clergy as a punishment from heaven for the revolt and was used to bring the country back under Spanish dominion. The pitiless severity and blood-thirstiness of the Spaniards in persecuting the republicans brought the smothered flames to a new outburst. Bolivar led six hundred men across the Andes; thousands of discontented men flocked to his standard in order to avenge the deaths of the executed patriots. He was appointed dictator by the federal congress of New Granada, which hailed him as "saviour" and organised a war "to the knife" by signing the terrible decree of Truxillo (January 2nd, 1814), which condemned to death every Spaniard convicted of being a royalist. A war, terrible, vicissitudinous, full of difficulties, wearisome battles, and privations, now broke out between Morillo on the one side and Bolivar, who was supported by Paez, a coloured man and an able soldier. Whenever Morillo conquered, the blood of the republicans flowed in streams; Bolivar in revenge caused eight hundred imprisoned Spaniards to be executed. The Spaniards received terrible aid from the llaneros, who, like the gauchos of the Pampas, led a nomadic life as shepherds and butchers on the grassy steppes of Terra Firma. They were accustomed to a hardy and frugal

[<sup>1</sup> The standard of revolt had been raised at the end of the eighteenth century by the creole general Miranda of Caracas, but the attempt failed because of the lack of harmony among the different classes, races, and provinces.]

life on the sunny pastures, and as soldiers armed with their pikes and lassoes inflicted great damage and sanguinary defeats on the republicans. Bolivar was compelled to lay down the chief command and to seek safety in flight to Santo Domingo. The reaction of the absolute monarchy proceeded over corpses, with confiscation of property and extortion. However, Bolivar returned and his appearance aroused again the sinking courage of the republicans; successful feats of arms increased his renown. Venezuela and New Granada formed a federation, chose Bolivar as captain-general, and at a congress at Angostura declared that the two republics had united into the republic of Colombia, composed of three parts (December 17th, 1819). A new army was to sail from Cadiz to America. This was the army which, by raising the standard of revolt, ushered in the rule of the cortes in Spain. But the cortes government also was unwilling to recognise the independence of the colonies, and the war began anew. In spite of the brave bearing of General Morale, however, the war resulted in disaster for the disagreeing Spaniards. The republic of Colombia obtained its independence and elected Bolivar as president (1824). A commercial treaty soon bound the young republic with North America.<sup>d</sup>

#### REVOLUTION IN ECUADOR, CHILE, AND PERU

In the mean while Quito had shared in the revolutionary sentiments which began to agitate Spanish South America towards the end of the seventeenth century, and a political society, the Escuela de Concordia, was founded at Quito on the initiative of the Quitoian doctor Eugenio Espejo.<sup>a</sup>

The cry of liberty was raised in Quito on the 10th of August, 1809, and the acts of installation of the 19th and 20th of September revealed an attempt to establish a new order of things; the battles which took place at Biblian, Mocha, Panecillo, and San Antonio de Caranquin proved how vigorous were the attempts to gain independence, although they were quelled by General Toribio Montes. On the 9th of October, 1820, the cry was repeated in the town of Guayaquil, but the people of Ecuador lacked union among themselves, and numbered infamous traitors in their ranks; they also lacked every means of sustaining a fight against the prejudices of three centuries, and in their simplicity thought that the power of kings on earth was as it were the incarnation of the power of heaven; hence they were defeated on the fields of Primer Guachi, Verde Lorna, Tanisagua, and Segundo Guachi in the years 1820 and 1821, though they were victorious at Babahoya and Yaguachi.

The able General Antonio José de Sucre, sent to Guayaquil by the great liberator Bolivar, in the name of the inhabitants of Venezuela and New Granada, which were already free, was not disheartened by his defeat at Segundo Guachi, but organised a new army in Guayaquil, and, reinforced by the Peruvian division commanded by General Andres Santa Cruz, crossed the mountain chain of the interior, and gained a complete victory on May 22nd, 1822, on the summit of Pichincha, in the Andes, and sealed the liberty and independence of Quito by a treaty signed on the 24th by the Spanish president of Quito, Don Melchor de Aymeric. Ecuador, becoming incorporated with New Granada and Venezuela which had already been formed into a republic, accepted the government and constitutional principles of Cucuta given in July, 1821.<sup>e</sup> The republic formed by the confederation of these three states was called Colombia.<sup>a</sup>

The Chilians took the first step towards asserting their independence by deposing the Spanish president, and putting in his place (September 18th,

[1810-1817 A.D.]

1810) a committee of seven men,<sup>1</sup> nominated by themselves, to whom were intrusted all the executive powers. In April, 1811, the first blood was spilled in the cause of Chilian independence. A battalion of royal troops which had been drawn up in the great square of Santiago was attacked by a detachment of patriot grenadiers, and routed, with considerable loss on both sides. In the same year (December 20th) the government was vested in a triumvirate, and Juan José Carrera was appointed general-in-chief of the army about to be formed.

In 1813 a powerful army, under the command of General Paroja, invaded Chili, but was twice defeated by the republican troops under Carrera. The royalists, however, speedily received large reinforcements; and after a severe contest Chili was once more obliged to own the sovereignty of Spain. For three years more the people submitted (under the Spanish governors Osorio and Pont) to the old system of tyranny and misgovernment, till at length the patriot refugees, having levied an army in La Plata, and received the support of the Buenos Ayreans, marched against the Spaniards, and completely defeated them at Chacabuco in 1817.

The patriots next proceeded to organise an elective government, of which San Martin, the general of the army, was nominated the supreme director. Their arrangements, however, were not completed when they were attacked once more by the royalists, and routed at the battle of Cancha-rayada with great loss. Betrayed into a fatal security by this success, the royalist troops neglected the most ordinary military precautions, and being suddenly attacked by the patriots in the plains of Maipo, were defeated with great slaughter. This victory secured the independence of Chili. /

The history of the revolution in Peru completes in a way the histories of revolution in Colombia and Chili, which countries, although they succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke before their neighbour, could not hope to remain independent as long as the Spaniards ruled in Peru. Although late in acquiring her independence, Peru had been early in rebelling against Spanish oppressions. As we have already seen, a rebellion headed by Tupac Amaru broke out in 1780, which ended in failure but gave the first blow to the power of Spain. Others preached rebellion after Tupac Amaru, and in 1814 the Peruvians again attempted a revolt but were defeated at the battle of Umachiri (March 12th, 1815).<sup>a</sup>

Chili, the immediate neighbour of Peru, had already recovered its independence. Lord Cochrane had been appointed commander-in-chief of the naval forces; he made an audacious attempt to seize the port of Callao, which, if it had succeeded, would have liberated the whole country. It had at least the result of inspiring the patriots with new confidence. Cochrane, cruising along the coast, despoiling the Spanish landholders, while he respected the possessions of the Peruvians and of the creoles, filled the hearts of the former with terror, and inspired the latter with sympathetic confidence. Accordingly, when the Chilian army appeared on Peruvian territory, it was hailed as a liberator. This army, commanded by General San Martin, did not number more than forty-five hundred men under its flag, and had only twelve pieces of cannon; the Spanish troops cantoned in the land did not number less than twenty-three thousand combatants. The viceroy, giving way to the pressure of the malevolent sentiments of the people, which seemed to increase every minute in hostility towards the government, went away from the city, leaving it in the hands of the marquis de Montmiré, a man who

[<sup>1</sup> The real leader of the revolution was Dr. Martinez de Rosas, the most influential man among the patriots.]

enjoyed universal esteem and who was alone able, in this critical moment, to replace authority with influence. The city thus left to itself begged the commander of the troops of Chili to come and receive its surrender; the city was in a hurry to give itself up to him.

San Martin declared himself the protector of Peru, and took up the civil and military dictatorship, adding that after having expelled the last enemies from the liberated soil he would give back to the country the care of its own destiny. Another decree, dated August 12th, 1821, proclaimed the freedom of children born in Peru, after July 28th of the preceding year, even when the fathers and mothers were slaves. The tribute was suppressed as disgraceful to those who paid it; it was the same with the *mita*, that conscription so mortal in its effects and iniquitous in principle; it was also decided that the natives should no longer be called Indians, which name had been made a sort of moral insult to them, but that on the contrary henceforth there should be only Peruvians in Peru. Unfortunately for the cause of independence, grave dissensions broke out between General San Martin and Lord Cochrane. Making use of his incontestable authority, San Martin ordered Cochrane to return immediately to Chili. But the latter, instead of obeying, having learned that two Spanish frigates had appeared in the waters of Panama, sailed towards the north to give them chase. This unsuccessful attempt had no other result than to prove still more clearly the insubordination of which the general-in-chief complained. The admiral did not find the ships he was looking for; but on his return to the Peruvian coast, finding in the port of Callao a Spanish frigate which had surrendered to the agents of the new government, Cochrane dared to claim it as though he had captured it. His demand was rejected and Lord Cochrane finally set sail for Valparaiso, where he arrived September 1st, 1822.

This departure, joined to the capitulation of Callao and the retreat of General Canterac, permitted San Martin to think at last of ending the war. But difficulties of more than one sort were still to obstruct the progress of affairs. San Martin had committed a fault which is perhaps difficult to avoid after a revolutionary triumph. He had given places and employment to men who had no other right to have them than their enthusiasm for the new ideas. Enthusiasm does not always supply talent. One of his improvised generals was defeated by Canterac, who took a thousand of the independents prisoners and captured four pieces of artillery and part of the baggage.

In the mean while the national congress met on September 20th, 1812. San Martin went to the assembly, took off his insignia of power, and resigned his almost sovereign authority into the hands of the representative of the people. A decree, voted by acclamation, expressed to him the gratitude of Peru and conferred on him the title of generalissimo of the republican armies. He accepted the title but without ever exercising the functions, and immediately left the soil he had liberated, to take refuge in the peace and obscurity of a private life.

One of the first acts of congress was to create an executive power, under the name of the governing junta, composed of three members, General José Lamar, Antonio Alvarado, and Count Vista Florida. This junta soon gave way under the weight of affairs and under its own incapacity, and congress, yielding to the pressure of the army, appointed Colonel Riva Agüero president of the republic. General Santa Cruz took command of the army, but Canterac, profiting by the disorganisation of the new government, tried once more to re-establish the authority of the mother country. At that moment he was at the head of a thousand men, who were disciplined and experienced in war.

[1821-1826 A.D.]

He soon appeared before Lima, and made his entry into the capital on June 18th, 1823. Colonel Riva Agüero retired to Callao with the congress, which held its sessions in a little church. Riva Agüero was deposed and, fleeing from Callao as he had fled from Lima, retired to Truxillo, still followed by congress. The Colombian general Sucre was invested with the supreme authority. Canterac left the capital after having plundered it. The campaign of Santa Cruz was not successful; he lost six thousand men out of his seven thousand, and returned to Lima with only a handful of soldiers. The generalissimo of the republic in his turn was obliged to take refuge in Callao.

Harassed on all sides and incapable of resisting the twenty thousand men of the royalist troops which had been massed against them, the patriots were within a finger's breadth of destruction when Bolívar, the president of the Colombian Republic, authorised by the congress of his country, entered Lima on September 1st, 1823. Although the presence of this man, who appeared in Peru as a liberator, was hailed with some enthusiasm, difficulties were not lacking to his first attempts. In the first place, the ex-president Riva Agüero, at the head of a certain number of partisans, rebelled against the new government and had to be suppressed; soon afterwards a military insurrection seized Callao and forced Bolívar to evacuate Lima; almost at the same time the minister of war, a general, officers of all grades, and three squadrons of cavalry went over to the royal army.

These vexatious rebuffs might have discouraged a man of weaker stuff than Bolívar, but he was one of those who are spurred on by difficulty and who rouse themselves before an obstacle. The prestige of his name attracted four thousand more Peruvians, whom he joined to the six thousand Colombians he had at his disposal. The sanguinary battle of Juno, in which he defeated the troops of Canterac, set the movement for independence on a firmer footing, and the great day of Ayacucho assured it a definite triumph. The effect of that battle was far-reaching. Everyone who was an enemy of Peruvian independence had to surrender or leave the country. One of the heroes of the battle, General Gamara, marched immediately upon Cuzco at the head of a Peruvian battalion. The garrison, conforming to the terms of the capitulation of Ayacucho, laid down its arms. The royalist general Tristan then took the title of viceroy and made a last attempt to save a lost cause. This last effort was useless, and he had to surrender to a patriot colonel with the small garrison of Arequipa. One of the last partisans who still fought for Spain, Alaletá, still held the field, but he too was forced to submit in his turn.

The old masters of Peru now possessed only the citadel of Callao. It is true that its garrison, commanded by an intrepid soldier, the heroic Rodil, made one of those desperate resistances which ennoble causes destined to failure. Rodil and his companions for thirteen months endured all the horrors of famine and war, added to disease, their ordinary companion. He finally surrendered on February 26th, 1826, when for some time he had no longer had a mouthful of bread to give to his men, who were reduced to the most cruel extremity.

This time at least Peru was free and the Spanish dominion was forever overthrown. Rodil by his magnificent defence gave the latter a splendid funeral. When the hour for defeat comes it is well to be able to fall with honour. Although the war of independence was terminated, the task of the patriots was not yet accomplished. It remained for them to organise the country, to give to Peru strong and enduring institutions.

BOLIVIA

Before the revolution Upper Peru had formed part of the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, but there was a radical difference between the two countries in manners, customs, and even in language. Accordingly the republic of Argentina, with a disinterestedness and a political sense which cannot be too highly praised, instead of claiming the least rights of suzerainty, permitted the newly liberated country to decide freely upon its future. A general assembly of delegates declared that, in conformity with the wishes of the people, Upper Peru would form a separate government and would call itself Bolivia. The name was not the only homage rendered to the great patriot who had done so much for the nation. It was voted to give him \$1,000,000 as a pecuniary reward for his services. He accepted the money only to devote it to buying back slaves.

Bolívar soon left the new state to install the congress of Lower Peru. The liberator had given Bolivia a new constitution with the possibility of appointing his successor. He would have liked to have the same principles adopted by the country which had just called him to establish its government. The Peruvian patriots would not consent, and from that moment a systematic opposition was formed against Bolívar.

REACTION AGAINST BOLIVAR

Bolívar was accredited with ambitious views. Everywhere he went he met an ill will which wounded his pride. He was accused of conspiracy. He felt obliged to act rigorously, and he practised a severity which was often cruel. At one time there was fear of a return to anarchy. Bolívar, giving way to a displeasure which he had a right to feel, or perhaps pretending it in order to try a politic measure which he was almost sure would succeed, announced his intention of leaving for Colombia. In an instant demonstrations were organised to beg him to remain in his new country. The people even came soon to asking for the adoption of the Bolivian constitution which had been so energetically repulsed a few months previously.

The troubles which broke out just then in Colombia, where General Páez had put himself in a state of disobedience and almost of rebellion against the central government, obliged Bolívar to leave Lima for Bogotá. His presence alone and his influence were enough to re-establish order without the necessity of resorting to the hand of the executioner. But Bolívar's attempt to make his native country adopt the constitution which was the object of his too persevering solicitude remained unsuccessful. This constitution moreover was no more liked in Peru than in Colombia, and Bolívar had hardly left Lima before the people rebelled against it. From that moment the Peruvians had only one wish — to get rid of Bolívar's charter and of the Colombian troops. The signal for insurrection was given by Colonel Bustamante, who in the night of January 26th, 1827, put himself at the head of a number of determined men and arrested the generals Lara and Sanz and the foreign officers of whose hostility and energy he was afraid.

A vessel was ready and waiting in the port of Callao; it took the Colombians on board and set sail for Guayaquil. The ministers at once resigned, but General Santa Cruz was none the less kept at the head of the government. In the mean time the first question was the evacuation of the territory by the foreign troops. They were paid a part of their arrear salaries, and in the following March Bustamante could preside over their embarkment. There was

[1827 A.D.]

then a violent reaction against the Bolivian — as the author of the detested constitution was called. People had as many maledictions for him as they had before had praises and words of adoration. A new congress met at Lima on June 24th, and its first act was to repudiate the Bolivian constitution. General Lamar was chosen president of the republic, and soon Peru declared war on Colombia and on the man from whom she had received her liberty.

The opening of the campaign was unfortunate for Colombia, for she lost the port of Guayaquil. At the same time the Peruvians invaded their enemy's territory, but one battle lost was enough to punish this unjust aggression. Their army was almost completely defeated at Tarqui in the province of Quito. Bolivar did not take undue advantage of the victory, and showed instead an extreme moderation in the conditions in the treaty of peace which regulated the frontiers of the two states and consecrated their mutual independence.

The reaction which had declared itself so strongly in Lower Peru against Colombian influence was only too faithfully imitated in Bolivia. There was as it were a rivalry in ingratitude between the two states. General Sucre, in accepting for two years the presidency which the constitution gave him for all his life, had stipulated for the right to keep near him two thousand men of the Colombian troops, his war companions. Bolivia had acquiesced in this demand, but soon the national pride was irritated at what it regarded a disgrace, and it wished to obtain the immediate evacuation of the territory. The assistance of Lower Peru was asked and obtained. The troops of General Sucre in spite of their bravery could not resist the superior numbers, and the liberator of Bolivia was conquered and obliged to leave. From that moment Peru and Bolivia have remained independent of the foreign yoke.

#### A COLOMBIAN ESTIMATE OF BOLIVAR

As a warrior Bolivar is on a level with the greatest men of ancient and modern history; he was possessed of vast genius in forming a plan of action, and unparalleled energy in carrying it into execution and in overcoming all obstacles. His audacity, valour, constancy, and patient suffering of misfortune, until fortune was once more captive, a creative talent for drawing resources out of nothingness, these brilliant qualities make Bolivar one of the most distinguished warriors of his century. In fact, having commenced his daring enterprise with but two hundred and fifty men, he liberated Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador. To have pursued the Spaniards as far as Peru and conquered in Junin and Ayacucho are deeds worthy of immortal fame. These rich and vast possessions were occupied and defended by more than forty thousand soldiers, led by excellent generals and officers, protected by their fortifications and upheld by the moral force arising from three hundred years of rule. By his genius and perseverance, Bolivar raised an army from nothing and seized these places from them forever. In less than eight years the flag of Colombia flew victoriously over all the country between the mouths of the Orinoco and the silver summits of Potosi.

Bolivar's glory reached its height with the liberty of Peru and his military career was ended with Ayacucho; from that time we may look upon him as a politician and administrator. In this first character, some of the acts of Bolivar bear the stamp of a great talent. In 1813 he liberated his country Venezuela from the iron yoke of Spain, but the fierce war which the Spaniards and their partisans made on him prevented his organising the country. With terrible retaliation, he declared war without mercy; then followed scenes of

[1813-1829 A.D.]

bloodshed and cruelty which strike one with horror. From 1816 Bolivar conducted the war with humanity and created the republic of Colombia, which great political act gave the civilised world a very favourable idea of its founder. This republic sprang up under the shade of his laurels, and Bolivar, triumphant, created beyond Ecuador the republics of Peru and Bolivia. His was the idea of convoking an American congress in the isthmus of Panama—an ideal Utopia which did not produce the desired results. By these eminent services Bolivar won the love, respect, veneration, and unbounded confidence of all the generals and officers of the liberating army, who pledged themselves to obedience, and also of the inhabitants of the three republics.

But from the time he declared his faith in the suggested constitution for Bolivia, which his ill-advised counsellors caused to be unlawfully adopted in Peru; from the time, in 1826, when he supported by his influence the antagonists of the constitution of Colombia, and when his agents encouraged the people in their unlawful acts, inspired by the desire of some to bring him to the dictatorship, and the scheme of others to form an empire of Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, or a vast confederation of the three republics, of which he should be protector; from the time when he rewarded Paez and all those who had contributed to the dismemberment of Colombia and the destruction of the constitution of Cúcuta—his anger being directed against those who upheld the constitutional government—a great mistrust of him took hold of the Colombians.

Furious enemies rose up on all sides against Bolivar, attacking him in the name of liberty, which they said he menaced. In the midst of exalted passions and adverse parties, the liberator, supported by the army in his opinion of a Colombian preponderance, accepted the dictatorship, which unfortunately occasioned the conspiracy of the 25th of September, which exalted the military power beyond what was necessary to repress an excessive and turbulent democracy.

In 1829 Bolivar discountenanced and entirely put an end to the project of a monarchy, which some desired; he never wished for it, in spite of his love of rule and of command without subjection to laws. Calumniated, persecuted, and repudiated by his enemies and by a great part of Colombia, he threw up the supreme command in disgust, and by not leaving his territory, as he had offered to do, and as was fitting, he gave new food for calumny to his enemies, who persecuted him even beyond the tomb. Bolivar hated the details of administration, and was wont to say that the study was a martyrdom to him. He showed great vigour and firmness in enforcing his resolutions, and great perseverance in pushing forward his designs, ever undaunted by obstacles, however great. He was of opinion that the theories of European economists could not be adopted in Colombia, and therefore preferred to continue the same taxes to which the people were accustomed. He was economical and never spent the public revenue without need and never permitted it to be defrauded. He was a lover of justice wherever he found it, and his decrees were always in accordance with it. He showed great judgment and penetration in choosing his chief lieutenants: Sucre, Santander, Soublette, Salom, and Flores were worthy to be his subordinates.

Graciously yielding to his friends, he sometimes attempted by his advice to pass resolutions contrary to established rule, and to the plan followed by his ministers: nevertheless he showed the latter great consideration, vigorously supporting their orders, and placing absolute confidence in them.

As a military orator, Bolivar was passionate, pointed, original, eloquent, and profound. Presenting himself in 1813 to his fellow citizens of Venezuela

[1809-1816 A.D.]

for the first time as their liberator, he said: "I am one of you who, by the power of the God of mercy, have miraculously thrown off the yoke of the tyrants who oppressed us, and am come to redeem you from your cruel captivity. Prostrate yourself before an omnipotent God, and let your hymn of praise reach the throne of him who has restored to you the august character of men!" and turning to the soldiers of Granada who accompanied him — "and you, loyal republicans, will march to rescue the cradle of Colombian independence, as the crusaders set free Jerusalem, cradle of Christianity."

But not only did Bolivar possess the rare eloquence of a soldier; his sayings by the depth of their wisdom are worthy of Plato or Socrates. The following are some of them: Slavery is the daughter of darkness, and an ignorant person is generally the blind instrument of his own ruin. Ambition and intrigue make capital out of the credulity of men wholly ignorant of the principles of civil and political economy. Ignorance frequently takes pure illusion for fact, license for liberty, treachery for patriotism, and vengeance for justice. "Man," says Homer, "with the loss of liberty loses half his spirit." Where a sacred respect for country, laws, and constitutional authority does not exist, society is a state of confusion, an abyss, and a conflict between man and man, party and party. The most perfect system of government is that which produces the greatest degree of prosperity, social security, and political stability."<sup>h</sup>

General Holstein,<sup>l</sup> chief of staff under President Bolivar, gives us another view. According to him, Bolivar was ungrateful, hypocritical, vain, and treacherous, without being a great general. In one place, after telling how Bolivar's cousin Ribas procured him his first command in the republican army, he says: "These circumstances were the origin of the subsequent grandeur of Bolivar, who has ever had the fortune to profit by the bravery, skill, and patriotism of others. When Ribas was killed Bolivar fled. Paez was victorious when Bolivar was not with him, and beaten when the latter directed operations. Sucre gained the battle of Ayacucho, in Peru, when Bolivar was sick."<sup>a</sup>

#### REVOLUTION IN ARGENTINA

The disturbances which ultimately led to the separation of the country from Spain were initiated by the refusal of the Argentines to acknowledge the Napoleonic dynasty established at Madrid. Liniers, who was viceroy on the arrival of the news of the crowning of Joseph Buonaparte as king of Spain, was deposed by the adherents of Ferdinand VII; and on July 19th, 1809, Cisneros became viceroy in the name of Ferdinand. In compliance with the urgent appeals of the people, he opened the trade of the country to foreign nations; and on May 25th, 1810, a council was formed, with his consent, under the title of the Provisional Government of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata. This has since been regarded as the commencement of the era of the political independence of the country. Of this council Mariano Morino, the secretary, was the most prominent member, and the people of the city of Buenos Ayres were for some time its only effective supporters. An attempt of the Spanish party to make Cisneros president of the council failed, and he retired to Montevideo. On January 31st, 1813, a congress was assembled at Buenos Ayres, and Posadas was elected dictator of the republic. Montevideo still supported the cause of Spain, but was besieged by the revolutionary army of Buenos Ayres, and capitulated in 1814. A sanguinary struggle between the party of independence and the adherents of Spain spread over all the country of the Rio de la Plata; but on March 25th, 1816, a new congress of deputies elected by the people was assembled at Tucuman, where Payridon was declared

Argentine government, disposed at first to tolerate the invasion as a means of vanquishing Artigas, afterwards attempted at various times to enter into an agreement with the latter to form an alliance to repel the invaders, but in vain; as, though the Uruguay chief accepted and desired the co-operation of the national forces, it was on condition that he should dispose of them at his will, and that they should not obey the supreme authority of the state; the latter rejected the condition for reasons easily understood, and for fear that the armies it provided would be turned against itself.

Artigas, therefore, had to meet the invaders with the Uruguay militia and with the militia which he compelled the western towns under his sway to supply, that is to say, the towns of Santa Fé, Entre Rios, Corrientes, and Misiones. He fought valiantly during three years, but as the multitudes who obeyed him were uncivilised, undisciplined, and badly armed, and as he lacked leaders of military experience, he was unfortunate in every action and was compelled to abandon the country forever at the beginning of 1820, and to take refuge in Paraguay, pursued by Ramirez, a leader of Entre Rios.

Montevideo threw open its gates to General Lecor on January 20th, 1817, and the other towns successively followed this example; the laws in existence up to that time were declared in force, the religion of the inhabitants was respected, the members of the corporation continued to discharge their municipal duties, and the generals and officers who submitted were incorporated into the army keeping their respective grades. The Portuguese authorities further established a tribunal of justice composed of five members, enlarged the hospital of Caridad, commanding the adjacent houses of Don Juan Cayetano Molina to be hired for the purpose, re-established the civic corps, founded an orphanage adjoining the hospital of Caridad, organised a police force to maintain order and safeguard public health, planned a lottery the object of which was to supply funds for the founding institution, endeavoured to forward public education on a new plan, devoting to this purpose, together with the founding institution the proceeds of the seal fishery, and established a body of farmers to forward rural interests, etc. Lecor's administration being from the first distinguished by a careful attention to public and individual interests, he had no difficulty in winning the sympathy of conservative classes, and in causing a congress of deputies from Banda Oriental to be convoked in Montevideo gratifying to Portugal's ambitious aims. This congress on July 18th, 1821, decreed that Banda Oriental should be incorporated within the united kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve, under the name of Cisplatine State, as its condition rendered it unfitted for independence, and because union with any other state would be less advantageous to it.

#### URUGUAY BECOMES PART OF BRAZIL

When Brazil declared its independence the question arose whether the Cisplatine state should continue to be united to Portugal or to the Argentines. The Portuguese troops openly declared in favour of the first, the Brazilians, and a part of the natives of Banda Oriental were for the second course, and the remainder adhered to the Portuguese in the belief that they would leave them free to be re-incorporated with the Argentines. The two parties declared war, but the Brazilians were triumphant without any great military feat, due to the exertions of Brigadier Souza de Macedo, who favoured the Brazilian rather than the Argentine cause; those who had adhered conditionally to Portugal quitted the country, an oath of adherence to the constitution of the

[1821-1826 A.D.]

new empire was taken, and the emperor Dom Pedro I proclaimed; thus the territory of Uruguay came to be known as the Cisplatine State in the provinces of Brazil in the last months of 1823 and beginning of 1824.

The Argentine government had taken advantage of these incidents due to the policy of Banda Oriental to demand from Brazil the evacuation of the territory to which the government of Rio de Janeiro replied in the negative. Public opinion was loud in protestations against these last proceedings, the emigrants from Banda Oriental alleged the necessity of their country being reincorporated with the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata. A declaration of war between the Argentine Republic and Brazil was expected and demanded, but the general government of the first had been dissolved since 1820, and the provinces were separated; and although Buenos Ayres had greatly prospered since the separation, she was not sufficiently strong to declare war alone against the empire, the government of Buenos Ayres was thus compelled to await a more favourable opportunity. Meanwhile the press and the public were in a constant state of agitation, and the convocation of a congress for the purpose of re-establishing a common government for the state was sufficient to cause public feeling in favour of the war to greatly increase.

This was the moment for a few natives of Banda Oriental, resident in Buenos Ayres, to form a plan to invade the Cisplatine province, for the purpose of separating it from the empire, and restoring it to the United Provinces. They came to an unanimous decision, and won others to their cause, until the band of the Thirty-three was complete, and entered their native land under the command of Juan Antonio Lavalleja on the memorable day of the 19th of April, 1825, taking with them a few horses, carbines, pistols, and swords, and a few ounces of gold to pay preliminary expenses.

#### URUGUAY BECOMES INDEPENDENT

Although the uninhabited and undulating country enabled the cavalry to make surprise attacks, and afforded shelter from danger, yet the expedition of the Thirty-three is worthy to be considered one of the most daring and most deserving of praise for the confidence of victory, which it reveals, in spite of the extreme scarcity of resources with which it was commenced and for the daring courage needed to face the numerous troops of the line defending the Brazilian posts, and the no less terrible power which his fame gave to Rivera in the campaign, his complete knowledge of the territory, and his surpassing ability in guerilla warfare. Results, however, rewarded their heroism; within ten days they captured Rivera, who since Artigas' disappearance had adopted the cause of Brazil, and compelled him to surrender with all the forces under his command; they besieged the fortress of Montevideo, and within two months established in Florida the first revolutionary government. The assembly of deputies within four months declared the acts of incorporation with Portugal and Brazil null, and Banda Oriental to be united to the other provinces of Rio de la Plata; at the end of five months Rivera won the hard fought battle of Rincon de Haedo; within six the forces of Uruguay gained a splendid victory on the field of Sarandi, and immediately obtained from the Argentine congress the recognition of the incorporation of Banda Oriental with the united provinces of Rio de la Plata (1825). As it may be presumed, the emperor of Brazil lost no time in declaring war upon the Argentine Republic, and in 1826 war was begun. An army composed of infantry, cavalry, and artillery invaded Brazil under command of General Alvear; the vanguard composed of Uruguayans was commanded by Lavalleja: a fleet was equipped

[1826-1840 A.D.]

in Buenos Ayres, under the orders of Admiral Brown, and glorious hand-to-hand battles followed one on the other for eighteen months; but their forces being weakened the opponents accepted England's friendly mediation in 1828, and on the 27th of August celebrated a preliminary treaty of peace by which Brazilians and Argentines settled differences by converting Banda Oriental into a sovereign independent state. In virtue of this treaty the constituent assembly of Banda Oriental published the republican constitution, by which the new political power was to be governed, and the public and public authorities took a solemn oath adopting it (July 18th, 1830). Such are the most important details of the history of Uruguay up to the time when it is presented to other powers as an independent constitutional state.<sup>i</sup>

#### PARAGUAY

Paraguay proclaimed its independence in 1811, and almost immediately came under the power of one man who ruled like a dictator until his death in 1840. This remarkable man was José Gaspar Rodríguez, usually called Doctor Francia, of Brazilian origin, who was secretary to the national junta of 1811.<sup>a</sup>

When the congress or junta of 1813 changed the constitution and established a duumvirate, Doctor Francia and the Gaucho, General Fulgencio, were elected to the office. A story is told in connection with their installation, which recalls the self-coronation of William I of England and Napoleon the Great. In theatrical imitation of Roman custom, two curule chairs had been placed in the assembly, one of them bearing the name of Cæsar, and the other that of Pompey. Francia seated himself in the Cæsar chair, and left his colleague to play the part of Pompey as best he might. In 1814 he secured his own election as dictator for three years, and at the end of that period he obtained the dictatorship for life. He was no mere nominal sovereign; but for the next twenty-five years he might have boasted, with even more truth than Louis XIV, "*L'état c'est moi*." In the accounts which have been published of his administration we find a strange mixture of capacity and caprice, of far-sighted wisdom and reckless infatuation, strenuous endeavours after a high ideal, and flagrant violations of the simplest principles of justice. He put a stop to the foreign commerce of the country, but carefully fostered its internal industries; was disposed to be hospitable to strangers from other lands, and kept them prisoners for years; lived a life of republican simplicity, and punished with Dionysian severity the slightest want of respect. As time went on he appears to have grown more arbitrary and despotic, more determined to maintain his mastery over the country and more apprehensive lest he should lose it. And yet at the time of his death it is said that he was generally regretted, and his bitterest opponents cannot deny that if he did much evil he also did much good. Deeply imbued with the principles of the French Revolution, he was a stern antagonist of the church. He abolished the Inquisition, suppressed the college of theology, did away with the tithes, and inflicted endless indignities on the priests. "What are they good for?" was his saying; "they make us believe more in the devil than in God." He discouraged marriage both by precepts and example, and left behind him several illegitimate children. For the extravagances of his later years the plea of insanity has been put forward. The circumstances of his death were in strange keeping with his life. He was about to sabre his doctor when he was seized with a fit, and he expired the same day, September 20th, 1840.<sup>b</sup>



## CHAPTER V

### SPANISH AMERICA SINCE THE REVOLUTIONS

ONE year after Bolivar's death the republic of Colombia was split up into the three independent republics of Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador, with similar constitutions, which were in general modelled after the constitution of North America. An elective president, with ministers or governmental councillors, stood at the head of the executive power; the legislative was in the hands of a congress consisting of a senate and representatives; the armed power consisted of a standing army, land militia, etc. But whereas in the United States of North America the parties opposed one another only within the bounds of the constitution, the history of the South American republics is an unbroken succession of upheavals, now in a revolutionary, now in a reactionary sense, during which every one of the great parties, into which the population even here was divided, tried to get the control into its own hands and to organise the state after its own principles, until finally racial passions and wars between the white and coloured populations were added to the political struggles. The division into separate states under a weakly organised central power was not sufficient, as in North America, to assure the feeling of liberty, but rather favoured the inclination to internal discord and division.

### VENEZUELA

In the forties the republic of Venezuela was split up into two factions—oligarchists (conservatives) and federalists (radicals)—through whose rivalries and hostilities the state fell into a condition of anarchy, of which the family of Manazas tried to take advantage for the purpose of establishing a sort of autocratic dictatorship. For ten years members of this family, through corruption and revolts, managed to keep in power, until finally General Castro was raised to the presidential chair by the oligarchic or conservative party, and caused a revision of the constitution by a "national con-

vention." But Castro, who tried to steer his way between parties, succeeded in satisfying none; soon federalists, conservatives, and liberals began to fight one another, and the presidency changed hands four times in three years. Finally Falcon, the leader of the federalists, attained the highest dignity (1863), and, with a newly summoned constitutional assembly, brought about a new constitution, which closely resembled that of the North American union and which gave a most complete victory to the federative system. Eighteen states, independent of one another in their internal political and legislative life, composed the confederated republic of the United States of Venezuela, with a president and congress at Caracas as the highest central authority, and with laws and institutions as in the United States of North America (1864). But the state, by this division of the whole into many single parts, was distracted by revolution and civil dissensions, which, nevertheless, were restricted to a smaller circle and hinged mostly upon a change of persons in authority and upon private interests.<sup>b</sup>

The period of revolutions and civil wars continued until 1870, at the end of which year Guzman Blanco, the leader of the federalists, was made provisional president, and three years later he was elected constitutional president. For the next fifteen years the actual power was in his hands, although according to the terms of the constitution he could hold only alternate presidencies. This period was one of material advance to the country.

#### BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The question of the boundary of British Guiana was one of old standing. In the latter part of the thirties Sir Robert Schomburgk had mapped the boundary, and in 1841 he was sent again to survey the line, Venezuela immediately sending a special minister to England to object. In 1876 the dispute was reopened by Venezuela's offer to accept the line proposed by Lord Aberdeen, terminating on the coast at the Rio Moroco, near Cape Nassau. This offer was refused and the question remained open. In 1879 it was claimed that the British made a naval demonstration at the mouth of the Orinoco, to which the United States in the following year objected, intimating that the United States government "could not look with indifference on the forcible acquisition of such territory by England."

In the same year the constitution was modified so as to give more power to the central government and to take away much from the separate states. Lord Granville offered a new line, coinciding inland with the Aberdeen line of 1844, but demanding much more of the coast than the Moroco line, though making no claim to the mouth of the Orinoco. The Venezuela government refused this line, which was the least favourable thus far offered to it, and on November 15th, 1883, Venezuela formally proposed arbitration, and in 1885 Granville agreed, but on June 24th, before the agreement was signed, he went out of office and was replaced by Salisbury, who refused his consent to the convention. By this time relations were becoming greatly strained; both Great Britain and Venezuela accused each other of occupying the territory in dispute, contrary to the agreement of 1850. In December, 1886, Secretary Bayard offered the arbitration of the United States, and the pope also offered to arbitrate. But Great Britain refused both offers. Guzman Blanco, before resigning, brought the boundary question to a head by insisting on British evacuation of the disputed territory before February 20th, 1887, so that diplomatic relations were broken off in 1887. Meanwhile

[1887-1896 A.D.]

Blanco went to Europe with plenipotentiary powers, settled in Paris, and enriched himself by selling Venezuelan concessions.

In 1889 there was a revolt against the rule of Blanco and scenes of riot ensued in the capital, statues and portraits of Blanco being destroyed wherever found. In 1890 Andueza Palacio became president by congressional proclamation, and in the same year an attempt was made to revise the constitution. The amendments proposed lengthened the president's term to four years, and extended the power of the president and of the congress by cutting down the powers of the states. Palacio urged the immediate proclamation of the new constitution, so that his term might be lengthened, and, meeting with opposition, resorted to violent measures, which led to a rising against him, headed by the ex-presidents, Joaquin Crespo and Rojas Paul.

The fighting began early in April, and by the middle of June Palacio was hummed in at Caracas, and resigned in favour of Guillermo Tell Villegas, Domingo Monagas and Julio F. Sarra becoming actual leaders of the liberals. On October 5th the decisive battle of San Pedro gave the victory to Crespo and the legalists. Caracas was occupied by the Crespists on October 7th, and on the 10th Crespo was chosen provisional president by proclamation. His authority was recognised by the United States two weeks afterwards. On May 2nd, 1893, the constituent assembly met, drew up a new constitution, made Crespo provisional president, and gave the control of public property, such as lands or mines, to the central government, although they were formerly controlled by the states. In October Crespo was regularly elected president, extending from February 20th, 1894, to February 20th, 1898.

In 1895 the boundary question was brought to a crisis. A party of Venezuelan officers without authorisation arrested, at Yuran, in April, two British police officers, Barnes and Baker, who were released, however, as soon as the arrest was reported in Caracas. England claimed an indemnity in October, and proposed arbitration afterwards; Venezuela denied the claim and refused the offer, since each implied British possession of Yuran. On July 20th United States Secretary of State Olney vigorously protested against Great Britain's "indefinite but confessedly very large" claim, urged arbitration as a means of solution, and applied the Monroe Doctrine to the case. In reply, Lord Salisbury denied that the Monroe Doctrine had any relation to modern politics and that it had ever been recognised by any government save that of the United States. He stated the arguments for the British claim, at the same time refusing to arbitrate, except as to the ownership of the territory west of the Schomburgk line. To Salisbury's two notes of November 26th President Cleveland replied by a message to congress, dated December 17th, "practically stating that any attempt on the part of the British government to enforce its claims upon Venezuela without resort to arbitration would be considered as a *casus belli* by his government." The congress of the United States authorised the president to appoint a commission to report the actual line between British Guiana and Venezuela. Meanwhile in Venezuela itself Rojas Paul raised a revolution against Crespo, but met with little success, the people being unanimous in support of the government because of its foreign difficulties.

In 1896 the Venezuelan government created a commission to prepare the case for an arbitrating tribunal. Lord Salisbury refused the terms suggested by the United States for the formation of such a tribunal, and insisted on a settlement of the claim for damages because of the arrest of Barnes, the

British colonial police officer. To this Venezuela acceded, stipulating that her territorial claims should not be surrendered thereby. On May 22nd Salisbury suggested a commission composed of two British subjects and two American citizens, who should consider the historical documents bearing on the boundary and make recommendations to Great Britain and Venezuela, by which they should be bound, except in cases where British or Venezuelan settlements had been made before January 1st, 1887. This programme of partial arbitration did not meet with Olney's approval. Finally, on November 12th, unrestricted arbitration was agreed upon, with the understanding that in any instance fifty years of occupation should give title. Thereupon the American commission resigned without making a report, and the tribunal was appointed.

The arbitration treaty was signed in Washington on February 2nd, 1897, and ratified by the Venezuelan congress on April 5th, and diplomatic relations, after ten years' interval, were renewed between Venezuela and Great Britain. Crespo refused his official sanction to any candidate for the presidency, but practically gave the backing of the administration to the liberal candidate, Ignacio Andrade, who represented Venezuela in Washington, and who was almost unanimously elected. With Andrade's accession to the presidency, the revolts which had begun in a desultory way the year before broke out with more violence. Crespo was mortally wounded in a battle with General Hernandez in Zamora, but Hernandez was taken prisoner and the revolution momentarily crushed on June 12th, 1898. In this year a regular steamship service between Italy and Venezuela was established, and Italian immigration began.

The boundary dispute with England was finally settled in 1899. The Anglo-Venezuelan boundary tribunal on October 3rd delivered a unanimous award, granting to Great Britain almost exactly the territory included by the old Schomburgk line, much less than had been claimed by Great Britain for many years.

#### PRESIDENCY OF CASTRO

In the following February Ramon Guerra headed a revolution against Andrade, which did not grow to serious proportions, but opened the way for a rising led by General Cipriano Castro. He captured Valencia, September 15th, 1900, shut Andrade up in Caracas, and, after negotiating for the peaceful surrender of the executive, entered the city on October 21st. Two days afterwards he became provisional president. There were a few abortive revolutions, but in July Castro proclaimed a general amnesty. In August the Venezuelan federation was divided into fifteen states and one federal district.

On October 29th, 1901, Castro was declared constitutional president for six years by a congress which drew up a new constitution. The Colombian government backed the opposition to Castro in Venezuela, and he in turn apparently aided the Colombian liberals in their plans to revolt, the border between the states being zealously watched by either army. In August the Venezuelan army openly clashed with the British occupants of Patos. In October a mob in Puerto Cabello maltreated the crew of a German man-of-war. Castro's attitude was unyielding in all these matters as in the quarrel with Colombia, which he refused to arbitrate unless Colombia first paid damages for the invasion of Venezuelan territory. At the time of Castro's election, which was no doubt largely due to the administration's control of the machinery of elections, rebellion on the part of his nationalist opponents

[1902-1903 A.D.]

broke out all over the country, but the regular army stood by Castro and was generally victorious. During this year Germany, to facilitate forcible collection of her claims in Venezuela and to prevent American interference, officially recognised the Monroe Doctrine.

In 1902 the revolution under Monagas still dragged on, but won small advantage until August, when the rebels captured Barcelona and Puerto Cabello. In the middle of October the tide again turned. Castro won the battle of La Victoria and put down the rising after an engagement lasting a week. General Matos escaped to Curaçoa. Meanwhile foreign claims for damages during the civil wars of the last five years had become insistent. France's claims were settled by a mixed commission. Germany's claims were for railroad loans and unpaid interest thereon, as well as for property damaged by revolution. The British claims were largely for damages to coasting vessels from Trinidad captured as smugglers by the Venezuelan government. The Venezuelan authorities made a counter claim against Great Britain for permitting the *Ban Righ* or *Liberator*, a British vessel bought by Colombia, to go to sea at a time when Colombia and Venezuela were practically at war. Germany and Great Britain united to force their claims by a "peaceful blockade" beginning on December 10th. Italy joined the blockade on the 11th. On the 13th Castro offered through the United States government at Washington to arbitrate the claims. Secretary Hay objected to the "peaceful blockade," and the British ministry replied by admitting a state of war. Germany, Great Britain, and Italy agreed to the proffered plan of arbitration, but there was some difficulty in deciding who should arbitrate. On December 31st, however, President Castro accepted as arbitrator the Hague tribunal. But the powers, having no guarantee that Venezuela would stand by the decision of the Hague tribunal, refused to raise the blockade, which was rendered ineffective by the opening of the Colombian frontier on January 16th. Immediately afterwards Germany shelled Fort San Carlos at the entrance of Lake Maracaibo. Germany's action was also extreme as regards her demands for a cash payment before the raising of the blockade. February 11th Germany got \$340,000 and Great Britain and Italy \$27,500 each, and three days later the blockade was lifted. By the final agreement the amount of all claims was left to mixed commissions; the arbitrator selected by the czar was only to decide whether the blockading claimants were to get preferential treatment, and, if so, what such treatment should be.

In May, 1903, Matos again unsuccessfully led the insurgents against Castro. The insurgents, commanded by General Antonio Ramos, were forced to surrender on July 26th, and in September Castro announced that the country was at peace.<sup>a</sup>

### NEW GRANADA OR COLOMBIA

Still more stormy than in Venezuela was the period following the revolution in New Granada, which since September 20th, 1861, has been called the "United States of Colombia." Here liberal, clerical, and military revolutions followed one another in quick succession and kept the land in an almost uninterrupted turmoil. The Bolivianos, i.e., the followers of Bolívar, who had defended his dictatorial power in the last years, disputed the presidency with the patriots or liberals. When, after a long struggle, the latter gained the victory (1839), the former raised a revolt under General Obando, in consequence of which the republic for two years was given up to all the tempests

of a passionate civil war, and Cartagena and other provinces broke loose. Not until the forties, during the presidencies of generals Herran and Mosquera, who were animated by a spirit of moderation, did more peaceful times ensue. The constitution was reformed, the ruined financial system brought into order, and institutions established for instruction, commerce, and the general prosperity and safety.

After a few years, however (1853), the democrats under José Hilario Lopez and José Maria Obando gained the upper hand and enforced a decentralising constitution, according to which it was to be permitted to every province, with the assent of congress, to declare itself an independent state and to enter a confederation with the mother state, New Granada. This happened in the case of Panama and Antioquia. At the end of the fifties new revolts broke out, and Mosquera, a man of an old Spanish family, abandoned his hitherto moderate attitude, and, out of envy and jealousy of the powerful president Mariano Ospina, a lawyer with constitutional opinions, gathered democrats and radicals under his flag and led them to battle against the central government in Bogota. The end of the civil war, which lasted several years, and during which Bogota was captured and burned and several of the most influential officials and citizens were executed, was a new constitution, in a federal sense, in consequence of which the republic of New Granada by a compact of union was reconstituted into the United States of Colombia.

During this confused period Mosquera had for eighteen months wielded a dictatorial power, which he resigned to the constitutional assembly at Bogota after having used it for terroristic measures against the conservatives and clericals. A few years later (1866) he was elected president of the confederated republic by the adherents of his party, and this election did not tend to calm the political excitement. The Spanish-American people seem to lack the devotion to law and constitution and the power of subjecting the individual will to that of the whole, which are necessary in an organised state. The struggle between the adherents of a loose confederation and the supporters of a unified republic continued or broke out anew after short pauses, and in the single states themselves the party struggles often led to complete anarchy. Especially in Panama the desire was manifested to become separated from Colombia and to form an independent republic.<sup>b</sup>

#### STRUGGLES BETWEEN CENTRALISTS AND DECENTRALISTS

Mosquera's doctrine upheld the right of the central government to interfere in suppressing revolutions in the separate states; he quarrelled with his congress in consequence, and in 1867 assumed dictatorial powers. He was overthrown, however, and succeeded as president in 1868 by Gutierrez, during whose tenure of office insurrections in different parts of the country continued.

In 1870 General Salgar became president, and during his administration public education was taken out of the hands of the clergy and placed under state control. Revolutions occurred in the states of Boyaca and Panama. In 1872 Manuel Murillo-Toro was elected president for a second term and devoted himself with some success to the reorganisation of the finances. Murillo was succeeded after two years by Santiago Perez, under whom took place the beginnings of the civil war which was to sweep over the whole country. In 1876 Aquileo Perra became president, and armed opposition broke out immediately. The clericals controlled the states of Antioquia

[1876-1902 A.D.]

and Tolima, and fighting took place in Cauca. The government, however, succeeded in raising recruits enough to quell the revolts, and in 1878 the liberal president Trujillo was installed. The finances of the country were in so bad a way that it was necessary to suspend the payment of interest on the foreign debt.

In 1880 Rafael Nuñez, nominally a liberal, became president, and set himself to better the financial conditions of the country. An attempt was made to settle the boundary dispute between Costa Rica and Colombia by European arbitration. In 1882 Francisco Laldúa became president, but died before the end of the year. In the next year the question of the boundary between Colombia and Venezuela was submitted to the arbitration of Spain, the decision being finally given in 1891.

In 1884 Nuñez again became president, but as he was abroad at the time he entered office by proxy. Nuñez had been supposed to favour the policy of the liberal party, but when it was discovered that he held centralist views he was opposed by the liberals, and in 1885 civil war broke out. A decisive battle was fought at Calamar in July, and the insurgents surrendered in August.

During the disturbance the United States landed troops at Panama and Colon to protect traffic across the isthmus. A new constitution was adopted in August, 1886, according to which the states of the confederation became departments governed by persons appointed by the president. The sovereignty of the individual departments was denied, and the term of the presidential office was extended to six years. To show this change in the system of government the name United States of Colombia was changed to Republic of Colombia. Nuñez became president under the constitution in 1886, and in 1892 he was re-elected, but on account of his ill health Holguín, and afterwards Caro, performed the actual duties of administration. Nuñez died on September 18th, 1894, and the vice-president, Caro, became president. In 1895 there was a successful rising in Boyacá, headed by the liberals, and the revolt soon became general, but was put down without much difficulty.

In 1898 San Clemente, a strong conservative, was elected president, with José Manuel Marroquín as vice-president. The next year the liberals instituted another revolt, which involved the whole country, and especially Panama, where American marines were again landed to protect the railroad. In 1900 Marroquín became president and imprisoned San Clemente, who died in prison. The year following the revolution received aid from Venezuela. Venezuelan troops attacked the forces of the conservative Colombian government; Colombian troops invaded Venezuela, and President Castro recognized the Colombian insurgents as belligerents. In November, 1901, the United States again landed marines to protect the railway in Panama, and on November 18th the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, abrogating the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and giving the United States right of control in time of war of an isthmian canal, was signed, being ratified by the United States senate on December 16th. In 1902 the revolutionary struggle centred in Panama. Uribe was unsuccessful in his attack on Bogotá, but the insurgents captured Aguadulce and turned their attention to Panama and Colon, whereupon the United States naval officers forbade any fighting along the line of the railway, and use of the line was withdrawn from government troops. Peace was restored in the last month of the year, and a general amnesty was proclaimed on December 10th. The next year, however, another revolution in Panama succeeded in establishing the independence of that country, which was immediately recognised by the United States and by the other powers. Colombia

protested without avail against the landing of United States troops in Panama. In December, 1903, General Reyes was elected president, and in 1905 a convention extended the presidential term from four to ten years.

## PANAMA AND THE PANAMA CANAL

In 1868 negotiations were opened with Washington for the purpose of building a canal across the isthmus of Panama, and in January, 1869, a treaty between Colombia and the United States of North America was signed for the construction of the Darien or Panama ship canal, at the expense of the latter power; but the Colombian senate did not ratify the treaty, its object being, says a contemporary document, to "get as much money from the United States as could be."

In 1870 the Colombian congress amended the Darien Canal Bill and adopted it; but these amendments, together with the ill success of the surveying expedition sent out by the United States, made the scheme seem no longer practical.

On March 23rd, 1878, the Colombian government approved a contract with Bonaparte Wyse, of the Civil International Inter-oceanic Canal Society, which had been founded in France, to whom it granted the "exclusive privilege for the excavating of a canal between the two oceans," the privilege to last for ninety-nine years, and the canal to be finished within twelve years after the organisation of the company. The terminal ports and the waters of the canal were declared neutral. The next year Ferdinand de Lesseps took the matter up, and an international congress was convened at Paris for the purpose of considering the plan of a canal. After the adjournment of this congress the Panama Canal Company was organised with De Lesseps as president, and purchased the Wyse concession for the price of 10,000,000 francs. Work upon the canal was begun in 1884 and was continued until 1899, being managed with a degree of corruption which has become notorious. In 1889 the company became bankrupt, was declared in liquidation, and was put into the hands of a liquidator.

As the time limit set for the completion of the canal by the Wyse concession had nearly expired, the concession to the French Isthmian Canal Company was renewed in December, 1890, by Nuñez. The time limit for its completion was extended ten years, on the condition that work be resumed before March 1st, 1893, by a new company, paying 10,000,000 francs in gold and 5,000,000 in shares. In 1893 a new concession was made to the liquidator of the canal company, extending for one year the date of the formation of the new company. Work on the canal began again in the Culebra section on October 1st, and on the 21st a new company was incorporated in Paris. The canal company devoted its energies to improving the harbour at Colon, as well as to working on the Culebra cut.

In the mean time the United States had begun to take an interest in the canal, a route through Nicaragua being considered as well as the Panama route. In 1884 a treaty was negotiated with Nicaragua for the building of a canal at the expense of the United States, but was not ratified by the senate. In 1886 the Nicaragua Canal Association was formed in New York city by private citizens for the purpose of obtaining the necessary concessions and for building the canal. Concessions were obtained from Nicaragua and from Costa Rica, and in 1889 the company was organised after an act of congress authorising the incorporation of the association. Work upon

[1899-1904 A. D.]

the canal was begun in the same year and was continued until 1893, when the company went into bankruptcy. In 1899 congress appointed a commission to examine all possible routes for a canal, and this commission reported that the canal across Panama could be constructed with less expense than the Nicaragua canal if the French company could be bought out for a reasonable sum. It was found that the French company was willing to sell its assets at \$40,000,000, the value placed upon them by the commission, and in 1902 the United States senate passed the Spooner Act, providing for the construction of the Panama canal, or if this should be impossible (since the French company might prove to have no title, or the Colombian government might refuse its approval) that the Nicaragua canal be built. On October 25th the attorney-general of the United States gave his opinion that the new Panama Canal Company had title, and could legally transfer its title to the strip and to the canal as partially constructed. But negotiations with Señor Concha, the Colombian minister to the United States, were required, for the Salgar-Wyse concession of 1878 expressly forbade the *cessionnaires* to transfer their rights to any foreign nation or government. These negotiations were unsuccessful, and on November 25th Concha practically informed Secretary Hay that Colombia refused the offer of \$10,000,000 down and \$100,000 (or \$125,000) a year. The Colombian opposition seemed plainly a mere matter of price, and Señor Concha was recalled by his government, which apparently took the attitude that his delay had been for his personal ends.

The Hay-Herran Treaty, signed on January 22nd, 1903, with Herran, the Colombian *chargé d'affaires* in Washington, in accordance with which the Panama concession was sold by the Colombian Republic for \$10,000,000 down and \$250,000 annually, was definitely rejected by the Colombian senate on August 12th, and on September 12th the time for ratification expired. At this point matters were taken out of the hands of Colombia, and on November 3rd there was an insurrection on the isthmus which immediately and peaceably gained control of the department and proclaimed the independence of Panama. The United States recognised the provisional government as the *de facto* government and landed marines to protect the trans-isthmian commerce, thus making it impossible for the Colombian troops to strike a blow at the insurgents in Panama. Marroquin strongly protested against the action of the United States, which he interpreted as connivance in the plot against the Colombian central government and as a direct infringement of the treaty of 1846, and he urged the Latin-American republics to make common cause with him in a war on the United States of North America. In the last week of November Marroquin sent General Rafael Reyes to Washington to appeal for Colombia's ownership of Panama, or for the release of such ownership on receipt of a compensation from the United States. He was well received, but was given clearly to understand that the United States was determined to abide by what had been done; and, the independence of Panama having been recognized by the principal powers, it would be impossible to open negotiations with Colombia concerning the suppression of that republic.

In the mean time negotiations had been concluded between Panama and the United States for the building of the canal, and on November 18th the Isthmian Canal Treaty was signed at Washington, according to which the United States was to give to Panama \$10,000,000, and to the French Canal Company \$40,000,000. This treaty was ratified by the senate in February, 1904, and the president almost immediately appointed a commission to push the work.

## PERU

Of all the republics of southern and central America, Peru was the only one which had not been able to obtain the recognition of its independence from Spain. After the Spaniards had given up their last position—Callao—after their defeat at Ayacucho, and had evacuated the country, the history of Peru for twenty years offered a dismal picture of revolutions and civil wars which hindered the development of the country, undermined prosperity, and brought no benefits in recompense. Selfish and ambitious party leaders fought for the supremacy, being led by personal and selfish motives with no higher aims. Not till the forties was a better period ushered in by the presidency of Ramon Castilla, who exerted himself to establish an organised government (1845). At the expiration of his term of office the highest state authority went over to the legally elected successor for the first time in the history of the republic. This successor was Don José Rufino Echenique, who, more of a general than a statesman, brought the republic into warlike entanglements with Ecuador, and fought successfully with the confederated states for the possession of the Lobos Islands, which were rich in guano. But before his term of office was completed, in consequence of the diminishing of the rate of interest on the national debt, a revolt broke out, which, coinciding with a war with Bolivia, soon endangered the position of the government. Castilla, the leader of the insurgents, conquered Lima, gained the presidency, and caused a revision of the constitution which finally led to a new state law.<sup>b</sup>

In 1860 Miguel San Roman became president, but upon his death was succeeded by Pezet, the vice-president. In 1864 the Spanish fleet seized the Chincha Islands as surety for Spanish claims against Peru for the murder of some Basque workmen. In this year Great Britain's claim on Peru for the imprisonment of Captain T. Melville White was referred to the senate of Hamburg, but was disallowed. Pezet, after much delay, made an arrangement with the Spanish fleet on January 27th, 1865, by which a part of the claim was recognised. This arrangement was regarded as dishonourable; an opposition was begun, with Colonel Mariano Ignacio Prado at its head, and Pezet, rather than plunge the country in civil war, left for England. Prado declared war on Spain, allied himself with Chili, and in May, 1866, the Spanish fleet was forced to retire. Prado's position, however, as chief magistrate was unconstitutional, and he was obliged to give way to Canseco, second vice-president and legal successor of Pezet. In 1868, Balta, who had headed an insurrection in the north the year before, was made president. With Balta's administration began a period of peace and of reckless loans for public works, especially for railroads and forts. In 1871 there were two unsuccessful revolts against Balta's rule, and on July 26th, 1872, Balta was assassinated by the agents of Gutierrez, whom the president blocked in a projected *coup d'état* and who was immediately killed by the people. The constitutional government continued, and Manuel Pardo was regularly elected president on August 2nd. Pardo at once attempted to meet the tremendous obligations created by Balta's internal policy. In this year the czar of Russia was requested to pass on Peru's claims against Japan for the seizure of the *Maria Luz*. In February, 1873, Bolivia and Peru united to prevent Chili from seizing the valuable nitrate deposits, and in 1874 a treaty with China was signed regulating coolie immigration.

[1875-1881 A.D.]

In 1875 the fall in the price of guano, due to artificial manures, cut into the government resources; but the state bought up the nitrate deposits and thus formed a monopoly. In this year the *Maria Luz* case was decided in favour of Japan. In 1876 General Prado was elected president. In 1879 Chili seized all Bolivian ports and made war on Peru when Peru offered to mediate. The quarrel was fixed on Peru. During the last of May and the first of June the Peruvian navy made some opposition, though against great odds, and on October 8th the *Huascar*, the only seaworthy ship in the Peruvian navy, was disabled by the two superior Chilean ironclads. The Chilean army landed at Pisagua on November 2nd, and won the battle of San Francisco on the 18th. One month later, President Prado left the country, of which Pierola, as the result of a revolution, assumed control as supreme chief on December 23rd. The blockade was kept up and the province containing the coveted nitrate soon seized.<sup>a</sup>

## POLITICAL HISTORY SINCE 1880

The victory of the Chileans over the combined forces of Peru and Bolivia at Tacna on June 7th, 1880, marked the close of the second stage of the war which had broken out in April of 1879. In November, 1880, the Chileans began to make preparations for the landing of an army to attack the Peruvian capital. The Peruvians meanwhile had not been idle. After the crushing defeat at Arica every effort was made to put Lima in an effectual state of defence. Under the direction of Señor Nicolas de Pierola, who had assumed dictatorial powers after the departure of General Prado to Europe, all the remaining strength of Peru was organised for resistance. The military command was confided to General Andres Caceres. The Peruvian army at this juncture numbered twenty-six thousand men of the line and eighteen thousand in the reserves. The defensive measures inspired great confidence, both Señor Pierola and General Caceres considering the position of Lima practically impregnable. At daybreak on January 13th, 1881, the Chilean attack began, and the action soon became general throughout the whole length of the Peruvian first line of defence. The Chilean troops carried the trenches at the point of the bayonet after repeated charges, and at midday the defenders were forced to fall back upon the second line of fortifications. In this engagement, known as the battle of Chorrillos, the Chilean loss was eight hundred killed and twenty-five hundred wounded; the Peruvian, five thousand killed, four thousand wounded, and two thousand prisoners. On the following day an attempt was made by the diplomatic representatives of foreign governments in Lima to negotiate peace, but it proved abortive. On January 15th, at two in the afternoon, the final struggle of the war, known as the battle of Miraflores, commenced, and continued for some four hours. The Chileans were again victorious, and carried the second line of defence, this success placing Lima completely at their mercy. At the battle of Miraflores the Chilean losses were five hundred killed and sixteen hundred and twenty-five wounded; the Peruvian, three thousand, including killed and wounded. On January 17th a division of four thousand Chilean troops under command of General Saavedra entered Lima under instructions from the Chilean commander-in-chief to occupy the city and restore order within the municipal limits.

Desultory fighting was now maintained by the remnants of the Peruvian army in the interior, under direction of General Caceres, against Chilean authority. The Chilean occupation of Lima and the Peruvian seaboard

continued uninterruptedly until 1883. In that year Admiral Lynch, who had replaced General Baquedano in command of the Chilian forces after the taking of Lima, sent an expedition against the Peruvians under General Caceres, and defeated the latter in the month of August. The Chilian authorities now began preparations for the evacuation of Lima, and to enable this measure to be effected a Peruvian administration was organised with the support of the Chilians. General Iglesias was nominated to the office of president of the republic, and in October, 1883, a treaty of peace, known as the Treaty of Ancon, between Peru and Chili was signed. The army of occupation was withdrawn from Lima on October 22nd, 1883, but a strong Chilian force was maintained at Chorrillos until July, 1884, when the terms of the treaty were finally approved. The principal conditions imposed by Chili were the absolute cession by Peru of the province of Tarapacá and the occupation for a period of ten years of the territories of Tacna and Arica, the ownership of these districts to be decided by a popular vote of the inhabitants of Tacna and Arica at the expiration of the period named. A further condition was enacted that an indemnity of 10,000,000 soles was to be paid by the country finally remaining in possession—a sum equal to about £1,000,000 to-day. The Peruvians in the interior refused to recognise the validity of the nomination of President Iglesias, and at once began active operations to overthrow his authority on the final departure of the Chilian troops. A series of skirmishes now took place between the men in the country under Caceres and the supporters of the administration in Lima. Affairs continued in this unsettled state until the middle of 1885, Caceres meanwhile steadily gaining many adherents to his side of the quarrel. In the latter part of 1885 President Iglesias found his position, after some severe fighting in Lima, impossible, and he abdicated his office, leaving the field clear for Caceres and his friends to assume the administration of public affairs. In the following year (1886), General Caceres was elected president of the republic for the usual term of four years. The task assumed by the new president was no sinecure. The disasters suffered in the war with Chili had thrown the country into absolute confusion from a political and administrative point of view. Gradually, however, order in the official departments was restored, and peaceful conditions were reconstituted throughout the republic.

The four years of office for which General Caceres was elected passed in uneventful fashion, and in 1890 Señor Morales Bermudez was nominated to the presidency, with Señor Solar and Señor Borgoño as first and second vice-presidents. Matters continued without alteration from the normal course until 1894, and in that year President Bermudez died suddenly a few months before the expiration of the period for which he had been chosen as president. General Caceres, who was the power behind the scenes, brought influence to bear to secure the nomination of Vice-President Borgoño to act as chief of the executive for the unexpired portion of the term of the late president Bermudez. Armed resistance to the authority of President Borgoño was immediately organised in the south of Peru. In the month of August, 1894, General Caceres was again elected to fill the office of president, but the revolutionary movement set afoot against President Borgoño was continued against his successor, and rapidly gained ground. President Caceres adopted energetic measures to suppress the outbreak; his efforts, however, proved unavailing, the close of 1894 finding the country districts in the power of the rebels and the authority of the legal government confined to Lima and other principal cities held by strong garrisons. A concentration of the revolutionary forces was now made upon the city of Lima, and early in March, 1895, the

[1895-1904 A.D.]

insurgents encamped near the outskirts of the town. On March 17th, 18th, and 19th severe fighting took place, ending in the defeat of the troops under General Caceres. A suspension of hostilities was then brought about by the efforts of the British consul, Mr. St. John. The loss on both sides to the struggle during these two days was twenty-eight hundred between killed and wounded. President Caceres, finding his cause was lost, left the country, a provisional government under Señor Candamo assuming the direction of public affairs. On September 8th, 1895, Señor Pierola was declared to be duly elected as president of the republic for the following four years. The Peruvians were now heartily tired of revolutionary disturbances, and the administration of President Pierola promised to be peaceful and advantageous to the country. In 1896 a reform of the electoral law was sanctioned. Revolutionary troubles again disturbed the country in 1899, when the presidency of Señor Pierola was drawing to a close. In consequence of dissensions amongst the members of the election committee constituted by the Act of 1896, the president ordered the suppression of this body. In September, 1899, President Pierola vacated the presidency in favour of Señor Romañá, who had been elected to the office as a popular candidate and without the exercise of any undue official influence.<sup>c</sup> Romañá was succeeded in 1903 by Manuel Candamo, and after the latter's death in 1904 Dr. Serapio Caldero held the office temporarily until in a special election Dr. José was chosen.<sup>a</sup>

The principal political problem before the government of Peru at the opening of the twentieth century was the question with Chili of the ownership of the territories of Tacna and Arica. The period of ten years originally agreed upon for the Chilian occupation of these provinces expired in 1894. At that date the peace of Peru was so seriously disturbed by internal troubles that the government was quite unable to take active steps to bring about any solution of the matter. Since 1894 negotiations between the two governments have been attempted from time to time, but without any satisfactory results. The question hinges to a great extent on the qualification necessary for the inhabitants to vote, in the event of a plebiscite being called to decide whether Chilian ownership be finally established or the provinces revert to Peruvian sovereignty. It is not so much the value of Tacna and Arica that makes the present difficulties in the way of a settlement, as it is that the national pride of the Peruvians ill brooks the idea of permanently losing all claim to this section of country. The money, about £1,000,000, could probably be obtained to indemnify Chili, if occasion for it arose.

The question of the delimitation of the frontier between Peru and the neighbouring republics of Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil has also cropped up at intervals. A treaty was signed with Brazil as far back as 1876 by which certain physical features were accepted by both countries as the basis for the boundary, but nothing has been accomplished towards definitely surveying the proposed line of limits. In a treaty signed by the three interested states in 1895 a compromise was effected by which Colombia withdrew a part of the claim advanced, and it was agreed that any further differences arising out of this frontier question should be submitted to the arbitration of the Spanish crown.<sup>c</sup>

### CHILI

Chili, the long coast land stretching between the Andes and the Pacific, had the advantage of a more stable political organisation than the other South American republics. However, even Chili was not free from civil

disturbances. From the time (1817) when General San Martin with emigrant Chilians and auxiliary troops from La Plata, starting from Mendoza, crossed the pass of Uspallata over the Andes, and, a year afterwards, conquered the Spaniards, surprised by this bold march, in a desperate fight at Chacabuco on the Mayo river, until the year 1826, when General Freire conquered the island of Chiloe, the last standpoint of the Spanish government, Chili also was torn by party struggles.<sup>b</sup>

On May 2nd, 1826, after a series of political broils and constitutional changes, Freire resigned from the presidency. Pinto succeeded him on the 8th. At the end of the year there were complications with Great Britain.

The congress of 1828 drew up a liberal constitution. Revolts, especially of the conservative party, followed. Pinto resigned in July of the following year, was re-elected, and again resigned on November 2nd. A revolution headed by General Prieto opposed the government of Vicuña and occupied Santiago in December. By this time the conservatives controlled Santiago, and by 1830 all Chili. Prieto became president in 1831. In 1832 General Bulnes suppressed the Pincheiras, and the same year the silver deposits of Copiapo and Chañarcillo were discovered. The year following Portales, a conservative, became governor of Valparaíso. The next three years were occupied with a war which Chili waged successfully against the Peruvian-Bolivian confederacy. On June 6th, 1837, Portales was shot. In 1841 a steamship line between Valparaíso and Callao began running and a foreign commerce was built up. Prieto's second five-year term ended, and he was succeeded September 18th, 1841, by Bulnes, who proclaimed a political amnesty, but showed himself in general a conservative (*Pelucon*). In 1842 Valparaíso was made a province. The colony of Punta Arenas was established on the straits of Magellan in 1843, and the University of Chili founded in Santiago. Atacama also became a province in this year. The year following (1844) Spain recognized by a treaty the independence of the republic.

The discovery of gold in California in 1849 made a great Pacific market for Chilian wheat. In 1851 Manuel Montt succeeded Bulnes as president. In 1858 the liberals and anti-administration conservatives united. Martial law was proclaimed in the middle of December. In September, 1859, the principal liberal leaders were banished.

In 1861 Perez succeeded Montt as president, at a time of financial depression due to the failure of Chilian breadstuffs to compete with those of California and Australia. Perez's policy was to unite the conservatives and the moderate liberals, with the result that the Montt-Varistas and the radicals also united. The year following the Araucanian Indians set up an empire, led by a Frenchman, who was speedily captured by the Chilian authorities. In 1865 the liberals succeeded in passing a law permitting the exercise of religions other than the Roman Catholic. Spain demanded satisfaction from Chili and blockaded the Chilian ports. Peru and Chili formed in 1866 an alliance against Spain. After numerous engagements and destruction of property, the Spanish fleet withdrew, leaving the demands of Spain unsatisfied. Soon after this Perez was re-elected, defeating the *Pelucon* candidate, Bulnes. The policy of colonising the Araucanian frontier was carried on. Bolivia granted Chili the territory in dispute between them as far as the 24th parallel, with half the customs between the 23rd and 24th parallels.

The discovery of the Caracoles silver mines in 1870 opened up the question of the Bolivian boundary. In 1871 the conservative candidate, Errazuriz, was elected. In this year also the constitution was revised, the most important change being the prohibition of the re-election of the president. In 1872

[1873-1903 A.D.]

Ramirez discovered guano at the straits of Magellan, and so raised the question of the Argentine boundary. In 1873 Bolivia and Peru made a secret treaty guaranteeing mutual protection against the attacks of Chili, and in 1874 Chili and Bolivia agreed that Chili's claim to half duty from Bolivian ports should be exchanged for twenty-five years' freedom from taxation for all Chilean industries in Bolivia. The following year Peru roused Chilean hostility by an attempt to monopolise the Tarapaca nitrate beds in which Chilean capital was interested.

In 1876 Anibal Pinto was elected president. Two years later the Bolivian government refused to be bound by the terms of the treaty of 1874 unless Chili paid a tax of ten cents a quintal on all nitrates. On March 1st, 1879, war was declared by Bolivia. Peru's offer to mediate was refused by Chili, which declared war against Peru. This war terminated in 1884 with a treaty favourable to Peru.

In 1886 José Manuel Balmaceda was elected president. He gradually lost the support of all parties save the office-holders, and on January 7th, 1891, civil war broke out, the navy and the congress opposing the army and the president. After a decisive victory of the revolutionary party, Balmaceda took refuge with the Argentine consul, and committed suicide on the last day of his term. Jorge Montt, head of the revolutionary junta, became president, and a general amnesty was declared December 25th. On October 16th, 1891, a sailor of the United States navy was killed by a mob in Valparaíso. The United States pressed on Chili the necessity of reparation, and in 1892 the Chilean government replied satisfactorily. In 1893 a Chilean Claims Commission was constituted to settle all claims between Chilean and American citizens. The newly elected congress decreed the resumption of specie payments on January 1st, 1896. The municipalities received from congress full self-governing powers. The gold standard was established February 11th, 1895. In 1896 Errazuriz, the government candidate, was elected president. A period of financial depression set in, due to the conversion of the paper money and to the cessation of shipments of nitrates. During 1898 financial conditions grew worse, partly because of threatening war with Argentina over the boundary. The president put the currency again on an inconvertible paper basis. Finally Chili decided to observe the Argentine agreement of 1896, and Argentina agreed. The question of the ownership of Puna de Atacama was settled in 1899 by the arbitration of the United States minister to Buenos Ayres, who gave one fourth of the disputed territory to Chili. Errazuriz quarrelled with congress over his cabinet (the last of thirty during his administration) and resigned in May, 1901. Riesco was elected president. In November the conversion of the paper currency, which was to have begun January 1st, 1902, was postponed to October, 1903. The Chilean lower house refused its assent to the Billingshurst-Latorre protocol as to the method of the plebiscite on the Tacna-Arica provinces. A new boundary dispute arose with Argentina as to the possession of Ultima Esperanza. Chili refused to be a member of the Pan-American congress unless the plan for compulsory arbitration between all American governments should be understood as referring only to the future. In 1902 Colombia and Ecuador joined Chili in objection to the Pan-American scheme of retro-active compulsory arbitration, and a treaty was signed between Chili and Colombia. A severe cabinet crisis followed the draft on the conversion reserve to pay for new war-ships. In January, 1903, congress voted to consider the tenders to build the trans-Andean railway. Strikes took place in May, necessitating the proclamation of martial law. Grave ministerial

[1831-1886 A.D.]

difficulties ensued. In 1904 Bolivia gave up to Chili her claims to the Pacific littoral; in return Chili agreed to assume certain war claims and to build a railroad from Tacna to La Paz.<sup>a</sup>

## BOLIVIA

After the rich and fruitful land between the river Beni to the western coast region of Atacama, with the rich gold mines of Potosi, had been led to independence by Bolivar and by General Sucre and had adopted a republican representative constitution, the same sort of events took place as in the other republics—party strifes between conservatives and liberals, revolts and civil wars, changes of the constitution to suit the victorious party and its leaders. Not until Santa Cruz became president (1831) and effected an adjustment of party disputes by a new civil code did better days ensue, during which the land entered upon a period of prosperous development. Santa Cruz acted as pacificator in Peru, which was torn by internal struggles, and brought about a union between the related states in which he as protector was to stand at the head of the central power. This arrangement, however, only sowed seeds for new civil wars. The confederation had bitter opponents in both Peru and Bolivia. In Peru, General Gamarra raised the standard of revolt against the protector, and, supported by the envious Chilians, defeated him at Yungay; in Bolivia, General Velasco found so many followers that Santa Cruz found it advisable to leave the republic. Not until the Peruvians under Gamarra had taken advantage of the confusion of their neighbouring state to seize the rich district La Paz, on Lake Titicaca, did the Bolivians unite and elect General Ballivian president. After a victorious engagement on the Pampa of Ingavi, near Viacha, in which Gamarra was killed, Ballivian crossed the boundary and compelled a treaty of peace and the establishment of the former status (1841).<sup>b</sup>

This victory definitely assured the independence of Bolivia, but a period of disunion and anarchy followed, the details of which are tiresome and confusing. As Mr. Dawson<sup>d</sup> says: "A recital of the literally countless armed risings, and of the various individuals who exercised or claimed to exercise supreme power, would throw little light on the progress of the country." He points out that the government was always poor, having few resources of commerce or industry upon which to depend. Peru possessed the seaports, and thus had commercial control, while Chili was a dominating military power. Either one of these neighbours could bring on a revolution at will, by lending its aid to ambitious factions—and such opposing factions were always to be found amidst the turbulent creole military classes. Hence the utter instability of the government at this period. Finally, in 1848, Belzu attained to the presidency and managed to maintain himself in power for seven years, at the end of which he was succeeded by his son-in-law Cordova.

During the next fifteen years the presidency changed hands eight times, and no less than four new constitutions were promulgated. In 1876 General Daza usurped the highest power, and in 1879 led the country into a war with Chili which involved a war between Chili and Peru. Daza was deposed after the first defeat, and the troops elected Colonel Camacho to lead them in his stead. The war lasted until 1883, when Chili, completely victorious, concluded a treaty of peace with Bolivia, taking from that country the territory which had been in dispute. In 1886 a boundary treaty between Bolivia

[1886-1901 A.D.]

and Peru was drafted, by which, among other provisions, Bolivia's war debt was remitted, and an attempt made to induce Chili to allow Peru to cede to Bolivia the provinces of Tacna and Arica. In 1887 a treaty was concluded with Paraguay, settling the international boundary and arranging for Bolivian trade by the Paraguay river.<sup>a</sup>

On May 18th, 1895, a treaty was signed at Santiago between Chili and Bolivia, "with a view to strengthening the bonds of friendship which unite the two countries," and "in accord with the higher necessity that the future development and commercial prosperity of Bolivia require her free access to the sea." By this treaty Chili declared that if, in consequence of the plebiscite (to take place under the Treaty of Ancon with Peru), or by virtue of direct arrangement, she should "acquire dominion and permanent sovereignty over the territories of Tacna and Arica, she undertakes to transfer them to Bolivia in the same form and to the same extent as she may acquire them"; the republic of Bolivia paying as an indemnity for that transfer \$5,000,000 silver. If this cession should be effected, Chili should advance her own frontier north of Camerones to Vitor, from the sea up to the frontier which actually separates that district from Bolivia. Chili also pledged herself to use her utmost endeavour, either separately or jointly with Bolivia, to obtain possession of Tacna and Arica. If she failed, she bound herself to cede to Bolivia the roadstead (*caleta*) of Vitor or another analogous one, and \$5,000,000 silver. Supplementary protocols to this treaty stipulated that the port to be ceded must "fully satisfy the present and future requirements" of the commerce of Bolivia.

On May 23rd, 1895, further treaties of peace and commerce were signed with Chili, but the provisions with regard to the cession of a seaport to Bolivia still remain unfulfilled. During those ten years of recovery on the part of Bolivia from the effects of the war the presidency was held by Doctor Pacheco, who succeeded Campero, and held office for the full term; by Doctor Aniceto Arce, who held it until 1892; and by Doctor Mariano Baptista, his successor. In 1896 Doctor Severo Alonso became president, and during his tenure of office diplomatic relations were resumed with Great Britain, Señor Aramayo being sent to London as minister plenipotentiary in July, 1897. As an outcome of his mission an extradition treaty was concluded with Great Britain in March, 1898.

In December an attempt was made to pass a law creating Sucre the perpetual capital of the republic. Until this time Sucre had taken its turn with La Paz, Cochabamba, and Oruro. La Paz rose in open revolt. On January 17th of the following year a battle was fought some forty miles from La Paz between the insurgents and the government forces, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of a colonel and forty-three men. Colonel Pando, the insurgent leader, having gained a strong following, marched upon Oruro, and entered that town on April 11th, 1899, after completely defeating the government troops. Doctor Severo Alonso took refuge in Chilean territory; and on October 26th Colonel Pando was elected constitutional president and formed a government.

Peace and prosperity for Bolivia, as well as for the two republics with whose fortunes her own are so closely allied, depend mainly on the question of her seaboard, in which Chili and Peru are also concerned, being definitely settled, and, with it, the question of boundary. In October, 1901, Tacna and Arica had not yet been invited to declare by plebiscite their willingness to become Chilean territory. Chili still waited the final settlement of her frontier with Peru, and Bolivia was still without her seaport. The feeling of sus-

pense, engendered by the uncertainty of the situation, had led to some show of impatience on the part of Chili, who seemed disposed to press for the legitimisation of her position on what was formerly Bolivian territory before the way had been cleared towards providing Bolivia with a compensating access to the sea.<sup>a</sup> In 1904 Bolivia agreed to recognise the sovereignty of Chili over the Pacific littoral in consideration of Chili's assuming certain war claims and agreeing to construct a railroad from Tacna to La Paz. In the same year in return for \$10,000,000 Bolivia gave up to Brazil her claims to the Acre district.<sup>a</sup>

## ECUADOR

After the old Spanish province of Quito had broken away from the republic of Colombia (1830) and had constituted itself into the independent republic of Ecuador the history of the country alternated between revolution and reaction. Flores himself, the leader of the conservatives, managed to keep in power for fifteen years.

At the time when the reactionary movement was triumphing in Europe the clerical party in Ecuador gained a temporary victory, but it was of short duration. The threatening attitude of the government of New Granada gave the supremacy to the opposition. A junta constituted in Guayaquil declared the president Naboa to be deposed, and brought about his capture and exile. General José Maria Urbina, the radical leader, now [1852] took the helm as president and dictator, and established his seat in Guayaquil.<sup>b</sup>

In 1834 General Flores' term of office as president expired, and Rocafuerte was elected; Flores<sup>1</sup> himself was appointed commander-in-chief of the republican forces. In January, 1835, the liberal army [under Flores] was routed and put to flight.

Rocafuerte convoked an assembly in Ambato, which elected him president in June, 1835; the same assembly confirmed the appointment of Flores as generalissimo.<sup>1</sup>

The next twenty-five years were filled with disputes between liberals and conservatives. The only events of importance were the adoption of a penal code in 1837, the recognition of the independence of Ecuador by Spain in 1841, a convention with England for the abolition of slavery in 1847, and the adoption of the decimal system in 1858.<sup>a</sup>

In 1861 a newly elected national assembly gave the presidency to Moreno. From that time on the conservatives remained in power for several years, and Moreno, a scholarly man of mathematical and historical knowledge, who understood various languages, took advantage of the peace to increase commerce and general prosperity. But the democrats nourished a deep hatred against him and worked continually for his downfall. However, it was not until the war broke out between Peru and Spain that Moreno was no longer able to maintain his place. After a hotly contested election, Geronimo Carrion was chosen president of Ecuador (May 1st, 1865). He, too, belonged to the conservative party, but followed a different policy and entered the alliance of Peru and Chili against the former mother country (1866).<sup>b</sup> In 1869, however, Moreno was re-elected, this time for a term of six years.

[<sup>1</sup> Flores had just signed a treaty of peace with Rocafuerte, who as liberal leader had defeated him the previous year.]

[1860-1905 A.D.]

Moreno showed himself reactionary and intensely devoted to the clerical party. Nevertheless, in 1875, he was re-elected for a third term, no doubt because of the perfect governmental control of elections. On the 14th of August, just before his inauguration, he was assassinated by three private enemies among his own political following. The party of the administration broke into three factions, which were easily defeated, perhaps with a show of force, by the liberal candidate, Antonio Borrero.

The new president acted with too much moderation and too great friendliness towards the clerical party to satisfy the radicals, and under the lead of General Veintemilla they revolted in Guayaquil, and in 1876 formed a provisional government with Veintemilla as provisional president.

In October, 1882, a revolution broke out against Veintemilla, in which moderate liberals, conservatives, and clericals joined. In May of the following year Antonio Flores, son of General and President Flores, landed in Ecuador and joined the insurgents in the siege of Guayaquil, which resulted in the capture of the city on July 9th. Veintemilla escaped to Peru. A convention, meeting in October, adopted the constitution of 1861 and elected José María Placido Caamaño provisional president. General Alfaro, leader of the liberals, occupied the northern cities of Ecuador. On the 17th of February, 1884, Caamaño was proclaimed president. Liberal revolutions continued to disturb the country for a period; but meeting with no success the movement died a natural death. An attempt was made to assassinate the president, but it was unsuccessful.

Little of importance occurred in the next ten years. In 1887 the boundary dispute with Peru was referred to the queen of Spain for arbitration. In 1888 Antonio Flores was elected president to succeed Caamaño. The following year the ecclesiastical tithe was abolished, but set export tariffs were reserved to the church. In September of the same year Chinese immigration was abolished.

In 1891 a new tariff went into effect with most duties increased and with a special *ad valorem* duty of 20 or 25 per cent. to raise interest, and a sinking fund for the national debt. In June, 1892, Flores was succeeded by Luis Cordero, a moderate liberal. The foreign debt was scaled down more than 60 per cent., from £2,000,000 and more to £750,000.

In 1895 the Japanese government, on the eve of its war with China, bought from Ecuador the *Esmeralda*, a cruiser purchased the year before from Chili. The sordidness and corruption of the government of Ecuador in this transaction aroused general disgust, of which General Elroy Alfaro, the radical leader, took instant advantage by invading the country. Cordero resigned April 24th, and was succeeded by the first vice-president or *designado*, Vicente Salazar. But the government was everywhere beaten; Alfaro occupied Guayaquil in June and formed a provisional government there, took Riobamba after a desperate fight, and September 1st entered Quito with practically no opposition. On October 28th he was made supreme chief of the republic. The year following, the national convention meeting at Guayaquil voted religious freedom for the first time, making Alfaro president, and decreeing the issue of a gold currency.

In 1897 the constitution was again amended, and a little later the foreign debt was taken over by the Guayaquil and Quito Railroad Company, an American corporation. A coinage law passed providing for the adoption of the gold standard November 4th, 1900. In 1901 General Leonidas Plaza became president, and in 1905 was succeeded by Lizardo García. In January, 1904, Peru and Ecuador agreed to arbitrate all disputes between them.

## ARGENTINA

A general congress of the La Plata states, convened in 1824, adopted a new constitution, which gave Buenos Ayres the control of foreign affairs. On February 2nd, 1825, a commercial treaty was signed with Great Britain. On December 24th, 1826, a strong centralist constitution was voted, but was not adopted by all the provinces. Rivadavia was elected president. In this same year Argentina made war with Brazil for the Banda Oriental, which was finally recognized by each as the independent state Uruguay. In 1827 Rivadavia abdicated because of the ill-success of the centralist constitution, and on August 27th of the following year Argentina formed an alliance with Brazil and Uruguay for purposes of international peace. In 1829 Rosas, the guacho-leader of the federalists, effected the adoption of a federalist constitution, and became governor of Buenos Ayres and supreme head of the confederation.

In August, 1830, he received dictatorial powers for two years. In this year France protested through her consul against French citizens being obliged to render Argentina military service. The next twelve years saw the steady increase of Rosas' power. Then the tide turned. The story of Urquiza's rebellion and Rosas' downfall has been told in the history of Uruguay. On May 1st, 1853, at Santa Fé a constitution was adopted modelled on that of the United States of North America. Parana was made temporary capital until Buenos Ayres should accept the constitution. Urquiza was chosen first president. In 1859 Buenos Ayres sent an army against the federal government, which was defeated at Cepeda, October 23rd, by Urquiza, who seized the city and forced it to join the confederacy.

In 1861 Derqui, Urquiza's successor, was deposed after being defeated, September 17th, at Pavon, by Mitre of the Buenos Ayres party, being suspected of hostility to the provincial governments. The federalist constitution was abolished and a centralised government begun. Mitre became provisional president in May, 1862, and in October entered on a regular term of six years. The government then assumed some stability, and the country made great industrial advances. In 1864 Great Britain and Argentina referred to the president of Chili the case of losses to Great Britain through an Argentine decree forbidding vessels from Montevideo to enter the ports of Argentina, and on May 4th, 1865, Argentina joined Uruguay and Brazil with a formal treaty of alliance to suppress Lopez, the Paraguayan dictator, who invaded Argentina, and occupied Corrientes, April 13th. Mitre held the supreme command in this war for two years. In 1868 Sarmiento succeeded Mitre as president, and Argentina no longer played an important part in the Paraguayan War. Sarmiento was a civilian, the "schoolmaster president," and Argentina took a remarkable industrial start, due partly to the trade of the Brazilian army, and partly to Sarmiento's policy of encouraging immigration, commerce, agriculture, and education. In 1870 a caudillo revolt in Entre Rios, led by Lopez Jordan, resulted in the capture and murder of Urquiza.

By the terms of the Paraguayan Peace, Argentina and Brazil, though victorious, agreed to the arbitration of their dispute. A decision in favour of Argentina was rendered by the Chilian president in the case with Great Britain, pending since 1864. In 1872 the first Argentine coal deposits were discovered. Avellaneda was elected president in 1874. The financial condition of the country was bad, because of the heavy expenses of the Paraguayan

[1874-1904 A.D.]

war and the fact of the revenue being limited by import taxes. On February 3rd, 1876, the boundary dispute with Paraguay was referred to the president of the United States for arbitration. In 1877 a stamp tax was introduced, the high tariff having gradually killed import trade and with it the government's sole income. The frontier dispute with Paraguay was decided against Argentina on November 12th, 1878.

In 1880, after a brief and bitter civil war between the Buenos Ayres party and Roca's followers, Roca became president; the city of Buenos Ayres was separated from the province of the same name and put under federal control. On July 23rd, 1881, a convention was signed between Chili and Argentina, arranging the Patagonian boundary. Argentina bonds first reached par in December. In 1883 the currency was made convertible, the old paper dollar notes being exchangeable for four cents gold. At the same time great government loans were floated. A financial panic resulted from the government loans still unfloatd and from the constriction of the money market following specie resumption. On January 16th the national currency was declared legal tender and the panic subsided. In this year Argentine expeditions explored Patagonia, and the next year there were gold discoveries in Argentine Patagonia. Roca was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Juarez Celman.

Administrative dishonesty during the next three years resulted in an alarming financial condition, and necessitated the resignation of Celman. He was succeeded by Pellegrini, who effected no reforms. In 1891 the disorder became so grave that martial law was proclaimed. The following year the powerful vote of the liberal opposition to the government was forcibly suppressed, and Saenz Peña, the administration candidate, was elected. In 1894 the president's influence waned, and the opposition made great gains in the congressional elections of March 25th. A sudden fall in the price of agricultural products and excessive importation forced up the price of gold to a premium of 320. In 1895 the president resigned. Vice-President Uriburu succeeded him for the unexpired term, and immediately proclaimed an amnesty. On April 17th, 1896, a protocol was signed referring the Patagonian dispute with Chili to the arbitration of the British government.

In 1898 Roca, leader of the nationalist party and of the provinces as against the capital, was elected president and took office in October. New internal duties were voted, and it was proposed to realize on the national railroads by their sale or lease. In 1899 the Puna of Atacama dispute was settled by the arbitration of the United States minister at Buenos Ayres. In the autumn of 1900 Argentina entered into an *entente* with Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia for the purpose of withstanding Chilian aggression. In 1901 a "Unification Bill," aimed to consolidate the national indebtedness, met with great popular opposition, and was withdrawn. Soon after this Chili quarrelled with Argentina over Ultima Esperanza. On November 20th, 1902, King Edward made the award in the boundary dispute with Chili, giving Chili nearly 60 per cent. of the disputed territory, but to Argentina nearly all the fertile soil. In 1904 Manuel Quintana became president.

## URUGUAY

The constituent assembly met at Montevideo, July 18th, 1830, declared the constitution drafted in the former year, and elected Fructuoso Rivera president. Two years later Rivera was sharply attacked by the blancos.

Montevideo was seized by them in the president's absence, but soon retaken. The civil war thus begun lasted two years. The colorados were successful in this civil war, but Oribe, formerly a follower of Rivera, leader of the blancos, was elected president.

From 1835 to 1851 Uruguay was torn between two factions, one of which desired, one of which opposed the incorporation of Uruguay into the Argentine Confederation. Rosas, dictator of Buenos Ayres, led the Argentine party, and Oribe united with him. Rivera led the opposition and was for a time successful, but in 1841-1842 he suffered reverses. In 1843 Oribe began the nine years' siege of Montevideo. Suarez became acting president. In 1845 English and French fleets intervened against Rosas at a moment when his victory seemed assured. His next reverse was the defection of one of his best generals, Urquiza, governor of Entre Rios. Entre Rios became a separate state, and in 1851 Urquiza led an alliance between Entre Rios, Corrientes, the Unitarians, the Colorados, and Brazil. This alliance compelled the surrender of Rosas at Montevideo, and again defeated him in the great battle of Monte-Caseros.

After several governmental crises Flores became president in 1854. A strong opposition to him had grown up within the colorado party. Revolution followed, compelling his resignation. In 1857 Oribe died, and this was a signal for disorder to begin again. In the first week of January, 1858, Diaz and his troops occupied Montevideo, and chose Freire president, but this revolutionary government was crushed. Freire and twenty-four officers were executed.

In April, 1863, Flores returned from Argentina with an Argentine following, and was quickly joined by the colorados. Brazil recognised Flores as president, but Uruguay, now in the hands of Flores, joined Brazil in making war on Paraguay. Brazilian troops entered Uruguay October 12th. On the 20th of February, 1865, a convention signed at La Union gave Flores complete control. On May 1st, by the *entente* with Argentina, the Triple Alliance was formed against Paraguay. The withdrawal of Flores from active participation in the war with Paraguay, however, practically removed Uruguay from the struggle. The president's home administration in this year did much to advance the country's industrial condition. On February 19th of the following year, 1868, the president was assassinated—probably as the result of a blanco plot. Three days afterwards Manuel Flores, a brother of the president, who acted as provisional executive, was killed, as were also twenty-one more colorado leaders. Nevertheless, the machinery of government remained with the colorados, who elected as president one of their number, Lawrence Battle.

During the succeeding seven years there were constant struggles between the blancos and the colorados. On March 1st, 1873, Ellaury was elected president. As the result of the friction between him and the legislature, the president left the country on January 15th, whereupon Pedro Varela, vice-president in Ellaury's administration, succeeded him. Varela's financial policy was flagrantly corrupt, and as a result there was a general rising against him. General Latorre, a colorado, who deposed Ellaury and replaced him with Varela, led the opposition, and on the 10th of March, 1876, Latorre was made provisional president—practically dictator—the following year becoming president. He introduced rigid economy, and proposed refunding the national debt at 6 per cent., instead of 12 per cent. His strict administration roused opposition, and in 1880 he resigned. General Maximo Santos became president in 1882. Santos won hatred through his corrupt adminis-

[1882-1907 A.D.]

tration, and after being wounded by an assassin he fled the country, and was succeeded by his enemy, Maximo Tajes.

Herrera y Obes, prime minister, holding the portfolio of the interior, was the actual administrative head of Tajes' government. A national bank was founded in 1887, with a capital of \$10,000,000, and on July 18th, 1888, the first South American international congress met at Montevideo. The 6 per cent. bonds of the government, amounting to \$21,276,800, were converted to 4 per cent. bonds by the issue in London during August of \$20,000,000 of bonds at 82½.

In March, 1890, Julio Herrera y Obes became president. In June of the same year the government negotiated a loan of \$10,000,000 from the Barings, to avert threatened financial panic, and in the next month, after the national bank had suspended specie payment, the government unsuccessfully attempted to make the notes of the bank legal currency for six months; but the co-operation of the business men of Montevideo in favour of gold payments drove the bank-notes out of use. Early in October, at the orders of the president, who was practically supreme, the legislature voted the consolidation of the external debt and the reduction of the interest rate to 3½ per cent.

In 1894 Herrera y Obes' administration drew to a close, with general discontent on account of his extravagance and his complete control of the legislative machinery. On March 21st Borda was chosen representative of the administration, but was pledged to economy—a pledge he lived up to through the year. But Borda was clearly in the hands of corrupt advisers, and by 1896 had lost popularity. His term was filled with the uproar of a blanco revolution. On August 25th, 1897, he was assassinated.<sup>a</sup> His place was taken by the vice-president, Juan Luis Cuestas, who, though formerly a violent colorado, immediately negotiated with the blancos, and on September 10th secured peace by granting them all they asked, notably electoral reforms and a minority representation. Cuestas openly opposed the presidential candidacy of Herrera y Obes, and, after an attempt to abduct the president, this leader of the opposition was arrested and exiled.

At the beginning of 1898 President Cuestas declared himself dictator, and on February 10th dissolved the government and convoked an assembly of notables or council of state. A military revolt on July 4th of the same year in favour of Herrera y Obes occasioned a sharp and bloody struggle in Montevideo; but it proved unsuccessful and the enterprise was abandoned. The year passed without a presidential election, Cuestas occupying the office of provisional governor. In February, 1899, Cuestas formally resigned and was constitutionally elected president in March. In the elections of 1900 the blancos won enough senatorial seats to put the colorados in the minority.

In 1901 a "scientific congress" of the Latin-American countries met in Montevideo and urged international arbitration. Chili alone refused to agree to this motion. In the same year President Cuestas utilised domestic capital for internal improvements, notably the harbour of Montevideo. An electoral agreement was effected (with some difficulty) between the two parties. Two years later José Ordóñez, a leader of the liberal colorado faction, and so a sympathiser with Cuestas, was chosen president.

In 1904 a dangerous revolutionary movement assumed threatening proportions, but was suppressed, after some difficulty, by the government troops aided by the national guard. In 1905 the government agreed to proposals for important railway extensions.

money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to ye magistrats, and messengers sente to informe ye lords of ye Counsell of them; and so they were comited to ward. Indeed ye magistrats used them courteously, and shewed them what favour they could; but could not deliver them, till order came from ye Counselltable. But ye issue was that after a months imprisonment, ye greatest parte were dismiste, & sent to ye places from whence they came; but 7. of ye principall were still kept in prison, and bound over to ye Assises.

The nexte spring after, ther was another attempte made by some of these & others, to get over at an other place. And it so fell out, that they light of a Dutcheman at Hull, having a ship of his owne belonging to Zealand; they made agreemente with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfullnes in him, than in ye former of their owne nation. He bad them not fear, for he would doe well enough. He was by appointment to take them in betweene Grimsbe & Hull, wher was a large comone a good way distante from any towne. Now against the prefixed time, the women & Children with ye goods, were sent to ye place in a small barke, which they had hired for y<sup>e</sup> end; and ye men were to meete them by land. But it so fell out, that they were there a day before ye shipe came, & ye sea being rough, and ye women very sicke, prevailed with ye seamen to put into a creeke hardby, wher they lay on ground at lowwater. The nexte morning ye shipe came, but they were fast, & could not stir till aboute noone. In ye mean time, ye shipe maister, perceiving how ye matter was, sente his boate to be getting ye men aboard whom he saw ready, walking aboute ye shore.

But after ye first boat full was gott aboard, & she was ready to goe for more, the mr espied a greate company, both horse & foote, with bills, & gunes, & other weapons; for ye countrie was raised to take them. Ye Dutchman seeing y<sup>e</sup>, swore his countries oath, "sacramento," and having ye wind faire, waiged his Ancor, hoysed sayles, & away.

But ye poore men which were gott aboard, were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps; and themselves also, not having a cloath to shifte them with, more then they had on their baks, & some scarce a peney aboute them, all they had being aboard ye barke. It drew tears from their eyes, and any thing they had they would have given to have been a shore againe; but all in vaine; ther was no remedy, they must thus sadly part. And afterward endured a fearfull storme at sea, being 14. days or more before y<sup>e</sup> arived at their porte in 7. whereof they neither saw son, moone, nor stars, & were driven near ye coast of Norway; the mariners them selves often despairing of life; and once with shriks & cries gave over all, as if ye ship had been foundred in ye sea, & they sinking without recoverie. But when mans hope & helpe wholly failed, ye Lords power & mercie appeared in their recoverie; for ye ship rose againe, & gave ye mariners courage againe to manage her. And if modestie would suffer me, I might declare with what fervente prayers they cried unto ye Lord in this great distress, (espetially some of them), even without any great distraction, when ye water rane into their mouthes & ears; and the mariners cried out, We sinke, we sinke; they cried (if not with mirakelous, yet with a great high or degree of devine faith), Yet Lord thou canst save, yet Lord thou canst save; with shuch other expressions as I will forebare. Upon which ye ship did not only recover, but shortly after ye violence of ye storme begane to abate, and ye Lord filed their afflicted minds with shuch comforts as every one canot understand, and in ye end brought them to their desired Haven, wher ye people came flockeing admiring their deliverance, the

[1608-1609 A.D.]

storme having ben so longe & sore, in which much hurt had been don, as ye masters freinds related unto him in their congratulations.

But to returne to ye others wher we left. The rest of ye men y<sup>t</sup> were in greatest danger, made shift to escape away before ye troope could surprise them; those only staying y<sup>t</sup> best might, to be assistante unto ye women. But pitifull it was to see ye heavie case of these poore women in this distress; what weeping & crying on every side, some for their husbands, that were caried away in ye ship as is before related; others not knowing what should become of them, & their little ones; others againe melted in teares, seeing their poore little ones hanging aboute them, crying for feare, and quaking with could.

Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in ye ende they knew not what to doe with them; for to imprison so many women & innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they must goe with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable and all would crie out of them and to send them home againe was as difficult, for they aledged, as ye trueth was, they had no homes to goe to, for they had either sould, or otherwise disposed of their houses & livings. To be shorte, after they had been thus turmolyed a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be ridd of them in ye end upon any termes; for all were wearied & tired with them. Though in ye mean time they (poore soules) indured miserie enough and thus in ye end necessitie forste a way for them.

But y<sup>t</sup> I be not tedious in these things, I will omitte ye rest, though I might relate many other notable passages and troubles which they endured & underwente in these their wanderings & travells both at land & sea but I hast to other things. Yet I may not omitte ye fruite that came hearby, for by these so publick troubles, in so many eminent places, their cause became famous, & occasioned many to looke into ye same; and their godly cariage & Christian behaviour was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts & sharp beginings, (as it was no marvell,) yet many more came on with fresh courage, & greatly animated others. And in ye end, notwithstanding all these stormes of opposition, they all gatt over at length, some at one time & some at an other, and some in one place & some in an other, and mette together againe according to their desires, with no small rejoycing.<sup>m</sup>

## THE PILGRIMS IN HOLLAND

In August, 1608, we find Mr. Clifton, and probably Mr. Robinson, safely arrived and settled in Holland. They were soon united with their former companions, and are said to have become one with the original members of the church at Amsterdam. But though the members of the Scrooby church settled first at Amsterdam, their stay in that city was transient; for difficulties had already arisen there, and it was thought best to remove before they became personally involved in them. Leyden was the place to which their steps were turned; and the removal was probably effected in the spring of 1609. Their temporal circumstances in this strange land — "the battle ground of Europe," and "the amphitheatre of the world" — were the first to engage their attention. Most of them had been "only used to a plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry," and they were now in "the principal manufacturing town of the Netherlands, and one of the most important in Europe." A change of occupation, therefore, became necessary

[1608-1609 A.D.]

to nearly all; and they "fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatever." Here, too, having established a printing press, Mr. Brewster published several books, some of which, of a prohibited character, being "vented underhandedly" in England, the ire of the Scotch prince was aroused, and a "schout," at his instance, was employed by the magistrates of Leyden to apprehend the offender; but the "schout" being, says Bradford,<sup>m</sup> a "dull, drunken fellow," he "took one man for another," and by a fortunate mistake, Brewer, not Brewster, was "confined fast in the university's prison."

We must not, however, omit to notice here one of the exiles, who, though but a youth at this time, became subsequently one of the first members of the colony of Plymouth, and exerted for many years a decided influence upon its fortunes and destiny. We refer to William Bradford, best known as Governor Bradford. Born at the little village of Austerfield, in Yorkshire, in 1588, he was trained "to the affairs of husbandry." He was soon a regular attendant upon the ministry of Mr. Clifton. Joining the church before he was eighteen, he was with it during its exile; and whilst in Holland, he is said by Mather<sup>c</sup> to have learned the art of silk dyeing, of a French Protestant, though we find no confirmation of this statement in earlier writers.

Of other members of the Pilgrim church, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. It is impossible, at the present day, to state with exactness how many were connected with this church, either in England or in Holland. No records have descended to us from which a list of their names, or an account of their proceedings can be authentically drawn;<sup>1</sup> and for the want of such knowledge, it is as absurd as it is unnecessary, as Plutarch says in his *Life of Numa*, to "forge ancient archives to stretch their lineage back, and to deduce it from the most illustrious houses." Their proudest pedigree is Massachusetts and America. "*Si monumentum queris, circumspice.*"

#### THE EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

Eight years residence in a land of strangers, subjected to its trials and burdened with its sorrows, satisfied this little band that Holland could not be for them a permanent home. The "hardness of the place" discouraged their friends from joining them. Premature age was creeping upon the vigorous. Severe toil enfeebled their children. The corruption of the Dutch youth was pernicious in its influence. They were Englishmen, attached to the land of their nativity. The Sabbath, to them a sacred institution, was openly neglected. A suitable education was difficult to be obtained for their children. The truce with Spain was drawing to a close, and the renewal of hostilities was seriously apprehended. But the motive above all others which prompted their removal, was, says Bradford,<sup>m</sup> a "great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundation for the propagating and advancing of the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but as stepping stones to others for performing of so great a work."

For these reasons a removal was resolved upon. They could not in peace return to England. Whither should they turn their steps? Some, and "none of the meanest," were "earnest for Guiana."<sup>2</sup> Others, of equal worth,

<sup>1</sup> The number connected with the church in Holland is supposed to have been not far from three hundred.

[<sup>2</sup> "One can hardly imagine," says Eggleston, <sup>b</sup> "what American Puritanism would have become under the skies of Guiana."]

[1617-1618 A.D.]

were in favour of Virginia, "where the English had already made entrance and beginning." But a majority were for "living in a distinct body by themselves, though under the general government of Virginia." Guiana was the El Dorado of the age. Sir Walter Raleigh, its discoverer, had described its tropical voluptuousness in the most captivating terms; and Chapman, the poet, dazzled by its charms, exclaims:

Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of gold,  
Whose forehead knocks against the roof of stars,  
Stands on her tiptoe at fair England looking,  
Kissing her hands, bowing her mighty breast,  
And every sign of all submission making,  
To be the sister and the daughter both  
Of our most sacred maid.

Is it surprising that the thoughts of the exiles were enraptured in contemplating this beautiful land? But as an offset to its advantages, its "grievous diseases" and "noisome impediments" were vividly portrayed; and it was urged that, should they settle there and prosper, the "jealous Spaniard" might displace and expel them, as he had already the French from their settlements in Florida; and this the sooner, as there would be none to protect them, and their own strength was inadequate to cope with so powerful an adversary.

Against settling in Virginia, it was urged that, "if they lived among the English there planted, or under their government, they would be in as great danger to be persecuted for the cause of religion as if they lived in England, and it might be worse; and if they lived too far off, they should have neither succour nor defence from them." Upon the whole, therefore, it was decided to "live in a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia, and by their agents to sue his majesty to grant them free liberty, and freedom of religion."

Accordingly John Carver, one of the deacons of the church, and Robert Cushman, a private member, were sent to England in 1617 to treat with the Virginia Company for a grant of land, and to solicit of the king liberty of conscience. The friends from whom aid was expected were Sir Edwin Sandys, the distinguished author of the *Europeæ Speculum*, Sir Robert Naunton, afterwards secretary of state, and Sir John Wolstenholme, an eminent merchant and a farmer of the customs. Sir Ferdinando Gorges seems also to have been interested in their behalf.

The messengers — "God going along with them" — bore a missive signed by the principal members of the church commending them to favour, and conducting their mission with discretion and propriety; but as their instructions were not plenary, they soon returned (November 12th, 1617). The next month a second embassy was despatched.

The new agents, upon their arrival in England, found the Virginia Company anxious for their emigration to America, and "willing to give them a patent with as ample privileges as they had or could grant to any"; and some of the chief members of the company "doubted not to obtain their suit of the king for liberty in religion." But the last "proved a harder work than they took it for." Neither James nor his bishops would grant such a request. All that could be obtained of the king after the most diligent "sounding," was a verbal promise that "he would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they conducted themselves peaceably: but to allow or tolerate them under his seal," he would not consent. With this answer the messengers returned (May, 1618); and their report was discouraging to

[1620 A.D.]

the hopes of the exiles. Should they trust their monarch's word, when bitter experience had taught them the ease with which it could be broken? And yet, reasoned some, says Bradford,<sup>m</sup> "his word may be as good as his bond; for if he purposes to injure us, though we have a seal as broad as the house-floor, means will be found to recall or reverse it." In this as in other matters, therefore, they relied upon providence, trusting that distance would prove as effectual a safeguard as the word of a prince which had been so often forfeited.

At length, after tedious delays, and "messengers passing to and fro," a patent was obtained which, by the advice of friends, was taken in the name of John Wincob [or Whincop<sup>l</sup>], a gentleman in the family of the countess of Lincoln; and with this document, and the proposals of Mr. Thomas Weston, one of the agents returned, and submitted the same to the church for inspection. The nature of these proposals has never transpired, nor is the original patent—the first which the Pilgrims received—known to be in existence. It was concluded that the youngest and strongest should be the pioneers of the church, and that the eldest and weakest should follow at a future date. If the Lord "frowned" upon their proceedings, the first emigrants were to return; but if he prospered and favoured them, they were to "remember and help over the ancient and poor." As the emigrants proved the minority, it was agreed that the pastor should remain in Holland, and that Mr. Brewster, the elder, should accompany those who were to leave. Each party was to be an absolute church in itself; and as any went or came, they were to be admitted to fellowship without further testimonies. Thus the church at Plymouth was the first in New England established upon the basis of independent Congregationalism.

Their greatest hardship was the compact with the merchants. The Pilgrims were poor, and their funds were limited. They had no alternative, therefore, but to associate with others; and, as often happens in such cases, wealth took advantage of their impoverished condition. To satisfy the merchants, who drove their bargains sharply and shrewdly, some changes were made, and by ten tight articles the emigrants were bound to them for the term of seven years. At the end of this period, by the original compact, the houses and improved lands were to belong wholly to the planters; and each colonist, having a family to support, was to be allowed two days in each week to labour for their benefit. The last is a liberty enjoyed, says Sumner,<sup>s</sup> by "even a Vallachian serf, or a Spanish slave"; and the refusal of the merchants to grant so reasonable a request caused great complaint. As it was, it threatened a seven years' check to the pecuniary prosperity of the colony; but as it did not interfere with their civil or religious rights, it was submitted to with the less reluctance, though never acceptable.

At this critical juncture, while the Pilgrims were in such perplexity, and surrounded by so many difficulties, the Dutch, who could not but be sensible that the patent they had obtained of the Virginia Company would interfere seriously with their projected West India Company, and with their settlement at New Netherland, stepped forward with proposals of the most inviting, and apparently disinterested and liberal character. Overtures were made to Mr. Robinson as pastor, that if he and his flock, and their friends in England,

[<sup>l</sup> The patent was not used, says Bradford,<sup>m</sup> another taken out in 1620 under the name of John Pierce seems to have been substituted. Wincob, the first patentee did not go with the emigrants (1620). He is never heard of again. In the household of this countess (widow of the fourteenth earl), Thomas Dudley, later one of the founders of Massachusetts, was steward.—F. B. DEXTER."

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would embark under the auspices of the lords states general, themselves should be transported to America free of expense, and cattle should be furnished for their subsistence on their arrival. These are the "liberal offers" alluded to in general terms by early Pilgrim writers, and which are uniformly represented as having originated with the Dutch, though it has been suggested, and even asserted, that the overtures came from the Pilgrims themselves, but there is an inherent improbability in this last representation. But they were willing to accept them upon certain conditions, of which one was that the government of Holland would guarantee to protect them. This concession was enough for the merchants to act upon. The prince of Orange was then in the zenith of his power; and to him, as stadholder, the merchants repaired with a memorial, professedly in the name of the "English preacher at Leyden," praying that "the aforesaid preacher and four hundred families may be taken under the protection of the United Provinces, and that two ships of war may be sent to secure, provisionally, the said lands to this government, since such lands may be of great importance whenever the West India Company shall be organised."

The stadholder was too wary a politician to approbate immediately so sweeping a proposal, and referred it to the states general. For two months it was before this body, where it was several times discussed; and finally, after repeated deliberations, it was resolved (April 11th, 1620) "peremptorily to reject the prayer of the memorialists." Nor can we doubt the wisdom of the policy which prompted this decision. It was well known in Holland that the English claimed the territory of New Netherlands. The Dutch had hitherto been tolerated in settling there, because they had not openly interfered with the trade of the English. But should they now send over a body of English emigrants, under the tri-coloured flag, designed to found a colony for the benefit of the Batavian Republic, the prudent foresaw that a collision would be inevitable, and might result disastrously to the interests of their nation.

At last the *Speedwell* — miserable misnomer — of sixty tons, was purchased in Holland for the use of the emigrants; and the *Mayflower*, of one hundred and eighty tons<sup>1</sup> — whose name is immortal — was chartered in England, and was fitting for their reception. The cost of the outfit, including a trading stock of £1,700, was but £2,400 — about \$12,000 of the currency of the United States! It marks the poverty of the Pilgrims that their own funds were inadequate to meet such a disbursement; and it marks the narrowness of the adventurers that they doled the sum so grudgingly, and exacted such securities for their personal indemnity.

As the time of departure drew near, a day of public humiliation was observed — the last that the emigrants kept with their pastor. At the conclusion of his discourse, those who were to leave were feasted at their pastor's house, where, after "tears," warm and gushing from the fulness of their hearts, the song of praise and thanksgiving was raised; and "truly," says Winslow, an auditor, "it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard." At starting, they gave their friends "a volley of small shot, and three pieces of ordnance"; and so, "lifting up their hands to each other, and their hearts for each other to the Lord God," they set sail from the port of Delfthaven July 22, 1620. They soon reached Southampton, where lay the *Mayflower* in readiness with the rest of their company.

In about a fortnight (August 5th), the *Speedwell*, commanded by Captain Reynolds, and the *Mayflower*, commanded by Captain Jones — both having

<sup>1</sup> Capt. John Smith<sup>s</sup> says the *Speedwell* was of 70 tons, and the *Mayflower* of 160. But we follow the statement of Governor Bradford.<sup>m</sup>

one hundred and twenty passengers on board — were ready to set out to cross the Atlantic. Scarcely had the two barks left the harbour, ere Captain Reynolds complained of the leakiness of the *Speedwell*, and both put in at Dartmouth for repairs. At the end of eight precious days they started again, but had sailed "only a hundred leagues beyond the land's end," when the former complaints were renewed, and the vessels put in at Plymouth, where, "by the consent of the whole company," the *Speedwell* was dismissed; and as the *Mayflower* could accommodate but one hundred passengers, twenty of those who had embarked in the smaller vessel were compelled to return; and matters being ordered with reference to this arrangement, "another sad parting took place."

Finally, after the lapse of two more precious weeks, on September 6th, 1620, the *Mayflower*, "freighted with the destinies of a continent," and having on board one hundred passengers — resolute men, women and children — "loosed from Plymouth," and, with the wind "east-northeast, a fine small gale," was soon far at sea.

The particulars of this voyage — more memorable by far than the famed expedition of the Argonauts — are few and scanty. Though fair winds wafted the bark onward for a season, contrary winds and fierce storms were soon encountered, by which, says Bradford, she was "shrewdly shaken," and her "upper works made very leaky." One of the main beams of the midships was also "bowed and cracked," but a passenger having brought with him "a large iron screw," the beam was replaced, and carefully fastened, and the vessel continued on. During the storm, John Howland, "a stout young man," was, by a "heel of the ship thrown into the sea, but catching by the halliards, which hung overboard, he kept his hold and was saved." "A profane and proud young seaman, stout and able of body, who had despised the poor people in their sickness, telling them he hoped to help cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had, was smitten with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and was himself the first thrown overboard, to the astonishment of all his fellows." One other death occurred, that of a servant, and there was one birth, in the family of Stephen Hopkins, of a son, christened Oceanus, who died shortly after the landing. The ship being leaky, and the passengers closely stowed, their clothes were constantly wet. This added much to the discomfort of the voyage, and laid the foundation for a portion of the mortality which prevailed the first winter.

"Land ho!" This welcome cry was not heard until two months had elapsed, and on November 9th, old style, or November 19th, new style, the sandy cliffs of Cape Cod were the first points which greeted the eyes of the exiles.

#### GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S ACCOUNT OF THE MAYFLOWER'S ARRIVAL

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye periles & miseries therof, againe to set their feete on ye firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyefull, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on ye coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious & dreadfull was ye same unto him.



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS IN AMERICA

(From the painting by Antonio Gisbert)



[1620 A.D.]

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by yt which wente before), they had now no friends to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to ye apostle & his shipwraked company, yt the barbarians shewed them no smale kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise. And for ye season it was winter, and they that know ye winters of yt cuntry know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, dangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast.

Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts & wild men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, goe up to ye tope of Pisgah, to vew from this wilderness a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to ye heavens) they could have little solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sumer being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and ye whole cuntry, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was ye mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to separate them from all ye civill parts of ye world.

If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from ye mr & company? but yt with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for ye season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considered what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, yt might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, ye affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them but they had little power to help them, or them selves; and how ye case stode betweene them & ye marchants at their coming away, hath all-ready been declared. What could now sustaine them but ye spirite of God and his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie.<sup>m</sup>

#### THE COMPACT AND THE LANDING AT PLYMOUTH (1620 A.D.)

Morton *p* asserts that the *Mayflower* put in at this cape, "partly by reason of a storm by which she was forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intention and his engagement was to Hudson's river; but some of the Dutch having notice of their intention, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said

[1620 A.D.]

Jones, by delays, while they were in England, and now under the pretence of the shoales, etc., to disappoint them in their going thither. Of this plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence." The explicitness of this assertion caused the charge of treachery — brought by no one but Morton — to be repeated by almost every historian for years, but its correctness has since been questioned by writers whose judgment is entitled to respect.

The Pilgrims were now ready to pass to the shore. But before taking this step, as the spot where they lay was without the bounds of their patent, and as signs of insubordination had appeared among their servants, an association was deemed necessary, and an agreement to "combine in one body and to submit to such government and governors as should by common consent" be selected and chosen. Accordingly a compact was prepared, and signed before landing by all the males of the company who were of age, and this instrument was the constitution of the colony for several years. It was as follows:

In y<sup>e</sup> name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by y<sup>e</sup> grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, & Ireland king, defender of y<sup>e</sup> faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for y<sup>e</sup> glorie of God, and advancemente of y<sup>e</sup> Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant y<sup>e</sup> first colonie in y<sup>e</sup> Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in y<sup>e</sup> presence of God, and one of another covenant & combine our selves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of y<sup>e</sup> ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, and shall be thought most meete and convenient for y<sup>e</sup> generall good of y<sup>e</sup> Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Codd y<sup>e</sup> 11 of November, in y<sup>e</sup> year of y<sup>e</sup> raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland y<sup>e</sup> eighteenth, and of Scotland y<sup>e</sup> fiftie fourth. Ano. Dom. 1620.

While, on the one hand, much eloquence has been expended in expatiating on this compact, as if in the cabin of the Mayflower had consciously, and for the first time, been discovered in an age of Cimmerian darkness the true principles of republicanism and equality<sup>1</sup> — on the other hand, it has been asserted that the Pilgrims were "actuated by the most daring ambition," and that even at this early period they designed to erect a government absolutely independent of the mother country. But the truth seems to be that, although the form of government adopted by the emigrants is republican in its character, and remarkably liberal, at the same time its founders acknowledged suitable allegiance to England, and regarded themselves as connected with the land of their nativity by political and social ties, both endearing and enduring. Left to themselves in a wilderness land, apart from all foreign aid, and thrown upon their own resources, with none to help or advise, they adopted that course which commended itself to their calm judgment as the simplest and best; and if, under such circumstances, their compact was democratic, it seems chiefly to intimate that self government is naturally attractive to the mind, and is spontaneously resorted to in emergencies like the present.

The first care of the exiles, having established their provisional government [and choosing John Carver as governor], was to provide for their shelter. Cautiously, therefore, for fear of harm, on the same day that the compact was signed, fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, were set ashore at Long Point to explore the country; and returning at night with a boat-load of juniper, which delighted them with its fragrance, they reported that they had found "neither persons nor habitations."

[<sup>1</sup> This has often been called "the first written constitution in the world."]

[1620 A.D.]

The stillness of the Sabbath (November 12th, 1620) was consecrated to worship—the first, probably, ever observed by Christians in Massachusetts—and on the morrow the shallop was drawn to the beach for repairs, and for the first time the whole company landed for refreshment. The adventurous, impatient of delay, were eager to prosecute a journey by land for discovery. Sixteen were detailed under Captain Standish—their military leader, who had served in the armies both of Elizabeth and James—and the party debarked (November 15th) at Stevens' Point, at the western extremity of the harbour, and marching in single file, at the distance of about a mile, five savages were espied, who, at their approach, hastily fled. Graves were discovered; and at another spot the ruins of a house, and heaps of sand filled with corn stored in baskets. With hesitancy—so scrupulous were they of wilfully wronging the natives—an old kettle, a waif from the ruins, was filled with this corn, for which the next summer the owners were remunerated. In the vicinity of the Pamet were the ruins of a fort, or palisade; and encamping for the night near the Pond in Truro, on November 17th they returned to the ship.

Ten days after another expedition was fitted out, in which twenty-five of the colonists were engaged, and visited the mouth of the Pamet, called by them Cold Harbour. A third expedition was agreed upon December 6th; and though the weather was unfavourable, and some difficulty was experienced in clearing Billingsgate point, they reached the weather shore, and there "had better sailing." Yet bitter was the cold, and the spray, as it froze on them, gave them the appearance of being encased in glittering mail. The next day (December 9th) the island was explored—now known as Clarke's Island. On Monday, December 11th (December 21st, new style), a landing was effected upon Forefather's Rock.<sup>1</sup> The site of this stone was preserved by tradition, and a venerable cotemporary of several of the Pilgrims, whose head was silvered with the frosts of ninety-five winters, settled the question of its identity in 1741. Borne in his arm-chair by a grateful populace, Elder Faunce took his last look at the spot so endeared to his memory, and bedewing it with tears, he bade it farewell! In 1774 this precious boulder, as if seized with the spirit of that bustling age, was raised from its bed to be consecrated to Liberty, and in the act of its elevation it split in twain!—an occurrence regarded by many as ominous of the separation of the colonies from England—and the lower part being left in the spot where it still lies, the upper part, weighing several tons, was conveyed, amidst the heartiest rejoicings, to Liberty-pole square, and adorned with a flag bearing the imperishable motto: "Liberty or Death!" On the 4th of July, 1834, the natal day of the freedom of the colonies, this part of the rock was removed to the ground in front of Pilgrim Hall, and there it rests, encircled with a railing, ornamented with heraldic wreaths, bearing the names of the forty-one signers of the compact in the *Mayflower*.

On the day of the landing the harbour was sounded, and the land was

[<sup>1</sup> Plymouth Rock has been generally granted the honour of receiving the first permanent landing of Pilgrims on the mainland, but no rock is mentioned in the so-called *Relation of Mourt* \* of which he wrote only the preface, the main text being the work of Bradford and Winslow. In the latter part of last century a controversy was started by S. H. Gay, \* who declared that the landing must have been at the present Duxbury or Kingston, not at the present Plymouth. H. M. Dexter \* however, brought strong evidence from channel-soundings to support the tradition. Legend credits John Alden and Mary Chilton with being the first to set foot on the rock, but according to F. B. Dexter \* they could not have landed on December 11th. The very date of the landing has been the subject of mistake. In calculating the New Style for purposes of fixing a day of celebration December 22nd was taken instead of December 21st, and in spite of efforts to correct the date, the 22nd has fastened on popular usage.]

[1620 A.D.]

explored; and the place inviting settlement, the adventurers returned with tidings of their success; the *Mayflower* weighed anchor to proceed to the spot; and ere another Sabbath dawned she was safely moored in the desired haven. Monday and Tuesday were spent in exploring tours; and on Wednesday, December 20th, the settlement at Plymouth was commenced — twenty persons remaining ashore for the night. On the following Saturday the first timber was felled; on Monday their storehouse was commenced; on Thursday preparations were made for the erection of a fort, and allotments of land were made to the [nineteen] families; and on the following Sunday religious worship was performed for the first time in their storehouse.

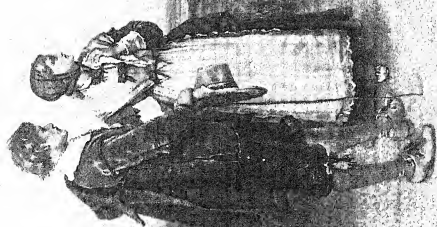
For a month the colonists were busily employed. The houses were arranged in two rows, on Leyden street, each man building his own. The whole of this first winter was a period of unprecedented hardship and suffering. Mild as was the weather, it was far more severe than that of the land of their birth; and the diseases contracted on shipboard, aggravated by colds caught in their wanderings in quest of a home, caused a great and distressing mortality to prevail. In December, six died; in January, eight; in February, seventeen; and in March, thirteen — a total of forty-four died in four months, of whom twenty-one were signers of the compact. It is remarkable that the leaders of the colony were spared. The first burial place was on Cole's Hill; and as an affecting proof of the miserable condition of the sufferers, it is said by Baylies <sup>2</sup> that, knowing they were surrounded by warlike savages, and fearing their losses might be discovered, and advantage be taken of their weakness and helplessness to attack and exterminate them, the sad mounds formed by rude coffins hidden beneath the earth were carefully leveled and sowed with grain.<sup>2</sup>

#### RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS: CAPTAIN MILES STANDISH

On John Smith's map the harbour where the Pilgrims had come to anchor was designated by the English name of Plymouth, and was indicated on it as a fit place for settlement. In compliment, it is said, to the kind treatment received at the English city of Plymouth, the name of New Plymouth was retained. The settlers themselves are often designated as the Plymouth pilgrims.<sup>3</sup>

The Indians, remembering the kidnapping exploits of Hunt and others, were hostile. More than half the colonists, including John Carver, their governor, died before spring. Those who retained their strength were hardly sufficient to minister to the urgent wants of the sick and dying. In this employment no one distinguished himself more than Carver, the governor. He was a man of fortune, who had spent all in the service of the colony, and readily sacrificed his life in discharging the humblest offices of kindness to the sick. He was succeeded by William Bradford, who was re-elected for many successive years, notwithstanding his remonstrance that "if this office were an honour, it should be shared by his fellow citizens and if it were a burden, the weight of it should not always be imposed on him."

Previous to the arrival of the Pilgrims in New England, a sweeping pestilence had, as we have seen, carried off whole tribes of natives, in the region where they had now settled. The traces of former habitation were apparent; but no Indians were found residing in their immediate vicinity. The spring, which restored health to the colonists, brought them also an agreeable surprise, in the visit of some Indians whose disposition was friendly. The visit of Samoset, whose previous intercourse with the English fishermen enabled



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## THE RETURN OF THE MAYFLOWER



[1621 A.D.]

him to salute them with "Welcome, welcome, Englishmen!" was followed by that of Massasoit, the principal sachem of the country, with whom the celebrated treaty was concluded, which was inviolably observed, for more than fifty years, and contributed, during that period, more than any other circumstance, to secure New England from the horrors of Indian warfare.<sup>a</sup>

In the fall of 1621 the first harvest of the colonists was gathered. The "corn" yielded well, and the "barley" was "indifferently good," but the "peas" were a failure, owing to drought and late sowing. Satisfied, however, with the abundance of their fruits, four huntsmen were sent for fowl; and at their return, "after a special manner" the Pilgrims rejoiced together, feasting King Massasoit and ninety men for three days, and partaking of venison, wild turkeys, water fowl, and other delicacies for which New England was then famous. Thus the time-honoured festival of Thanksgiving was instituted — a festival which, originally confined in its observance to the sons of the Pilgrims and the state of Massachusetts, has now become almost a national festival.<sup>g</sup>

The treaty with Massasoit was one of the most important events in the history of New England. Another efficient means of preserving the colony from Indian hostility was found in the courage, ability, and military experience of Captain Miles Standish. He was the hero of New England, says Doctor Belknap,<sup>bb</sup> as Captain Smith had been of Virginia. Though small in stature, he had an active genius, a sanguine temper, and a strong constitution. He had early embraced the profession of arms; and the Netherlands being, in his youth, the theatre of war, he had entered into the service of Queen Elizabeth, in aid of the Dutch, and, after the truce, settled with the English refugees at Leyden. He came over with the Pilgrims, and on their arrival at Cape Cod, he was appointed commander of the first party of sixteen men, who went ashore on discovery; and when they began their settlement at Plymouth, he was unanimously chosen captain, or chief military commander. In several interviews with the natives, he was the first to meet them, and was generally accompanied by a very small number of men, selected by himself.

After the treaty was made with Massasoit, one of his petty sachems, Corbitant, became discontented, and was preparing to join with the Narragansetts against the English. Standish, with fourteen men and a guide, went to Corbitant's residence and surrounded his house; but, not finding him at home, he informed the Indians of his intention of destroying him, if he should persist in his rebellion. This decisive proceeding struck terror into the turbulent chieftain, who promptly submitted to Massasoit, and entreated his mediation with the English. The example was not lost upon the neighbouring sachems, eight of whom came forward in September, 1621, to subscribe an instrument of submission to the English government. When the town of Plymouth was enclosed and fortified, the defence of it was committed to the captain, who organised the military force, made the appointments of subordinate officers, and took efficient measures against sudden surprise by the natives.

The Narragansetts were the enemies of Massasoit's people. Indeed, Captain Smith,<sup>f</sup> in his history, says it was to secure a powerful ally against this tribe that the great chieftain made his treaty with the English. Their chief, Canonicus, sent a bundle of arrows tied up with a rattlesnake's skin to the governor, in token of hostility; but when Bradford filled the rattlesnake's skin with powder and shot, and sent it back in defiance, the sachem was intimidated, and gladly consented to a treaty. The Indians were afraid to

receive the significant token of the governor, or to let it remain in their houses; and it was finally sent back to Plymouth.

A rival settlement was attempted in the immediate neighbourhood of the Plymouth colony. Thomas Weston, London merchant, originally concerned in the adventure to Plymouth, having obtained a separate patent for a tract of land on Massachusetts Bay, sent two ships, with fifty or sixty men, to settle a plantation. Many of the adventurers being sick on their arrival, became dependent on the hospitality of the Plymouth people, with whom they remained through the summer of 1622. They afterwards established themselves at Wessagusset, or Weymouth; but their affairs never prospered. Their treatment of the Indians was such as to provoke their hostility; and a plot was laid for the extirpation of all the English settlers. This conspiracy extended to many tribes, and came to the knowledge of Massasoit, who revealed it to Edward Winslow and John Hampden, when they were paying him a friendly visit, and relieving him from a dangerous illness. The great sachem advised them to kill the leading conspirators, as the only means of safety (1623).

The governor, on learning the impending danger, instantly committed the affair to Standish; directing him to take with him as many men as he chose, and if he should be satisfied of the existence of the plot, to fall upon the conspirators. Standish took but eight men for the expedition, and arriving at Weymouth, learned from the people enough of the insolent behaviour and threats of the Indians to satisfy him of their hostile intentions. Indeed, those who came to the place insulted and defied him. His only difficulty now was to bring a sufficient number of the Indians together to commence the attack. At length, when Wittuwumet and Pecksuot, two of the boldest and most powerful chiefs, were together in the same room, with a youth of eighteen, the brother of Wittuwumet, and another Indian, "putting many tricks on the weaker sort of men," the captain having about as many of his own party with him, according to Winslow, "gave the word, and the door being shut fast he began himself with Pecksuot, and snatching the knife from his neck, after much struggling, killed him therewith; the rest killed Wittuwumet and the other man; the youth they took and hanged.<sup>1</sup> It is incredible how many wounds these men received before they died; not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobomoc (Standish's Indian guide and interpreter) stood by as a spectator, observing how our men demeaned themselves in the action; which being ended, he, smiling, broke forth and said: 'Yesterday Pecksuot bragged of his own strength and stature, and told you that though you were a great captain yet you were but a little man; but to-day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.'"

By Standish's order, several other Indians were subsequently killed; but the women were sent away uninjured. This exploit of Standish so terrified the other Indians who had conspired with the Massachusetts, or Massachusettsencks, as Winslow calls them, "that they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted; living in swamps, and other desert places, and so brought diseases upon themselves, whereof many died, as Canacum sachem of Manomet, Aspinet of Nauset, and Iaough of Matachiest." The plantation of Weston was broken up and the settlers dispersed, within one year after it

[<sup>1</sup> These bloody proceedings excited some misgivings in the mind of John Robinson, who, though still in Holland, extended a pastor's oversight to the colony, which he intended presently to join. "Oh, how happy a thing it would have been," he wrote in a letter to the colonists, "that you had converted some before you killed any." — HILDRETH.]

[1623-1627 A.D.]

begun. Some of the people returned to England, and others remained in the country. Weston did not come to America himself till after the dispersion of his people, some of whom he found among the eastern fishermen; and from them he first heard of the ruin of his enterprise. In a storm he was cast away on the coast south of the Piscataqua, and robbed by the Indians of all which he had saved from the wreck. By the charity of the inhabitants of Piscataqua, he was enabled to reach Plymouth, where he obtained some pecuniary aid, and "he never repaid the debt but with enmity and reproach."<sup>2</sup>

The situation of the colonists in the spring of 1623 was peculiarly distressing. By the scantiness of their crops and the prodigality of their neighbours, their granaries were exhausted and they were reduced to want. The narrative of their sufferings is affecting and thrilling.

"By the time their corn was planted, their victuals were spent, and they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning, nor had they corn or bread for three or four months together." Elder Brewster lived upon shell-fish. With only oysters and clams at his meals, he gave thanks that he could "seek of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand."

Tradition affirms that at one time there was but a pint of corn left in the settlement, which, being divided, gave to each person a proportion of five kernels. In allusion to this incident, at the bi-centennial celebration, in 1820, when much of the beauty, fashion, wealth, and talent of Massachusetts had congregated at Plymouth, and orators had spoken, and poets sang the praises of the Pilgrims; amidst the richest viands, which had been prepared to gratify the most fastidious epicure to

satiety, five kernels of parched corn were placed beside each plate, "a simple but interesting and affecting memorial," says Baylies,<sup>3</sup> "of the distresses of those heroic and pious men who won this fair land of plenty, and freedom, and happiness, and yet, at times, were literally in want of a morsel of bread."<sup>4</sup>

Another rival colony was attempted in the neighbourhood of the Plymouth settlers, by John Pierce, in whose name their first patent had been taken out. He procured another patent of larger extent, intending to keep it for his own benefit; but his treachery met its punishment. Having embarked with a company of one hundred and nine persons, his vessel was dismasted and driven back to Portsmouth. His property was purchased by the Plymouth settlers, and the passengers and goods being embarked in another vessel, arrived safely at Plymouth, in July, 1623. The connection of the Pilgrims with the trading company in London, who were their partners in the scheme of colonisation, was attended with many inconveniences. To meet their engagements the colonists were obliged to submit to the payment of excessive usury, and to trade at a serious disadvantage. One of their number, Isaac Allerton, was sent to London in 1626. He returned in the spring of 1627, having obtained a loan of two hundred pounds at thirty per cent. interest, and laid it out in goods suitable for the supply of the colony.<sup>5</sup>



EDWARD WINSLOW  
(1595-1655)

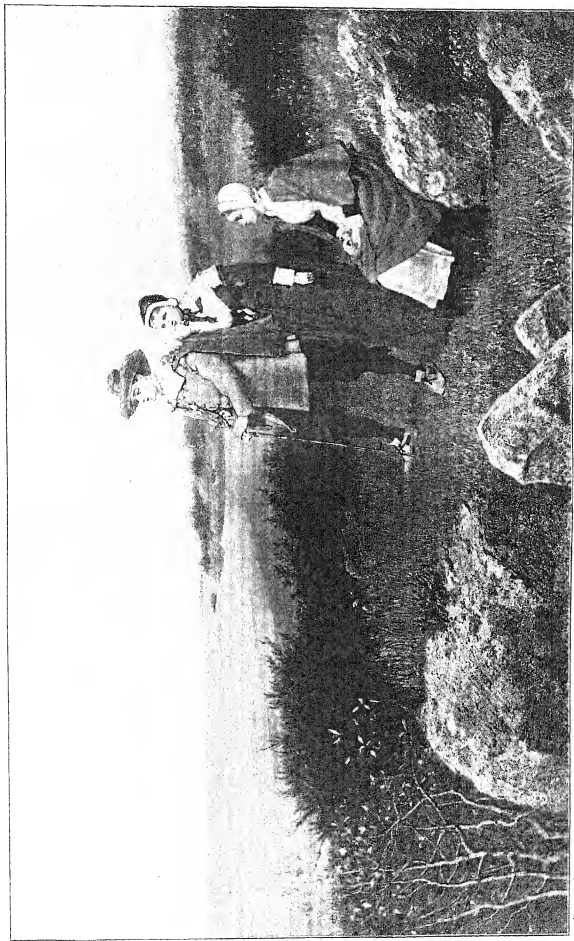
At the end of the seven years originally limited in the agreement between the Plymouth colonists and the London adventurers, the London partners agreed to sell out their interest for £1,800, or about \$9,000, to be paid in nine annual instalments. Eight of the principal colonists, in consideration of a six years' monopoly of the Indian traffic, gave their private bonds for the amount. The joint-stock principle was now abandoned; a division was made of the movable property; and twenty acres of land, nearest the town, were assigned in fee to each colonist.

The soil of New Plymouth was very poor; some not very successful attempts were made at the cultivation of tobacco; but the chief reliance to pay for cloths and other goods from England was the peltry collected by trade with the Indians. To save the voyage round Cape Cod, and to facilitate the traffic with the Indians on Narragansett Bay and Long Island Sound, a trading house was built at the head of Buzzard's Bay. A grant was also obtained from the council for New England of a large tract at the mouth of the Kennebec, where a post was established, and a lucrative traffic opened with the eastern Indians. A friendly message brought by Secretary De Razier [or De Rasieres] had been received in October, 1627, from the Dutch at the mouth of the Hudson. From these Dutchmen the use of wampum was learned, soon found very serviceable in the trade with the eastern Indians. There was not yet capital enough to engage in the cod fishery, but a step was made toward it in the establishment of a salt work.

Straggling settlers, with or without grants from the council for New England, were now fast planting themselves along the coast. East of the Piscataqua, obscure hamlets of fishermen were established in 1625 at Agamenticus, now York, and at the mouth of the Saco. A party of some thirty persons, under a Captain Wollaston, had set up a plantation in Massachusetts Bay, not far from Wissagusset, at a place which they called Mount Wollaston, now Quincy. This plantation presently fell under the control of one Morton, "a pettifogger of Furnival's Inn," or, as he describes himself, "of Clifford's Inn, gentleman." He changed the name to Merry Mount; sold powder and shot to the Indians; gave refuge to runaway servants; and set up a May-pole, upon which occasion he broached a cask of wine and a hogshead of ale, and held a high revel and carousal. The people of Plymouth were requested by the other settlers to interfere; and Morton was seized by the redoubtable Standish, and sent prisoner to England in 1628. Eight plantations, from Piscataqua to Plymouth, some of them only single families, contributed to the expense.

Though their number did not yet amount to three hundred, the Plymouth colonists considered themselves now firmly established. "It was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again"; so they stated in their application to the council for New England for a new patent. They presently obtained it (June 13th, 1630), with an assignment as boundaries, on the land side, of two lines, the one drawn northerly from the mouth of the Narragansett river, the other westerly from Cohasset rivulet, to meet "at the uttermost limits of a country or place called Pocanoket." The tract on the Kennebec was also included in this grant.

This patent gave a title to the soil; but prerogatives of government, according to the ideas of the English lawyers, could only be exercised under a charter from the crown. A considerable sum was spent in the endeavour to obtain such a charter, but without success. Relying, however, upon their original compact, the colonists gradually assumed all the prerogatives of



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# PILGRIM EXILES WATCHING FOR THE ARRIVAL OF THE PROVISION-SHIP

(After the painting by Georges Henry Bouchton, R.A.)



[1603-1606 A.D.]

government — even the power, after some hesitation, of capital punishment. No less than eight capital offences are enumerated in the first Plymouth code of 1636, including treason or rebellion against the colony, and “solemn compaction or conversing with the devil.” Trial by jury was early introduced, but the punishments to be inflicted on minor offences remained for the most part discretionary.

For eighteen years all laws were enacted in a general assembly of all the colonists. The governor, chosen annually, was but president of a council, in which he had a double vote. It consisted first of one, then of five, and finally of seven counsellors, called assistants. So little were political honours coveted at New Plymouth, that it became necessary to inflict a fine upon such as, being chosen, declined to serve as governor or assistant. None, however, were to be obliged to serve for two years in succession.

The constitution of the church was equally democratic. For the first eight years there was no pastor, unless Robinson, still in Holland, where he died March 1st, 1625, might be considered in that light. Lyford, sent out by the London partners, was refused and expelled in 1624. Brewster, the ruling elder, and such private members as had the gift of prophecy officiated as exhorters. On Sunday afternoons a question was propounded, to which all spoke who had anything to say. Even after they adopted the plan of a pastor, no minister, it was observed, stayed long at New Plymouth.<sup>7</sup>

#### COLONISATION OF MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE

There is considerable obscurity in the early history of the extensive territory now constituting the states of Maine and New Hampshire, arising from the numerous and conflicting grants made by the council of Plymouth for New England. The extensive powers conferred upon this company by the crown were a source of discontent in the mother country, and of litigation in the colonies. Their claim to the exclusive enjoyment of the fisheries was opposed in the house of commons; and their attempt to establish this claim, by despatching Francis West, with a commission as admiral of New England, to protect their monopoly by the presence of a naval force was entirely nugatory; nor was the grant of a patent for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts Bay, which they made to Robert Gorges, with power “to restrain interlopers,” attended with any better success. These failures discouraged the council; and their subsequent operations were chiefly confined to the granting of patents for tracts of land in New England of various extent, without much regard to the inevitably conflicting claims of the patentees. Under some of these patents the settlements on the coast of Maine and New Hampshire were commenced.

Among the earliest settlements in New England were those on the coasts of Maine. Its shores, as we have seen, were visited by Martin Pring in 1603 and 1606, and the knowledge which he obtained of the interior of the country was communicated to the patrons of American colonisation. This led the Plymouth Company to attempt the unfortunate settlement under Popham,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There was for many years a hot dispute over the early history of the Maine plantations and the Maine Historical Society engaged Dr. Leonard Woods and later Dr. John G. Kohl<sup>co</sup> in researches which brought about a deal of controversy. By some, notably John A. Poor,<sup>ad</sup> it was claimed that the unfortunate Popham colony at Sabino in 1607 deserved the honour of saving New England for England. The adversaries of this theory protested that the Popham colony having been a futility could not steal the glory of the permanent establishment at Plymouth in 1620. In spite of a long warfare the older accounts are now re-established, and in the words of Winsor<sup>co</sup> “A reaction that at one time claimed the necessity of rewriting history has in the

at the mouth of the Kennebec, in 1607, whose failure followed so speedily after its commencement. One of the most zealous supporters of this enterprise was Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who vainly urged his associates to repeat the experiment.

Gorges continued his private course of discovery for several years; and in 1622, uniting his fortune with that of the wealthy John Mason, they obtained conjointly from the Plymouth Company — of which they were both members — a grant of the territory called Laconia, lying between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers. A number of colonists were sent over the next year, and these commenced settlements near the mouth of the Piscataqua, in 1623. Here a part of them erected the first house, calling it Mason hall; the remainder proceeding farther up the river, settled at Cocheco, afterwards called Dover. Fishing and trade were the chief objects of these emigrants; and consequently, their settlement increased slowly. Portsmouth had no more than sixty families in thirty years after its settlement. The council issued several patents of inferior extent a few years after, and some of these were comprised within the limits of Mason and Gorges' grant. Two of these were situated at the mouth of the Kennebec, where a permanent colony was planted in 1630, under the direction of Richard Vines, a former agent of Gorges. The year following a tract, comprehending the peninsula on which Portland is built, was conveyed by the council to two merchants, who erected a trading-house on an island near Portland harbour, and thus promoted the settlement of the neighbouring coasts. The colonists were principally from the southwest of England; and being accompanied by clergymen of the establishment, they found little favour with the Massachusetts planters.

The Pemaquid territory, lying without the limits of Gorges' patent, and to the eastward, extended about thirty miles from the Kennebec. This tract had been the subject of an Indian treaty in 1625, at which time the settlement was commenced there. Pemaquid must therefore be regarded as the first permanent settlement in Maine. In 1635, Gorges obtained from the council a separate title to that portion of their former grant which lies east of the Piscataqua, while Mason was confirmed in the possession of the western part. Gorges conferred on the tract thus acquired the name of New Somersetshire, in compliment to his native county in England.

In like manner Mason gave to his portion the name of New Hampshire. He sent agents to dispose of his lands, and take care of his interests; but he soon after died, leaving his affairs in so disordered a state that his family derived little benefit from his proprietorship, and the colonists were left to take care of themselves. Gorges took immediate measures for organising a government, and to this end, sent over Captain William Gorges to his colony, with commissions to several gentlemen resident in the province. Seven of these commissioners assembled at Saco, March 25th, 1636, received from the inhabitants an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the proprietary, and attended some days, hearing cases in dispute and exercising a cognisance of criminal offences.

There appears not to have been entire satisfaction on the part of the colonists, with this early administration; for in 1637 Gorges gave authority to Governor Winthrop and others of Massachusetts, to govern the province and oversee his servants and private affairs. But this order was entirely disregarded by those to whom it was addressed: and, not long after, the proprie-

end engaged few advocates, and is now almost lost sight of." This is only one among many of the instances where destructive historical criticism after maligning the old authorities has been forced to accept them as our only sources of information.]

[1639-1650 A.D.]

tary obtained a royal charter, confirming the grant of the council, and creating him lord palatine, with powers similar to those exercised by the bishop of Durham. Gorges thereupon appointed a new board of councillors for the government of his province, the name of which was now changed to Maine. The first general court under this charter assembled at Saco, June 25th, 1640, at which the inhabitants of the several plantations renewed their oaths of allegiance to the proprietary. Thomas Gorges arrived with the commission of governor the same year, and presided at the second session of the court, held in September. He resided at the city of Gorgeana — now the town of York — of which he was created mayor.

Previous to the date of Mason's patent for New Hampshire, the reverend John Wheelwright, an emigrant from Massachusetts, for causes which we shall hereafter notice, had purchased lands of the Indians, and laid the foundation of Exeter; but it was not till 1639, that the inhabitants combined and established civil government; an example which was followed a year or two afterwards by Dover and Portsmouth. In 1641, New Hampshire was brought under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and permitted to send two representatives to the general court at Boston; thus ceasing to be a separate province in six years from the time of its first settlement.

At the suggestion of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his friend Sir William Alexander had obtained in 1621, a patent for the territory east of the river St. Croix, and south of the St. Lawrence, under the name of Nova Scotia. This was followed in 1628, by the capture of Port Royal by the English; and in 1629, Quebec itself surrendered to a naval force commanded by Sir David Kirke. All New France was thus conquered by the English, one hundred and thirty years before its final subjugation by the army of General Wolfe; but it was immediately afterwards restored by treaty; the British government apparently not being aware of the value of the acquisition.

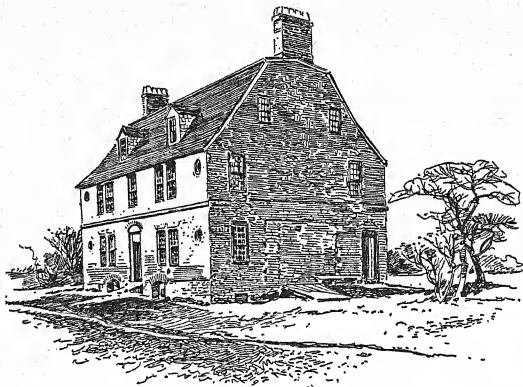
Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in common with other royalists, was unable to breast the storm of civil war which was become ruinous to all adherents to the crown. He was taken prisoner on the surrender of Bristol to the parliamentary forces, in 1645, and soon died, leaving his estate to his son John Gorges. On the return of the governor to England, in 1643, he was succeeded in his office by Richard Vines. During his brief administration, Colonel Alexander Rigby revived a title to a large portion of the province, which had been granted by the council of Plymouth in 1630, under the name of the "Plough Patent" [from the name of the ship *Plough* in which the patentees came over]. This patent claimed jurisdiction of the towns, as well as possession of the soil, of a tract forty miles square, located in the most populous part of the province. Mr. George Cleaves, who had long resided in the province, was sent over by Rigby as his agent and deputy governor. Cleaves summoned a court at Casco, in 1644, in the name of the "lord proprietor and president of the province of Lygonia," as the new proprietor denominated his patent; and though the inhabitants seem generally to have opposed the pretensions of Rigby, yet as Vines received no directions from Gorges as to his mode of proceeding, he yielded to the storm, resigned his commission, and removed with his family to the island of Barbadoes. Two years after, the commissioners for foreign plantations in England recognised the claims of Rigby, and the government of Lygonia became regularly established.

But few towns and plantations were left to the jurisdiction of the former proprietary of Maine. These elected Edward Godfrey of Gorgeana their governor; and fearing they should fall into the hands of the puritan colonies, they petitioned parliament in 1650 to constitute them a distinct jurisdiction.

[1652-1677 A.D.]

Their application was unsuccessful, and their apprehensions were soon realised. The Massachusetts Bay Company laid claim to the greater part of Maine in 1652, under pretence that it was embraced within the limits of their patent. They accordingly proceeded to exercise jurisdiction over the towns, notwithstanding the many protests and well-founded claims of Governor Godfrey: and Lygonia being soon after left in a defenceless state, by the death of Rigby, it also was brought within the Massachusetts charter, though some of its towns did not submit until 1658.

The royal commissioners sent out soon after the restoration to inspect affairs in New England, visited Maine in the summer of 1665, and declared the province to be under the protection and government of the king. They also



CRADDOCK OLD FORT, MEDFORD

(Built in 1634. A refuge for the early settlers)

designated several gentlemen to administer affairs until the royal pleasure should be known: but the commissioners had scarcely left New England, when the authorities of Massachusetts, aided by a military force, resumed their sway, and reduced the province to a reluctant submission. The legal proprietor, F. Gorges, grandson to the original patentee, succeeded in obtaining a restitution of his title in 1677. This was effected by a formal adjudication at Whitehall, where the agents of the Massachusetts Bay Company appeared in compliance with a royal order. But the colony was unwilling to renounce her hold on the province, and in conformity with her instructions, her agents purchased the title from Gorges for the sum of £1,250. After this transaction, the governor and council of Massachusetts Bay took possession, under colour of a right derived from their former patent, and declaring themselves the lawful assigns of Ferdinando Gorges, they proceeded to organise a provincial jurisdiction accordingly.

The government established at this time, consisted of a president, deputy, and assistant, eight justices, and an elective general court. This form of

[1624-1626 A.D.]

government was retained until 1692, when by a new charter granted to Massachusetts, Maine was constituted a county, with the name of Yorkshire. This arrangement continued unchanged till 1760, when Cumberland and Lincoln counties were incorporated, and York reduced to nearly its present limits. After the revolution, Maine was styled a district, although its connection with Massachusetts remained the same until 1820, when it was erected into a separate and independent state. About one-third of the present territory of Maine was included in the patent of Gorges. The other portions fell to Massachusetts in virtue of the charter of 1692.

Prior to that date, the ancient settlement of Pemaquid — now Bristol — was the only important post east of the Kennebec. The French province of Acadia, originally so indefinite in its asserted limits, was finally restricted on the west of the Pemaquid river. But the English resisted even this reduced demand of territory on the part of the French; and in 1664, Charles II included in his patent to James, duke of York, the country extending from Pemaquid to St. Croix river. Being thus united in its government with New York, it received the name of the county of Cornwall; a fortress was built at Pemaquid to defend the inhabitants; and at the instigation of the governors of New York, a considerable number of emigrants established themselves at different points along the coast. The ravages of the Indians prevented the growth of these settlements, and finally occasioned the dispersion of the inhabitants for a number of years. When James was dethroned as king of England, his title to these lands ceased. The charter granted by William in 1692, vested the territory in Massachusetts, as already stated. On the reduction of Canada and the termination of Indian hostilities, numerous settlers again took up these lands: and from that time to the present, notwithstanding the many perplexities produced by conflicting and unsettled claims to the right of the soil, this portion of Maine has steadily advanced in cultivation and improvement. The inexhaustible fisheries and forests of timber which first drew settlers to the shores of Maine and New Hampshire, covering their waters with fleets of small vessels, and enlivening their solitudes with the busy sounds of the saw-mills, have, in all periods of their history, proved great sources of wealth.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Besides the settlements mentioned as made or attempted on the coast of New England, there had been another, of no great consequence in itself, but interesting as the embryo of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. White, a clergyman of Dorchester, in the west of England, a Puritan, though not a separatist, had in 1624 persuaded several merchants of that city to attempt a settlement in New England in conjunction with the fishing business. The rocky promontory of Cape Ann, which forms the north shore of Massachusetts Bay, was fixed upon for this purpose: and Lyford and Conant, the same who had been expelled from New Plymouth by the zeal of the stricter separatists of that colony, were taken into employ, the first as preacher or chaplain, the other as general manager. This undertaking, like other similar enterprises, proved more expensive and less profitable than had been expected. It was abandoned in 1626; Lyford removed to Virginia; but Conant, relying upon the further co-operation of White, betook himself, with three companions, and a flock of cattle sent out by his employers, to Naumkeag, a fitter place, in his judgment, for a settlement.

White exerted himself to find new adventurers, and not without success.

Their application was unsuccessful, and their apprehensions were soon realised. The Massachusetts Bay Company laid claim to the greater part of Maine in 1652, under pretence that it was embraced within the limits of their patent. They accordingly proceeded to exercise jurisdiction over the towns, notwithstanding the many protests and well-founded claims of Governor Godfrey: and Lygonia being soon after left in a defenceless state, by the death of Rigby, it also was brought within the Massachusetts charter, though some of its towns did not submit until 1658.

The royal commissioners sent out soon after the restoration to inspect affairs in New England, visited Maine in the summer of 1665, and declared the province to be under the protection and government of the king. They also



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The English Puritans, for years past, had been growing more and more uneasy. Many clergymen of that cast had been silenced or deprived of their cures for nonconformity, and the present fashion of colonisation in America, as well as the example of the Plymouth colony, had suggested the idea of a Puritan refuge across the Atlantic. With this view, John Humphrey, a brother-in-law of the earl of Lincoln, John Endicott, and four others, gentlemen of Dorchester, obtained, at White's instigation, from the council for New England, a grant of the coast between Laconia on the one side, and the Plymouth patent on the other, including the whole of Massachusetts Bay. This grant of March 19th, 1628, extended westward to the Pacific, coterminate in that direction with the New England patent itself; north and south it was bounded by two parallel lines, the one three miles north of "any and every part" of the Merrimac, the other three miles south of "any and every part" of Charles river, one of the streams flowing into the head of Massachusetts Bay, and so named on Smith's map of New England. Part of this tract on the seacoast had been conveyed, in March, 1622, to Mason, under the name of Mariana, and another smaller portion to Robert Gorges, the late lieutenant general. He was dead; but his brother and heir had conveyed a part of this tract to Oldham, the exile from Plymouth, who had established himself as an Indian trader at Nantasket. The rest had been transferred to Sir William Brereton, who about this time sent over indented servants, and began a settlement, probably at Winnissimet, now Chelsea. The earl of Warwick appears also to have had a claim to this territory, or a part of it; but, whatever it was he presently relinquished it to the Massachusetts patentees. Those patentees, indeed, for some reason not very apparent, seem to have regarded all the previous grants as void against them.

#### ENDICOTT'S ARRIVAL (1628 A.D.)

New partners were soon found. John Winthrop, of Groton, in Suffolk, educated a lawyer, a gentleman of handsome landed property, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and other wealthy Puritans in London and the vicinity, became interested in the enterprise; and, to prepare the way for a larger migration, John Endicott whom Edward Johnson// calls, "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work," indefatigable, undaunted, austere, yet of a "sociable and cheerful spirit," was despatched at once, with sixty or seventy people, to make the commencement of a settlement. Welcomed at Naumkeag by Conant, September 14th, 1628, in conformity with his instructions, he soon despatched a small party by land, to explore the head of Massachusetts Bay, where it had been resolved to plant the principal colony. The peninsula between Charles and Mystic rivers, already known as Charleton or Charlestown, was found in possession of one Walford, a smith. The opposite peninsula of Shawmut was occupied by another lonely settler, one Blackstone, an eccentric non-conforming clergyman. The island, now East Boston, was inhabited by Samuel Maverick, an Indian trader, who had a little fort there, with two small cannon. On Thompson's Island, more to the south, dwelt David Thompson, already mentioned as one of the original settlers on the Piscataqua. Oldham still had an establishment at Nantasket, though at this moment he was in England, negotiating with the Massachusetts Company. There were a few settlers, it is probable, at Winnissimet, servants of Brereton; some, also, at Wissagusset, and a few more at Mount Wollaston.

Endicott sent home loud complaints of these "old planters," especially in relation to the Indian trade, which formed their chief business. They came,

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in fact, in direct conflict with the new patentees, who claimed an exclusive right of Indian traffic within the limits of their patent. The importance of this trade was very much exaggerated. There dwelt on the shores of Massachusetts Bay only four or five petty sachems, each with some thirty or forty warriors. Yet, at Endicott's suggestion, the company obtained a renewal of the royal proclamation of 1622 against irregular trading with the Indians.

New associates, meanwhile, had joined the company in England, including several from Boston and its vicinity, in Lincolnshire; among them, Isaac Johnson, another brother-in-law of the earl of Lincoln; Thomas Dudley, the earl's steward; Simon Bradstreet, steward to the dowager countess of Warwick, and son-in-law of Dudley; William Coddington, a wealthy merchant of Boston; and Richard Bellingham, bred a lawyer — all conspicuous in the subsequent history of Massachusetts. A very warm interest was taken in the enterprise by the Lady Lincoln, a daughter of Lord Say, a conspicuous Puritan nobleman, himself active, as we shall presently see, in American colonisations. The company, thus re-enforced, and sustained by money and influential friends, easily obtained a royal charter confirming their grant, and superadding powers of government. This charter was modelled after that of the late Virginia Company, vacated by *Quo Warranto* five years before.<sup>3</sup>

#### BANCROFT ON THE CHARTER AND FIRST SETTLERS OF MASSACHUSETTS

The patent for the company of the Massachusetts Bay passed the seals, March 4th, 1629; a few days only before Charles I, in a public state-paper, avowed his design of governing without a parliament. The charter, which bears the signature of Charles I, and which was cherished for more than half a century as the most precious boon, established a corporation, like other corporations within the realm. The associates were constituted a body politic by the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." The administration of its affairs was entrusted to a governor, deputy, and eighteen assistants, who were to be annually elected by the stockholders, or members of the corporation.

Four times a year, or oftener if desired, a general assembly of the freemen was to be held; and to these assemblies, which were invested with the necessary powers of legislation, inquest, and superintendence, the most important affairs were referred. No provision required the assent of the king to render the acts of the body valid; in his eye it was but a trading corporation, not a civil government; its doings were esteemed as indifferent as those of any guild or company in England; and if powers of jurisdiction in America were conceded, it was only from the nature of the business in which the stockholders were to engage. For the charter designedly granted great facilities for colonisation. It empowered, but it did not require, the governor to administer the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; yet the charter, according to the strict rules of legal interpretation, was far from conceding to the patentees the privilege of freedom of worship. Not a single line alludes to such a purpose; nor can it be implied by a reasonable construction from any clause. The omission of an express guaranty left religious liberty unprovided for and unprotected. The express concession of power to administer the oath of supremacy, demonstrates that universal religious toleration was not designed; and the freemen of the corporation, it should be remembered, were not at that time separatists. Even Higginson, and Hooker, and Cotton were still ministers of the Church of England; nor could the patentees foresee, nor the English government anticipate, how wide a departure from English usages would grow out of the emi-

gration of Puritans to America. Episcopacy had no motive to emigrate; it was Puritanism, almost alone, that emigrated; and freedom of Puritan worship was necessarily the purpose and the result of the colony. If the privilege could not have been established as a legal right, it followed so clearly from the facts, that, in 1662, the sovereign of England, probably with the assent and at the instance of Clarendon, declared, "the principle and foundation of the charter of Massachusetts to be the freedom of liberty of conscience."

Massachusetts was not erected into a province, to be governed by laws of its own enactment; it was reserved for the corporation to decide what degree of civil rights its colonists should enjoy. The charter on which the freemen of Massachusetts succeeded in erecting a system of independent representative liberty, did not secure to them a single privilege of self government; but left them, as the Virginians had been left, without one valuable franchise, at the mercy of a corporation within the realm. This was so evident, that some of those who had already emigrated clamoured that they were become slaves. It was perhaps implied, though it was not expressly required, that the affairs of the company should be administered in England; yet the place for holding the courts was not specially appointed. What if the corporation should vote the emigrants to be freemen, and call a meeting beyond the Atlantic? What if the governor, deputy, assistants, and freemen, should themselves emigrate, and thus break down the distinction between the colony and the corporation? The history of Massachusetts is the counterpart to that of Virginia; the latter obtained its greatest liberty by the abrogation of the charter of its company; the former by a transfer of its charter, and a daring construction of its powers by the successors of the original patentees.

The charter had been granted in March; in April, preparations were hastening for the embarkation of new emigrants. The government which was now established for Massachusetts merits commemoration, though it was never duly organised. It was to consist of a governor and counsellors, of whom eight out of the thirteen were appointed by the corporation in England; three were to be named by these eight; and, as it was said, to remove all grounds of discontent, the choice of the remaining two counsellors was granted to the colonists as a liberal boon. The board, when thus constituted, was invested with all the powers of legislation, justice, and administration. Such was the inauspicious dawn of civil and religious liberty on the bay of Massachusetts.

Benevolent instructions to Endicott were at the same time issued. "If any of the salvages" — such were the orders long and uniformly followed in all changes of government, and placed on record more than half a century before William Penn proclaimed the principles of peace on the borders of the Delaware — "pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavour to purchase their tittle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "Particularly publish, that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives."

The departure of the fleet for America was now anxiously desired. The colonists were to be cheered by the presence of religious teachers; and the excellent and truly catholic Francis Higginson, an eminent non-conforming minister, receiving an invitation to conduct the emigrants, esteemed it as a call from heaven. The propagation of the gospel among the heathen was earnestly desired; in pious sincerity they resolved if possible to redeem these wrecks of human nature; the colony seal was an Indian, erect, with an arrow in his right hand, and the motto, "Come over and help us." The company of emigrants was winnowed before sailing; and servants of ill life were discharged. "No idle drone may live amongst us," was the spirit as well as the law of the

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dauntless community, which was to turn the sterility of New England into a cluster of wealthy states.

It was in the last days of June, that the little band of two hundred arrived at Salem, where the "corruptions of the English church" were never to be planted, and where a new "reformation" was to be reduced to practice. They found neither church nor town; eight or ten pitiful hovels, one more stately tenement for the governor, and a few cornfields, were the only proofs that they had been preceded by their countrymen. The whole body of old and new planters now amounted to three hundred; of whom one third joined the infant settlement at Charlestown.

To the great European world the few tenants of the mud hovels and log cabins at Salem might appear too insignificant to merit notice; to themselves they were as the chosen emissaries of God; outcasts from England, yet favourites with heaven; destitute of security, of convenient food and shelter, and yet blessed beyond all mankind, for they were the depositaries of the purest truth, and the selected instruments to kindle in the wilderness the beacon of pure religion, of which the undying light should not only penetrate the wigwams of the heathen, but spread its benignant beams across the darkness of the whole civilised world. The emigrants were not so much a body politic, as a church in the wilderness. An entire separation was made between state and church July 20th; religious worship was established on the basis of the independence of each separate religious community; all officers of the church were elected by its members; and these rigid Calvinists, of whose rude intolerance the world has been filled with calumnies, subscribed a covenant, cherishing, it is true, the severest virtues, but without one tinge of fanaticism. It was an act of piety, not of study; it favored virtue, not superstition; inquiry, and not submission. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots. The church was self-constituted. It did not ask the assent of the king, or recognise him as its head; its officers were set apart and ordained among themselves; it used no liturgy; it rejected unnecessary ceremonies, and reduced the simplicity of Calvin to a still plainer standard. The motives which controlled their decisions were so deeply seated in the very character of their party, that the doctrine and discipline then established at Salem remained the rule of Puritans in New England.

There existed, even in this little company, a few individuals to whom the new system was unexpected; and in John and Samuel Browne, they found able leaders. They declared their dissent from the church of Higginson; and, at every risk of union and tranquillity, they insisted upon the use of the English liturgy. But should the emigrants give up the very purpose for which they had crossed the Atlantic? Should not even the forests of Massachusetts be safe against the intrusion of the hierarchy, before which they had fled? Finding it to be a vain attempt to persuade the Brownes to relinquish their resolute opposition, and believing that their speeches tended to produce disorder and dangerous feuds, Endicott sent them to England in the returning ships; and faction, deprived of its leaders, died away.

Winter brought disease and the sufferings incident to early settlements. Above eighty, almost half of the emigrants, died before spring. Higginson himself fell a victim to a hectic fever.

#### TRANSFER OF THE CHARTER TO MASSACHUSETTS

On the suggestion of the generous Matthew Cradock, the governor of the company, it was proposed July 28th, 1629, that the charter should be trans-

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ferred to those of the freemen who should themselves inhabit the colony; and the question immediately became the most important that could be debated. An agreement was at once formed at Cambridge in England, between men of fortune and education, that they would themselves embark for America, if, before the last of September, the whole government should be legally transferred to them and the other freemen of the company, who should inhabit the plantation. The plan was sufficient to excite in the family of John Winthrop, and in many of the purest men in England, the desire to emigrate. "I shall call that my country," said the younger Winthrop to his father, "where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends." September 1st, 1629, it was with general consent declared, that the government and the

patent should be transferred beyond the Atlantic, and settled in New England.

This vote was simply a decision of the question where the future meetings of the company should be held; and yet it effectually changed a commercial corporation into an independent provincial government. The measure was believed to be consistent with the principles of the charter. The corporation did not sell itself; the corporation emigrated. They could not assign the patent; but they could call a legal meeting at London or on board ship in an English harbour; and why not in the port of Salem as well as at the Isle of Wight? in a cabin or under a tree at Charlestown, as well as at the house of Goffe in London? The propriety of the measure, in a juridical point of view, has



JOHN WINTHROP  
(1587-1649)

been questioned. Similar patents were granted by the Long Parliament and Charles II, to be exercised in Rhode Island and Connecticut; Baltimore and Penn long resided on their domains; and the Pilgrims brought with them a patent, which, it is true, had not passed the seals, but which was invalid for a very different reason. But, whatever may be thought of the legality of the transfer of the charter, it certainly conferred no new franchises or power on the emigrants, unless they were already members of the company; it admitted no new freemen; it gave to Massachusetts a present government; but the corporation, though it was to meet in New England, retained in its full integrity the chartered right of admitting freemen according to its pleasure. The manner in which that power was to be exercised would control the early political character of Massachusetts.

#### THE EMIGRATION WITH JOHN WINTHROP (1629 A.D.)

At the court convened, October 20th, for the purpose of appointing officers who would emigrate, John Winthrop, a man approved for piety, liberality,

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and conduct, was chosen governor, and the whole board of assistants selected for America. Yet, as the hour of departure drew near, the consciousness of danger spread such terrors, that even the hearts of the strong began to fail. One and another of the magistrates declined. It was principally the calm decision of Winthrop which sustained the courage of his companions. An honest royalist, averse to pure democracy, yet firm in his regard for existing popular liberties; in England a conformist, yet loving "gospel purity" even to Independency; in America mildly aristocratic, advocating a government of "the least part," yet desiring that part to be "the wiser of the best"; disinterested, brave, and conscientious — his character marks the transition of the reformation into avowed republicanism; when the sentiment of loyalty, still sacredly cherished, was gradually yielding to the irresistible spirit of civil freedom.

The whole number of ships employed during the season was seventeen; and they carried over not far from fifteen hundred souls. About eight hundred — all of them Puritans, inclined to the party of the independents; many of them men of high endowments, large fortune, and the best education; scholars, well versed in all the learning of the times; clergymen, who ranked among the most eloquent and pious in the realm — embarked with Winthrop for their asylum, bearing with them the charter, which was to be the basis of their liberties. Before leaving Yarmouth, they published to the world the grounds of their removal, and bade an affectionate farewell to the Church of England and to the land of their nativity. "Our hearts," say they, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness."

The emigrants were a body of sincere believers, desiring purity of religion, and not a colony of philosophers, bent upon universal toleration. Reverence for their faith led them to a new hemisphere, where distance might protect them from inquisition; to a soil of which they had purchased the exclusive possession, with a charter of which they had acquired the entire control; for the sake of reducing to practice the doctrines of religion and the forms of civil liberty, which they cherished more than life itself. They constituted a corporation to which they themselves might establish, at their pleasure, the terms of admission. They held in their own hands the key to their asylum, and maintained their right of closing its doors against the enemies of its harmony and its safety.

In June and July, 1630, the ships which bore Winthrop and his immediate companions, arrived to a scene of gloom; such of the earlier emigrants as had survived the previous winter, were poor and weak from sickness; their corn and bread were hardly enough for a fortnight's supply. Instead of offering a welcome, they thronged to the new-comers to be fed. Nearly two hundred servants, who had been sent over at a great expense, received their liberty, free from all engagements: their labour — such was the excessive scarcity — was worth less than the cost of their maintenance.

The selection of places for the new plantations became the immediate care. The bay and the adjoining rivers were examined: if Charlestown was the place of the first sojourning, it was not long before the fires of civilisation, never more to be quenched, were kindled in Boston and the adjacent villages. Boston, especially, had "sweet and pleasant springs," "and good land, affording rich corn-fields and fruitful gardens." The dispersion of the company was esteemed a grievance; but no time was left for long deliberation, and those who had health began to build. Yet sickness delayed the progress of the work; and death often withdrew the labourer from the fruit of his exertions. Every

hardship was encountered. The emigrants lodged at best in tents of cloth and in miserable hovels; they beheld their friends "weekly, yea, almost daily, drop away before their eyes"; in a country abounding in secret fountains, they perished for the want of good water.<sup>99</sup>

#### THE GOVERNORSHIP OF WINTHROP

The first public worship was held under a tree. On the 30th of July, 1630, a solemn fast was observed at Charlestown; and on this occasion were laid the foundations of the first church at this place and at Boston. John Winthrop governor, and Thomas Dudley deputy, with eighteen assistants, and the body of the freemen who should settle in the new province, were to constitute a legislative and executive body, in which all the corporate rights of the colony were vested. The court of assistants held its first meeting at Charlestown, on the 23rd of August, and enacted that houses be built for the ministers, and salaries raised for them at the common charge. A second court ordered that no settlements should be made within the limit of their patent, without the consent of the governor and his assistants; and changed the name of Trimountain to Boston, of Metapan to Dorchester, and gave to the town on Charles river the name of Watertown. The first general court of Massachusetts was held the same year at Boston, where the governor and most of his assistants had removed with their families some time previous. This court enacted, in October, that the freemen should in future elect representatives, who were to choose a governor and deputy from their own number, and with these, possess power to make laws for the province and appoint officers to execute them. To this measure the people gave their assent by a general vote; but the court rescinded it early the next year, and enacted that the officers should be chosen by the whole body of freemen.

The colony suffered much from the severity of the climate, and other trials incident to a new settlement. Before December, two hundred of their number died, among whom was Lady Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the earl of Lincoln, who had left the abodes of luxury and social comfort for the American wilderness, there to leave a memorial of her virtues and misfortunes. Her husband, one of the chief patrons of the colony, weighed down by sorrow and suffering, soon followed her. But the colonists bore all with fortitude.

As soon as the severity of the winter was sufficiently abated to admit of assemblies being convened, the court proceeded to enact laws for their internal regulation: and in May (1631) that body ordered that in future no persons should be admitted freemen, or entitled to a share in the government, unless members of some of the churches within the province. Many historians and statesmen have censured this provision, and the right of the government to make it has been much questioned. Yet it was perfectly consistent with the spirit of the age; and though it subsequently produced much dissension, it continued in force until the dissolution of the government.

In 1632 the chiefs of several Indian tribes visited Governor Winthrop, and sought his alliance. Among them were the sachems of the Mohegans, Nipmucs, Narragansetts, and Pequots. They were hospitably entertained by the governor, and entered respectively into treaties of amity with the colony. To confirm their friendly relations with the Plymouth colony, Winthrop and Wilson paid a visit to Governor Bradford, and passed a Sabbath with him; an event to which no small importance was attached at the time. During the summer of 1633, two hundred emigrants arrived from England, among whom were some eminent Puritan ministers, Eliot and Mayhew, the first

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Protestant missionaries to the Indians; John Cotton, "a man whose singular worth procured and long preserved to him a patriarchal repute and authority in the colony"; and Thomas Hooker, a man little inferior to him in worth and influence. At a later period, Dr. Increase Mather arrived, whose family supplied no less than ten ministers to the colony in after times, and produced the celebrated author of the *Ecclesiastical History of New England*.

The small-pox had prevailed in the neighbourhood of the English settlements to a considerable extent, destroying the natives and leaving their lands desolate; and as several of the vacant Indian stations were well chosen, the colonists eagerly took possession of them. This produced a greater dispersion of the population than suited the condition of an infant colony, and it led to innovation in the government, totally altering its nature and constitution. When a general court was to be held in 1634, instead of attending in person, as the charter prescribed, the freemen elected representatives in their different districts, authorising them to appear in their name, with full power to deliberate and decide on all points that fell under the cognisance of the general court. This court asserted their right to a greater share in the government than they had formerly possessed, and provided that the whole body of freemen should assemble but once a year for the election of magistrates, while the deputies from the several districts were to assemble in general court four times a year. They also provided against arbitrary taxation, by enacting that the disposing of land and raising of money should be done only by the representatives of the people. This general court is the second instance of a house of representatives in America, the first being that of Virginia, convened June 19th, 1619. The government thus established, was retained, with but slight alterations, during the continuance of the charter. We must henceforth consider the colony, not as a corporation, whose powers were defined and mode of procedure regulated by its charter — but as a society possessed of political liberty, and a constitution framed on the model of that in England.<sup>2</sup> Thus early did Massachusetts echo the voice of Virginia.

The state was filled with the hum of village politicians; "the freemen of every town in the bay were busy in inquiring into their liberties and privileges." With the exception of the principle of universal suffrage, now so happily established, the representative democracy was as perfect two centuries ago as it is to-day. Even the magistrates, who acted as judges, held their office by the annual popular choice. "Elections cannot be safe there long," said the lawyer Lechford. The same prediction has been made these two hundred years. The public mind, ever in perpetual agitation, is still easily shaken, even by slight and transient impulses; but after all its vibrations, it follows the laws of the moral world, and safely recovers its balance.

To limit the discretion of the executive, the people next demanded a written constitution; and a commission was appointed, in May, 1635, "to frame a body of grounds of laws in resemblance to a magna charta," to serve as a bill of rights. The ministers, as well as the general court, were to pass judgment on the work; and, with partial success, Cotton urged that God's people should be governed by the laws from God to Moses. The relative powers of the assistants and the deputies remained for nearly ten years, 1634 to 1644, the subject of discussion and contest. Both were elected by the people; the former by the whole colony, the latter by the several towns. The two bodies acted together in convention; but the assistants claimed and exercised the further right of a separate negative vote on all joint proceedings. The popular branch resisted; yet the authority of the patricians was long maintained, sometimes by wise delay, sometimes by "a judicious sermon;" till, at last,

March, 1644, a compromise divided the court into two branches, and gave to each a negative on the other. *99*

#### BANCROFT ON PURITAN INSTITUTIONS AND INFLUENCE

It was ever the custom, and it soon became the law, in Puritan New England, that "none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue." "To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers," it was ordered in all the Puritan colonies "that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university." The press began its work in 1639. "When New England was poor, and they were but few in number, there was a spirit to encourage learning."

#### FREE SCHOOLS: HARVARD COLLEGE

Six years after the arrival of Winthrop, the general court voted a sum, equal to a year's rate of the whole colony, towards the erection of a college. In 1638, John Harvard, who arrived in the bay only to fall a victim to the most wasting disease of the climate, desiring to connect himself imperishably with the happiness of his adopted country, bequeathed to the college one half of his estate and all his library. The infant institution was a favorite; Connecticut, and Plymouth, and the towns in the east often contributed little offerings to promote its success; the gift of the rent of a ferry, in 1645, was a proof of the care of the state; and once, at least, every family in each of the colonies gave to the college at Cambridge twelve pence, or a peck of corn, or its value in unadulterated wampumpeag; while the magistrates and wealthier men were profuse in their liberality. The college, in return, exerted a powerful influence in forming the early character of the country. In these measures, especially in the laws establishing common schools, lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received, as its birthright, a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind.

There are some who love to enumerate the singularities of the early Puritans. They were opposed to wigs; they would preach against veils; they denounced long hair; they disliked the cross in the banner, as much as the people of Paris disliked the lilies of the Bourbons, and for analogous reasons. They would not allow Christmas Day to be kept sacred; they called neither months, nor days, nor seasons, nor churches, nor inns by the names common in England; they revived Scripture names at christenings. The grave Romans legislated on the costume of men, and their senate could even stoop to interfere with the triumphs of the sex to which civic honors are denied; the fathers of New England prohibited frivolous fashions in their own dress; and their austerity, checking extravagance even in woman, frowned on her hoods of silk and her scarfs of tiffany, extended the length of her sleeve to the wrist, and limited its greatest width to half an ell. The Puritans were formal and precise in their manners; singular in the forms of their legislation; rigid in the observance of their principles. Every topic of the day found a place

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in their extemporaneous prayers, and infused a stirring interest into their long and frequent sermons. The courts of Massachusetts respected in practice the code of Moses; the island of Rhode Island enacted for a year or two a Jewish masquerade; in New Haven, the members of the constituent committee were called the seven pillars, hewn out for the house of wisdom. But these are only the outward forms, which gave to the new sect its marked exterior.

If from the outside peculiarities, which so easily excite the sneer of the superficial observer, we look to the genius of the sect itself, Puritanism was religion struggling for the people. "Its absurdities," says its enemy, "were the shelter for the noble principles of liberty." It was its office to engraft the new institutions of popular energy upon the old European system of a feudal aristocracy and popular servitude; the good was permanent; the outward emblems which were the signs of the party, were of transient duration; like the clay and ligaments with which the graft is held in its place, and which are brushed away as soon as the scion is firmly united.

Puritanism exalted the laity. Every individual who had experienced the raptures of devotion, every believer, who, in his moments of ecstasy, had felt the assurance of the favor of God, was in his own eyes a consecrated person. For him the wonderful counsels of the Almighty had chosen a Saviour; for him the laws of nature had been suspended and controlled, the heavens had opened, earth had quaked, the sun had veiled his face, and Christ had died and had risen again; for him prophets and apostles had revealed to the world the oracles and the will of God. Viewing himself as an object of the divine favour, and in this connection disclaiming all merit, he prostrated himself in the dust before heaven; looking out upon mankind, how could he but respect himself, whom God had chosen and redeemed? Angels hovered round his path, charged to minister to his soul; spirits of darkness leagued together to tempt him from his allegiance. His burning piety could use no liturgy; his penitence could reveal his transgressions to no confessor. He knew no superior in sanctity. He could as little become the slave of a priestcraft as of a despot. He was himself a judge of the orthodoxy of the elders; and if he feared the invisible powers of the air, of darkness, and of hell, he feared nothing on earth. Puritanism constituted, not the Christian clergy, but the Christian people, the interpreter of the divine will. The voice of the majority was the voice of God; and the issue of Puritanism was therefore popular sovereignty.

Of all contemporary sects, the Puritans were the most free from credulity, and, in their zeal for reform, pushed their regulations to what some would consider a sceptical extreme. So many superstitions had been bundled up with every venerable institution of Europe, that ages have not yet dislodged them all. The Puritans at once emancipated themselves from a crowd of observances. They established a worship purely spiritual. To them the elements remained but wine and bread; they invoked no saints; they raised no altar; they adored no crucifix; they kissed no book; they asked no absolution; they paid no tithes; they saw in the priest nothing more than a man; ordination was no more than an approbation of the officer, which might be expressed by the brethren, as well as by other ministers; the church, as a place of worship, was to them but a meeting-house; they dug no graves in consecrated earth; unlike their posterity, they married without a minister, and buried the dead without a prayer. Witchcraft had not been made the subject of sceptical consideration; and in the years in which Scotland sacrificed hecatombs to the delusion, there were three victims in New England.

On every subject but religion, the mildness of Puritan legislation corresponded to the popular character of Puritan doctrines. Hardly a nation of

[1654 A.D.]

Europe has as yet made its criminal law so humane as that of early New England. A crowd of offences was at one sweep brushed from the catalogue of capital crimes. The idea was never received that the forfeiture of life may be demanded for the protection of property; the punishment for theft, for burglary, and highway robbery was far more mild than the penalties imposed even by modern American legislation. Of divorce we have found no example; yet a clause in one of the statutes recognises the possibility of such an event. Divorce from bed and board, the separate maintenance without the dissolution of the marriage contract — an anomaly in Protestant legislation, that punishes the innocent more than the guilty — was utterly abhorrent from their principles. The care for posterity was everywhere visible. Since the sanctity of the marriage-bed is the safeguard of families, and can alone interest the father in the welfare and instruction of his offspring, its purity was protected by the penalty of death; a penalty which was inexorably enforced against the guilty wife and her paramour. If in this respect the laws were more severe, in another they were more lenient than modern manners approve. The girl whom youth and affection betrayed into weakness was censured, pitied, and forgiven; the law compelled the seducer of innocence to marry the person who had imposed every obligation by the concession of every right.

The benevolence of the early Puritans appears from other examples. Their thoughts were always fixed on posterity. Domestic discipline was highly valued; but if the law was severe against the undutiful child, it was also severe against a faithless parent. The slave-trade was forbidden under penalty of death. The earliest laws, till 1654, did not permit any man's person to be kept in prison for debt, except when there was an appearance of some estate which the debtor would not produce. Even the brute creation was not forgotten; and cruelty towards animals was a civil offence. The sympathies of the colonists were wide; a regard for Protestant Germany is as old as emigration; and, during the Thirty Years' War, the whole people of New England held fasts and offered prayers for the success of their Saxon brethren.

The purity of morals completes the picture of colonial felicity. "As Ireland will not brook venomous beasts, so will not that land vile livers." One might dwell there "from year to year, and not see a drunkard, or hear an oath, or meet a beggar." The consequence was universal health — one of the chief elements of public happiness. The average duration of life in New England, compared with Europe, was doubled; and the human race was so vigorous that of all who were born into the world more than two in ten, full four in nineteen, attained the age of seventy. Of those who lived beyond ninety, the proportion, as compared with European tables of longevity, was still more remarkable.

We have dwelt the longer on the character of the early Puritans of New England, for they are the parents of one third the whole white population of the United States. In the first ten or twelve years — and there was never afterwards any considerable increase from England — we have seen that there came over 21,200 persons, or four thousand families. To New York and Ohio, where they constitute half the population, they have carried the Puritan system of free schools; and their example is spreading it through the civilised world.

Historians have loved to eulogise the manners and virtues, the glory and the benefits, of chivalry. Puritanism accomplished for mankind far more. Chivalry delighted in outward show, favored pleasure, multiplied amusements, and degraded the human race by an exclusive respect for the privileged classes;

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Puritanism bridled the passions, commanded the virtues of self denial, and rescued the name of man from dishonor. The former valued courtesy; the latter, justice. The former adorned society by graceful refinements; the latter founded national grandeur on universal education. The institutions of chivalry were subverted by the gradually increasing weight, and knowledge, and opulence of the industrious classes; the Puritans, rallying upon those classes, planted in their hearts the undying principles of democratic liberty.<sup>99</sup>



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## CHAPTER VI. THE FOUNDING OF NEW ENGLAND

<sup>b</sup> EDWARD EGGLESTON, *The Beginners of a Nation*.—<sup>c</sup> COTTON MATHER, *Ecclesiastical History of New England* (also known as *Magnalia Christi Americana*).—<sup>d</sup> R. G. THWAITES, *The Colonies* (Epochs of American History).—<sup>e</sup> GEORGE CHALMERS, *Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*.—<sup>f</sup> JOHN SMITH, *General Historie; Pathway; and Description of New England*.—<sup>g</sup> THOMAS PRINCE, *A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals*.—<sup>h</sup> ABIEL HOLMES, *American Annals*.—<sup>i</sup> SAMUEL PURCHAS, *His Pilgrimes*.—<sup>j</sup> FERDINANDO GORGES, *Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings*.—<sup>k</sup> WILLIAM DOUGLASS, *The British Settlements in North America*.—<sup>l</sup> JOSEPH HUNTER, *Collections Concerning the Founders of New Plymouth*.—<sup>m</sup> WILLIAM BRADFORD, *History of Pimoth Plantation*.—<sup>n</sup> R. BAILLIE, *Dissuasive*.—<sup>o</sup> PAGITT, *Heresiography*.—<sup>p</sup> NATHANIEL MORTON, *New England Memorial*.—<sup>q</sup> JOHN S. BARRY, *History of Massachusetts*.—<sup>r</sup> FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, *The Pilgrim Church and Plymouth Colony*, in Winsor's *History of America*.—<sup>s</sup> GEORGE SUMNER, *Memoir, in Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, vol. XXIX, 1846.—<sup>t</sup> EDWARD WINSLOW, *Good News from New England*.—<sup>u</sup> MOURT'S RELATION.—<sup>v</sup> S. H. GAY, article on "Plymouth Rock" in *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVIII, 616.—<sup>w</sup> H. M. DEXTER, article on "Plymouth Rock" in the *Congregationalist*, Nov. 9, 1881.—<sup>x</sup> F. BAYLIES, *Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth*.—<sup>y</sup> R. HILDRETH, *History of the United States*.—<sup>z</sup> J. FROST, *Pictorial History of the United States*.—<sup>aa</sup> JEREMY BELKNAP, *History of New Hampshire*.—<sup>ab</sup> JOHANN G. KOHL, *History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America, particularly of the Coast of Maine*.—<sup>ac</sup> JOHN A. POOR, in *Popham Memorial*.—<sup>ad</sup> J. WINSOR, *History of America*.—<sup>ae</sup> EDWARD JOHNSON, *History of New England*.—<sup>af</sup> G. BANCROFT, *History of the United States*.



